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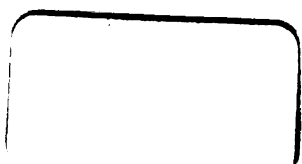
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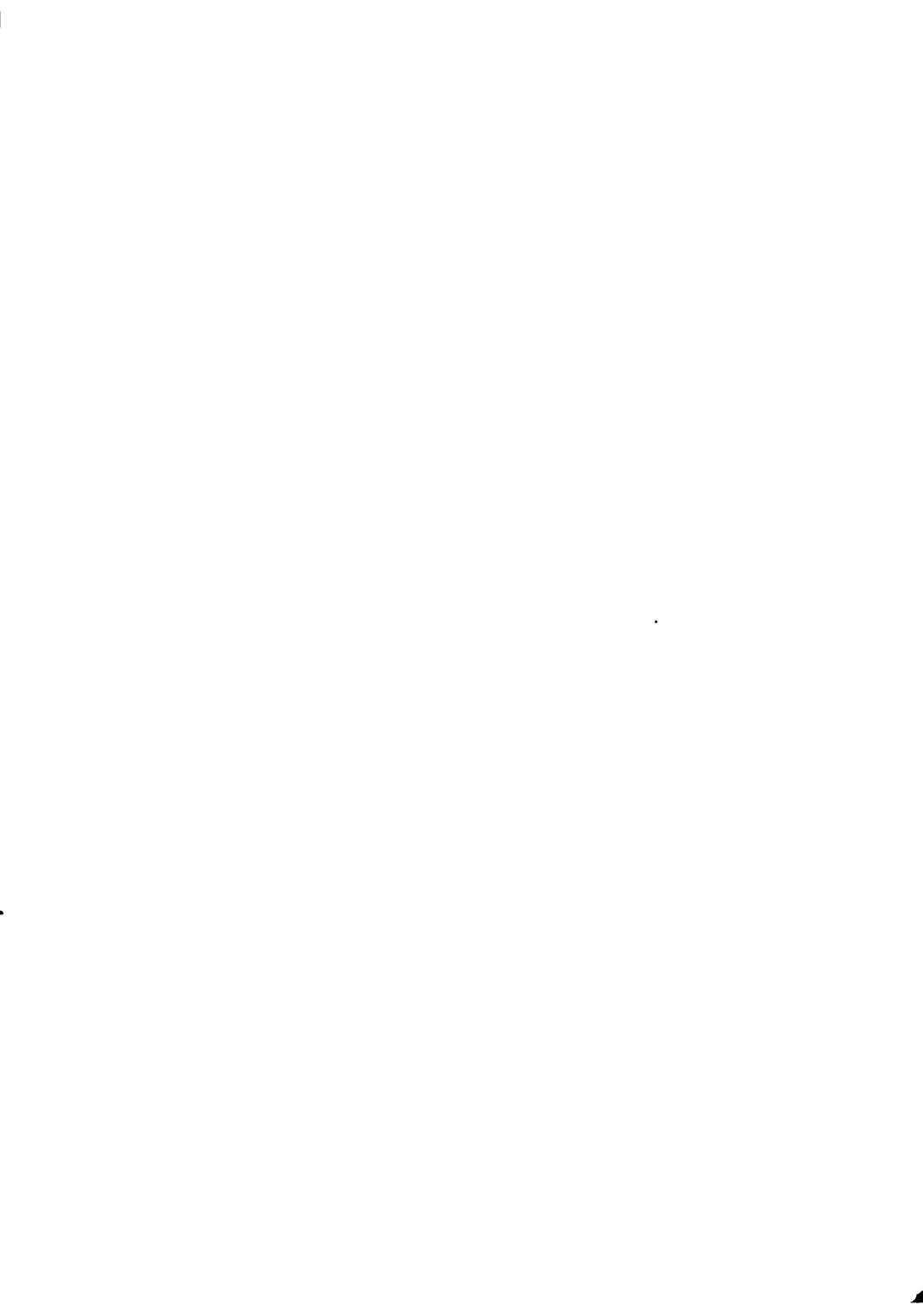
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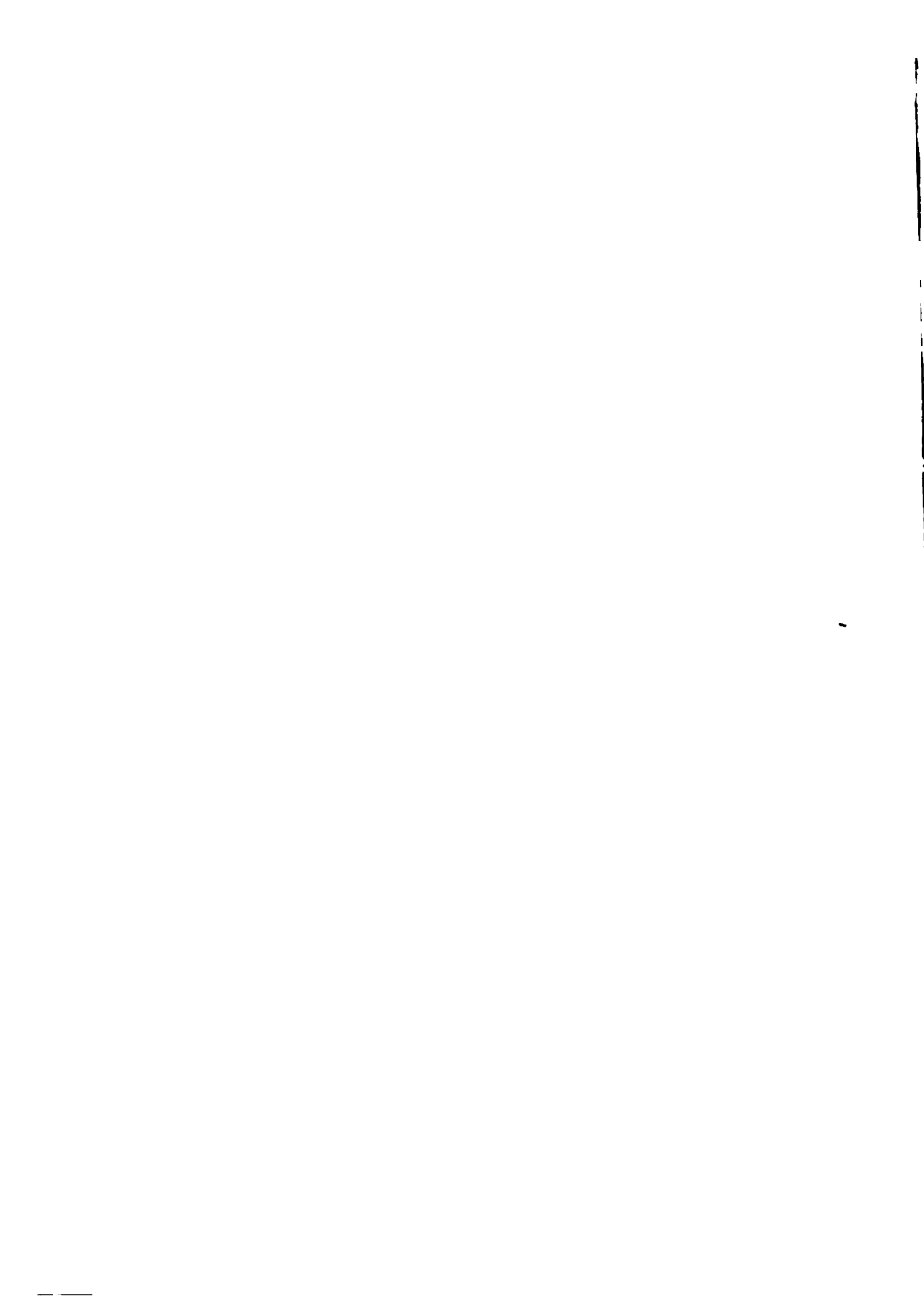


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THE
CHINESE REPOSITORY

VOL. XIX

FROM JANUARY TO DECEMBER, 1850

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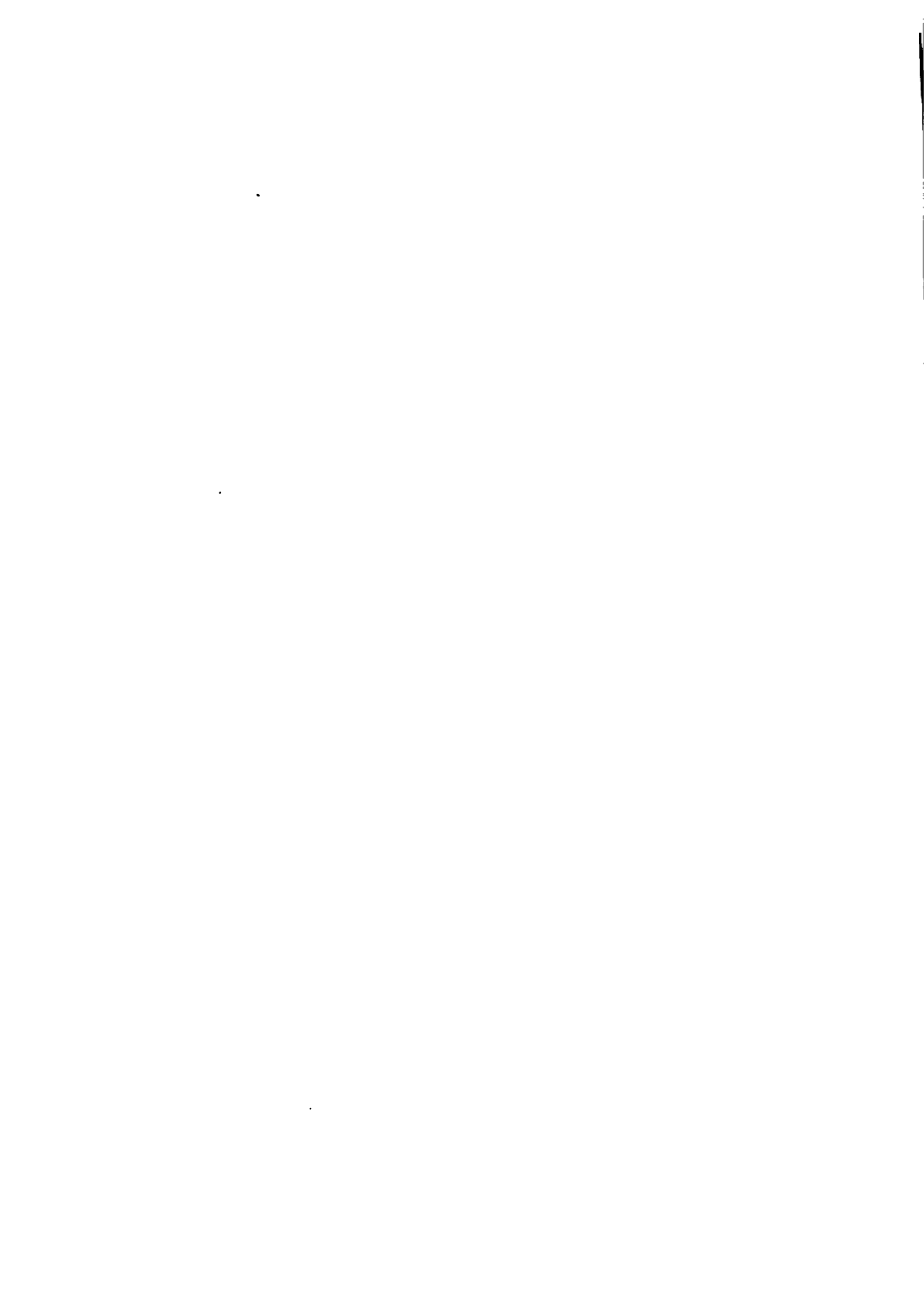
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PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS.

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1850.



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CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. XIX.—JANUARY, 1850.—No. 1.

ART. I. *The comparative English and Chinese Calendar for 1850; names of the foreign residents at the five parts and Hongkong; list of officers in the governments of Hongkong, Macao, and Canton; foreign legations and consular establishments in China.*

THE year 1850 of the Christian era answers to the 4487th year of the Chinese chronology, or as they reckon it, the 48th year of the 75th cycle of sixty years, which commences the 12th of February; the same is the thirtieth year of the reign of His Imperial Majesty Táukwáng, who is now 63 years of age, and consequently one of the oldest potentates of the world, and among those who have enjoyed regal dignity the longest. The present year is also the 5610th year of the Jewish chronology, which ends Sept. 6th, when the 5611th year commences. The lunar year commencing Nov. 6th, 1850, is the 1267th of the Mohammedan era; it is strictly lunar, and since the commencement of the era in A.D. 622, there has been a gain of nearly forty years over the Gregorian computation of the solar year. The year of 365 days, commencing Aug. 28th, or Sept. 27th, is the 1220th of the Parsee chronology, called the era of Yezdejerd; this began A.D. 632, but in consequence of rejecting the intercalary day every fourth year, a discrepancy of nearly ten months has accrued since its commencement. Some of the Parsees date their new year Aug. 28th, another part begin Sept. 27th.

The lunar year commencing April 12th is the 1212th of the civil era of the Siamese and Burmese; and that beginning May 26th, is the 2393d of their religious year, computed from the death of Budha. The Japanese, Coreans, and Cochinchinese follow the Chinese sexagenary cycle, in calling the present year *kang siuh* 庚戌, but each of these nations dates events from the commencement of the reigns of their respective monarchs.

Jan.	11 & 12 m	Feb.	1 & 2 m	Mar.	1 & 2 m	April.	2 & 3 m	May.	3 & 4 m	June.	4 & 5 m	July.	5 & 6 m	Aug.	6 & 7 m	Sep.	7 & 8 m	Oct.	9 m	Nov.	10 m	11 m	
1	tu	1 f	18	1 f	1 s	21	1 m	1 w	20	1 s	21	1 m	22	1 th	24	1 s	25	1 tu	26	1 f	28	1 s	28
2	w	2 s	19	2 th	2 s	22	2 tu	2 th	21	2 s	22	2 tu	23	2 f	25	2 m	26	2 w	27	2 s	29	2 m	29
3	th	3 s	20	3 f	3 m	23	3 w	3 f	22	3 m	23	3 w	24	3 s	26	3 tu	27	3 th	28	3 s	30	3 tu	30
4	f	4 m	21	4 s	4 tu	24	4 th	4 s	23	4 tu	24	4 th	25	4 s	27	4 w	28	4 f	29	4 tu	1	4 w	31
5	s	5 tu	22	5 s	5 w	25	5 f	5 s	24	5 w	25	5 f	26	5 s	28	5 th	29	5 s	1	5 tu	2	5 th	1
6	s	6 w	23	6 s	6 th	26	6 s	6 tu	25	6 th	26	6 s	27	6 tu	29	6 f	30	6 s	2	6 w	3	6 f	2
7	m	7 th	24	7 s	7 f	27	7 s	7 w	26	7 f	27	7 s	28	7 th	30	7 s	1	7 m	3	7 th	4	7 s	3
8	tu	8 f	25	8 tu	8 s	28	8 m	8 th	27	8 s	28	8 m	29	8 th	1	8 s	2	8 tu	4	8 f	5	8 s	4
9	w	9 s	26	9 w	9 tu	29	9 tu	9 f	28	9 s	29	9 tu	1	9 f	2	9 m	3	9 w	5	9 s	6	9 m	5
10	th	10 s	27	10 th	10 w	30	10 w	10 s	29	10 m	1	10 w	2	10 s	3	10 tu	4	10 th	6	10 s	7	10 m	6
11	f	11 m	28	11 f	11 tu	1	11 tu	11 w	30	11 m	2	11 tu	3	11 s	4	11 w	5	11 th	7	11 s	8	11 w	7
12	s	12 tu	29	12 s	12 w	2	12 w	12 th	1	12 tu	3	12 tu	4	12 m	5	12 th	6	12 f	8	12 tu	9	12 w	8
13	s	13 w	30	13 s	13 th	3	13 th	13 f	2	13 th	4	13 s	5	13 tu	6	13 w	7	13 s	9	13 tu	10	13 w	9
14	m	14 th	1	14 s	14 f	4	14 s	14 m	3	14 th	5	14 s	6	14 tu	7	14 w	8	14 f	10	14 th	11	14 s	10
15	tu	15 f	2	15 m	15 tu	5	15 tu	15 w	4	15 f	6	15 s	7	15 th	8	15 w	9	15 f	11	15 s	12	15 s	11
16	w	16 s	3	16 tu	16 w	6	16 w	16 th	5	16 s	7	16 tu	8	16 f	9	16 w	10	16 s	12	16 tu	13	16 s	12
17	th	17 s	4	17 w	17 tu	7	17 w	17 f	6	17 s	8	17 w	9	17 s	10	17 th	11	17 tu	13	17 s	14	17 tu	13
18	f	18 m	5	18 tu	18 w	8	18 tu	18 w	7	18 tu	9	18 w	10	18 s	11	18 th	12	18 tu	14	18 m	15	18 w	14
19	s	19 tu	6	19 w	19 th	9	19 w	19 s	8	19 tu	10	19 th	11	19 m	12	19 w	13	19 tu	15	19 tu	16	19 th	15
20	s	20 w	7	20 th	20 f	10	20 th	20 s	9	20 w	11	20 f	12	20 tu	13	20 s	14	20 s	16	20 w	17	20 f	16
21	m	21 th	8	21 s	21 tu	11	21 w	21 th	10	21 f	12	21 s	13	21 m	14	21 w	15	21 tu	17	21 s	18	21 s	17
22	tu	22 f	9	22 tu	22 w	12	22 tu	22 w	11	22 s	13	22 m	14	22 th	15	22 w	16	22 tu	18	22 s	19	22 s	18
23	w	23 s	10	23 w	23 th	13	23 w	23 f	12	23 s	14	23 tu	15	23 f	16	23 w	17	23 tu	19	23 s	20	23 s	19
24	th	24 s	11	24 s	24 tu	14	24 th	24 s	13	24 m	15	24 w	16	24 s	17	24 tu	18	24 th	20	24 s	21	24 s	20
25	f	25 m	12	25 th	25 w	15	25 tu	25 th	14	25 tu	16	25 w	17	25 s	18	25 w	19	25 f	21	25 s	22	25 tu	21
26	s	26 tu	13	26 w	26 th	16	26 w	26 f	15	26 s	17	26 tu	18	26 m	19	26 th	20	26 s	22	26 tu	23	26 th	22
27	s	27 w	14	27 th	27 f	17	27 th	27 s	16	27 tu	18	27 w	19	27 f	20	27 s	21	27 tu	23	27 w	24	27 s	23
28	m	28 th	15	28 s	28 tu	18	28 w	28 th	17	28 tu	19	28 s	20	28 s	21	28 w	22	28 tu	24	28 tu	25	28 s	24
29	tu	29 f	16	29 w	29 s	19	29 w	29 f	18	29 tu	20	29 s	20	29 th	21	29 w	22	29 tu	25	29 s	26	29 s	25
30	w	30 s	17	30 th	30 tu	20	30 th	30 s	19	30 w	21	30 tu	22	30 f	22	30 s	23	30 w	26	30 f	27	30 m	26
31	th	31 s	18	31 f	31 w	21	31 w	31 s	20	31 tu	22	31 th	23	31 s	23	31 s	24	31 th	27	30 s	30 s	31 tu	27

LIST OF FOREIGN RESIDENTS IN CHINA.

Errors will doubtless be found in the following list of names, but it is hoped they are not very numerous; it has been difficult to ascertain the names of those who reside afloat at the various anchorages, and many of them are probably omitted. The difficulty of making the list complete increases from year to year.

Abbreviations—*Ca* stands for Canton; *wh* for Whampoa; *ma* for Macao; *ho* for Hongkong; *am* for Amoy; *fu* for Fuhchau; *ni* for Ningpo; *sh* for Sháng-hí; *p. c.* and *p. s.* attached to a few names denote that they are *police constables* and *police sergeants* at Hongkong.

Abdolvayad Mohmed,	ca	Baptista, J S	sh
Abdola Moladina	ca	Barham, W.	<i>P. C.</i> ho
Adams, Charles R	ca	Barnes, D J	ho
Adamson, W R	sh	Barnet, George	ca
Aderjee Sapoorjee	ca	Barnet, William	ca
Aguilar, Jozé de	ma	Barradas, M	ho
Ahmed Isaac	ca	Barradas, Francisco	ho
Ainslie, Richard <i>p c</i>	ho	Barradas, Vicente F	ho
Alcock, R. and fami	sh	Barradas, Angelo	ho
Alexander, W H	ho	Barros, Jozé Vicente	ca
Alla Bux Dosunjee	ca	Barretto, B A	ho
Allanson, William and family	ma	Barretto, J O	ho
Allureka Versey,	ca	Barry, James	<i>P. C.</i> ho
Almeida, Lino dé	ma	Barton, Ch	ho
Ambrose, Rev. Lewis	ho	Bateson, Charles E	sh
Ameerodeen Abdool Latiff	ca	Baylies, Nicholas	sh
Anderson, Charles	ho	Beale, Thomas Chay	sh
Anderson, D	ho	Bellamy, Capt.	ca
Anderson	ho	Bennets, G J	sh
Angier, F J	ho	Bevan, W. F.	ho
Anthon, Joseph C <i>abs.</i>	ho	Bidet, A	sh
Anthon, H.	ho	Bimjee Canjee	ca
Appleton, S	ho	Binjamin Eliah	ca
Aquino, Maximiliano J. d'	ca	Bird, Alexander	wh
Ardaseer Nesserwanjee Modj.	ca	Birdseye, T. J.	sh
Ardaseer Rustomjee	ca	Birley, F B and fam	ca
Armstrong, George	ho	Biscoe, Major V. J.	ho
Armstrong, H. lieut 95th	ho	Bland, J	sh
Aroné, Jacques	sh	Blight, John A	ho
Aspenderjee Nesserwanjee.	ca	Block, Frederick H	ho
Aspinall, Richard	sh	Bokee, William O	ca
Aspundearjee Tamooljee	ca	Bomanjee Muncherjee	ca
Ayub Ebrahim,	ca	Bonham, H. E. Samuel G & fam	ho
Azevedo, Felis H. de and fam.	ho	Bonney, S W.	wh
Azevedo, Luiz M de	ho	Booker, Frederic	ca
Backhouse, John	an	Boon, J	ca
Baldwin, Rev. Caleb C. & fam.	fu	Boone, Rt. Rev. W. J. and fam	sh
Balfour, Doct. A H. and fam.	ho	Borel, Constant	ca
Ball, Rev. Dyer, and family,	ca	Botelho, Alberto	ho
Ballard, Samuel and fam.	ho	Boughry, and fam., Major 59th	ho
Bancroft, A. H.	ca	Bounard, Rev Louis	ho
Bankier, Dr.	ho	Bovet, Edouard	ca
Bapoojee Pallanjee Runjee	ca	Bovet, Louis	ca

Bovet, Fritz	ca	Carter, Augustus and family	ho
Bowman, Adam	sh	Cartwright, H D	sh
Bowman, John	sh	Carvalho, L. and fam	ma
Bowra, Charles W.	ho	Carvalho, M. de	ca
Bowra, William A. <i>als.</i>	ho	Carvalho, José H	ho
Bowring, John, LL. D.	ca	Carvalho, Antonio H	ho
Boxer, W.	ho	Castro, L d'Almado e	ho
Bradley, Charles W. LL. D.	am	Castro, J. M. d'Almado e <i>abs</i>	ho
Bradshaw, James	am	Cay, R. Dundas	ho
Braga, João Roza	ho	Ceballos, Juan A Lopez de	ma
Braga, Manoel Roza	ho	Chalmers, Patrick	ca
Braine, Charles J and family	ho	Champion <i>Captain</i> 95th	ho
Brice, Dr.	wh	Chapman, F	ca
Bridgman, E. C. D. D. and fam	sh	Chapman, Ensign 95th.	ho
Bridgman, Rev. James G	ca	Charlton, Lt. 95th.	ho
Brimelow, James W	ho	Charnley, D	sh
Britto, José de	ho	Chinnery, George	ma
Brodersen, C.	co	Chomley, Francis C	ho
Brooks, J. A. and fam.	ho	Churcher, John E.	ho
Broughall, William	sh	Clark, D O	sh
Brown, Antonio, <i>Tavern keeper</i>	ho	Clarke, Dr. <i>Medical Staff.</i>	ho
Brown, D O	ho	Cleland, Rev. John F. & fam.	ca
Brown, W. Ward	ca	Clement, C. T., Lt. <i>Cay. Rifles.</i>	ho
Browne, Robert	ca	Cleverley, C St. George	ho
Browning, W. R.	am	Cleverley, <i>Captain</i>	ho
Bruce, George C. <i>abs.</i>	ca	Clifton, Samuel and fam	ho
Buchan, George	ho	Cobbold, Rev. H.	ni
Buckler, William	ca	Cole, Richard, and fam.	ho
Buckton, Charles	wh	Collins, J	ho
Buffa Rev. —	ho	Collins Mrs. and fam.	ho
Bunn, R. <i>Qtrmast. Ceylon Rifles</i>	ho	Collins, Rev. J. D.	fu
Burd, John	ho	Comelate, J. G.	ho
Burgoyne, George	ho	Compton, Charles S	ca
Burgoyne, William	ho	Compton, J B	ho
Burke, W.	ho	Compton, Spencer	ho
Burjorjee Eduljee	ca	Comstock, W	ca
Burjorjee Rustomjee	ca	Comstock, W O	ca
Burjorjee Sorabjee	ca	Connolly, A	sh
Burley, A J	ho	Cooke, John	wh
Burns, Rev. William C.	ho	Cooverjee Bomanjes	sh
Burton, Edward	sh	Cordeiro, Albano A.	ho
Butt, John	ca	Cortella, Antonio M	ho
Bush, F. T. and family	ho	Costa, N. T. da	ca
Byramjee Coverjee	ca	Coulter, M. S. and fam.	ni
Byramjee Rustomjee	ca	Cowan, Francis, P. C.	ho
Calder, Alexander	sh	Cowasjee Pestonjee,	ca
Caine, Hon. major William	ha	Cowasjee Pallanjee,	ca
Caldas, Joaquim P	ho	Cowasjee Sapoorjee Lungrana	ca
Caldwell, Daniel R.	ho	Cowper, J C	wh
Cameron, J	ho	Crakanthorpe, R H	ho
Campbell, Archibald and fam	ho	Crampton, J	sh
Campbell, A E. H.	ho	Crawford, Ninian	ho
Campbell, P	ho	Creevy, Wm., P. S.	ho
Campos, Joaquim de	ho	Crook, James	ho
Cannan, John H	ho	Croom, A F and fam	sh
Carew, J. H. <i>Captain</i> 95th	ho	Cruz, C. de	ca
Carlowitz, Richard	ca	Cruz, W F de	ho
Carpenter, Rev. C and family	sh	Cruz, F F de	ca
Carr, John	ho	Culbertson, Rev. M S and fam	ni
Carruthers, John and fam	ho	Cumerally Rumzanally	ca

Cummings, Rev. S. & fam.	fu	Dos Remedios, J. J. and fam.	ho
Cumoordeen Meerjee	ca	Dossabhoy Hormusjee,	sh
Cunningham, Edward	ca	Dossabhoy Framjee Camajee	ca
Currie, John	ho	Dossabhoy Hormusjee Canajee	ca
Cursetjee Eduljee	ca	Dossabhoy Bajonjee	ca
Cursetjee Jamsetjee Botiwala	ca	Doty, Rev. Elihu and fam	am
Cursetjee Rustomjee Erance	ca	Dowdall, Lt. Adj. 96th	ho
Cursetjee Rustomjee Daver	ca	Dowell, J. S.	ho
Cursetjee Shavuzshaw	ca	Drake, Francis C.	ho
Da Costa, M. D. <i>Tavern Keeper</i>	ho	Dreyer, William	ca
Dadabhoy Burjorjee	ca	Drinker, Sandwith, and fam.	ho
Dadabhoy Eduljee	ca	Du Cheane, Henri	ma
Dadabhoy D. Talcaca	ca	Duddell, George	ho
Dadabhoy Bazonjee	ca	Dudgeon, P	ho
Dadabhoy Pestonjee	ca	Dunlop, Archibald	sh
Dadabhoy Jamsetjee Dulackow	ca	Durran, J. A.	ma
Dady, William	ho	Durrell, Timothy J	ca
Dale, E	ca	Duus, N. and family	ho
Dale, Thurstan	ho	Duval, Frank	abs ca
Dale, W W and family	sh	Eaton, E. B.	ho
Dallas, A Grant	sh	Ebrahim Shaik Hoosen	ca
Dalziel, W, R	ho	Ebrahim Soomar,	ca
Dana, Richard P	ca	Edan, B	sh
Davidson, Walter	ho	Edger, Joseph F. and fam	ho
Davidson, William	ni	Edkins, Rev. Joseph	sh
Davis, H. E. John W.	ca	Eduljee Fudoonjee Khambata	ca
Davis, Henry	ca	Eduljee Cursetjee,	ca
De Montmorency <i>Lieut</i> 96th	ho	Eichbaine, C. W.	ho
De Sa, Francisco	ho	Eleazer Abraham	sh
De Silva, Manoel, P. S.	ho	Ellice, Robert	ca
De Silva, F. P. and family.	ho	Ellis, William	ho
De Silver, R P	ma	Elmalie, Adam W.	ca
De Silver, H T	ho	Elquist, Rev. A.	ho
Deacon, E	sh	Emeny, W. and fam.	ho
Dean, Rev. William	ho	Encarnação, Antonio L. d'	ho
Dearle, J.	ho	Encarnação, A. A. d'	ca
Delaney, Thomas	ho	Endicott, J B	cum
Delevie, S	ho	Everett, J H	ca
Dennis, Captn. J. Fitz G.	ho	Everard, Thomas	ca
Dent, George	ca	Ewing, R. and fam	ca
Dent, John	ca	Eyre, <i>lieut.-col. R. A.</i>	ho
Dent, Wilkinson	abs ho	Fagan, J. W.	ho
Dent, William	ho	Farquhar, A.	ho
Dhunjeebhoy Dossabhoy	ca	Farnham, S H	ca
Dhunjeebhoy Ruttanjee	ca	Fazul Goolam Hoosain	abs ca
Dhunjeebhoy Muncherjee	ca	Fazul Dumany,	ca
Dhunjeebhoy Hormusjee Hak.	ca	Fearon, Charles A.	sh
Dhunjeebhoy Eduljee	ca	Featherstonhaugh, W.	ho
Dickinson, Henry	ho	Feliciani, Rev. F. A.	ho
Dickson, Henry	ho	Feneran, Lt. 96th.	ho
Dickson, Dr. <i>Med. Staff.</i>	ho	Fenouil, Rev. John	ho
Dildarkhan Goolabkhan,	ca	Fergusson, Doct. Andrew	ho
Dinshaw Merwanjee,	ca	Fergusson, John	ho
Dinshawjee Framjee Caana	ca	Fincham, A.	sh
Dimier, C.	ca	Findlay, George	ho
Dixson, Andrew S	ca	Fittock, W. H.	sh
Donaldson, C. M.	sh	Fischer, Maximilian, and fam.	ca
Dorabjee Framjee Colah	ca	Fisher Captn. Royal Artillery	ho
Dorabjee Pestonjee, Patell	ca	Fitzpatrick, John	ma
Dorabjee Nesserwanjee Cama.	ca	Fletcher, Duncan	ho

Fogg, H.	sh	Greaney, J.	P. C.	ho
Fonceca, Antonio de	ho	Green, G F		sh
Fonceca, Athanzio A. de	ho	Grey, H M M		sh
Forbes, R. B.	ca	Griswold, John N. Alsop		sh
Forcade, Rt. Rev. T. A.	ho	Gutierrez, A		ho
Ford, Theo S	ho	Gutierrez, Candido		ho
Forster, H. <i>Lieut.</i> 95th	ho	Gutierrez, Rufino		ho
Forth-Rouen, Alexandre & fam	ma	Gutierrez, Venancio		ho
Fox, John S	ho	Gutierrez, Querino		ca
Framjee Saporjee Lungrana	sh	Gutierrez, Candido		ho
Framjee Jamssetjee	ho	Gutzlaff, Rev. Charles	<i>abs</i>	ho
Framjee Eduljee	ca	Hague, Patriok		ni
Framjee Saporjee	ca	Hajee Elias Hussan,		ca
Framjee Burjorjee	ca	Hall, Edward		sh
Franklyn, W H	ho	Hale, F. H.		sh
Frazer, Lt. 95th.	ho	Hall, Capt. of steamer Spark		ca
Freemantle, Edmund A	ho	Hall, G. R.	<i>ab</i>	sh
French, Rev. John B	ca	Hallam, S. J.		ca
Fryer, A H	ho	Hamberg, Rev. Theodore		ho
Fryer, W	ho	Hance, H F		ho
Fuller, <i>Captain</i> 59th	ho	Hancock, B E		ca
Furst, Rev. C. I.	ho	Happer, Rev. A. P. and family		ca
Fysk, William W.	am	Hardie, H. R.		ca
Gabriel, M.	sh	Hare, J.		ho
Gangjee Goolam Hoosain	ca	Harkort, Bernhard	<i>abs</i>	ca
Garchi, Giovanni	ho	Harland, Doct W. A.		ho
Garvine, Henry	ho	Harris, George		ho
Garoon, Joab Braz	ho	Harton, W. H.		ca
Gaskell, W.	ho	Harvey, F. E.		ho
Genzehr, Rev. Ferdinand	ho	Haskell G. E.		ho
Gibb, John D		Head, C. H.		ho
Gibb, George	ca	Heard, John		ca
Gibbs, Richard	<i>abs</i>	Heard, jr. Augustine		ca
Gibson, E	ho	Heerjeebhoy Hormusjee	<i>abs</i>	ca
Gilbert, W	ca	Heerjeebeoy Rustomjee		ma
Giles, Edward F.	<i>abs</i>	Heloling, L.		sh
Giles, John	am	Helms, Henry		am
Gillfillan, Rev. Thomas	ca	Henning, Robert		ho
Gillespie, Robert	P. C.	Hepburn, Henry L.		wh
Gillespie, Rev. William	ca	Herschberg, Doct. H. J.		ho
Gilman, Richard J	ca	Hertslet F L and fam		am
Gingell, W R	fu	Hickson, W. D.		ho
Girard, Rev. Prudence	ho	Hill, and fam. P. C.		ho
Gittins, Thomas	ca	Hill, N. of Str. "Hongkong"		ho
Goodale, Samuel P	ho	Hillier, Charles B and fam		ho
Goddard, John A	ho	Hiselop, James, M. D. and fam	am	
Goddard, Rev. Jos. T & fam	ni	Hobson, B. M. D. and family	ca	
Goodings, Robt. and fam.	ho	Hobson, Rev. Wm. and fam	sh	
Goodridge, John B	ca	Hogg, William,	sh	
Goolam Hoosain Ebrahimjee,	ca	Holdforth, C G	ho	
Goolam Hoosam Chandoo,	ca	Holgate, H.	wh	
Gorringer, <i>Asst. Surgeon</i> 59th	ho	Holliday, John, and family	ca	
Gordon, H. G. <i>Ass. Surg.</i> 95th	ho	Holt, W. <i>Quartr Master</i> , 95th	ho	
Gordon, Francis	P. C.	Holtz, Andrea	sh	
Gordon — <i>Surgeon</i> 95th.	ho	Home, Dr. W. Med. Staff.	ho	
Grandpré, A	ho	Hooper, James	sh	
Grant, James	sh	Hormusjee Cowasjee	ma	
Grandpré, Francisco	ho	Hormusjee Eduljee	ca	
Graves, Pierce W	sh	Hormusjee Jamasjee Nadershaw	ca	
Gray, Samuel	ca	Hormusjee Nesser. Pochajee	ca	

Houston, Edwin	ca	Koch, C. A.	ca
Hubertson, G F	sh	Kreyenhagen, Julius	ca
Hudson, Aug. R	ca	Kupferschmidt, P	ho
Hudson, Joseph	ni	Lamson, George H	ca
Hudson, John	ho	Lança, E L	ho
Hudson, Rev. T H	ni	Lapraik, Douglas	ho
Hulme, Hon. John W and fam.	ho	Lay, Horatio	ho
Hurst, Wm. P. S.	ho	Layton, Temple H and fam	am
Hutchinson Wm.	ho	Layton, F A	sh
Huttleston, J. Thomas	sh	Lecaroz, Juan	ma
Humphreys, Alfred	abs. ho	Lechler, Rev Rudolph	ho
Hunt, T. and family	wh	Legge, Rev. James, D D & fam	ho
Hunter, James D	ac	Lena, Alexander	abs ho
Hurjee Jamal	ca	Leslie, W.	ho
Hyland, T	ho	Leslie Lt. J. A. Ceylon Rifles	ho
Hyndman, Henrique	ca	Levin, E H	ca
Hyndman, Joab	ho	Lewer, Dr.	wh
Howell, W H	ca	Lewin, D D	sh
Irons, James	sh	Lewis, A.	sh
Isaac Reuben	sh	Lewis, W D	ca
Jacob Hassan	ca	Lexis, William. P. C.	ho
Jacob Reubin	ca	Libois, Rev Napoleon F.	ca
Jackson, R. B and family	fu	Liddall, E.	ho
Jackson, Robert	am	Lima, J. M. O.	wh
Jackson, Robert P. C.	ho	Limjee Jamsetjee	abs ca
Jalbhoj Carsetjee,	ca	Livingston, W P	sh
Jamieson, T of str. "Canton"	ho	Livingston, J Gibbons	sh
Jamsetjee Rustomjee Eranee,	ca	Lobscheid, Rev. Wilhelm	ho
Jamsetjee Ruttunjee	ca	Locke, W.	ca
Jamsetjee Eduljee,	ca	Lockhart, William and family	sh
Jardine, Joseph	ca	Loomis, Rev. George	wh
Jardine, David	ho	Lord, Rev. E. C. and family	ni
Jarrom, Rev. W.	ni	Low, Edward A.	ca
Jehangeer Framjee Buxey	ca	Lübeck, L.	ho
Jenkins, Rev. B. and fam.	sh	Luce, William H.	ca
Jeraz Munjee	ca	Ludda Chatoor,	ca
Johnson, Rev. John	ho	Ludda Kakey	ca
Johnson, Rev. S. and fam.	fu	Lugg, J. Lt. Royal Artillery.	ho
Johnston, A.	sh	Lyall, George	ho
Johnston, Hon. A R	ho	Lyons, Alexr. Tavern keeper	ho
Jones, Thomas	ho	Macandrew, J.	sh
Jones, Dash. Lieut. Royal Art.	ho	Macculloch, Alex.	sh
Josephs, Levin	ca	Macgowan, D. J., M. D. & fam	ni
Judd, Andrew	ni	Macgregor, R.	ca
Just, G. S.	ho	Mackay, Eneas J.	am
Just, Donald	ho	Mackean, Thomas W. L & fam	ho
Jummoojee Nesserwanjee	ca	Mackenzie, D. W.	ca
Jesus, L J de,	ca	Mackenzie, Kenneth R.	sh
Kakeebhoy Bahaderbhoy,	ca	Mackenzie, C. D.	sh
Kennedy, David	ca	Mackenzie, S.	ca
Kennedy, Henry H.	sh	Mackertoom, M S	ca
Kennedy, K. M.	ho	Maclay, Rcv. R. S.	fu
Kenny, B Doct and family	ca	Maclachlan, J. E.	ca
Khan Mohamed Habibhoy	abs ca	Maclehose, James	ho
Khan Mohamed Datoobhoy	ca	Maclelan, A. C.	ho
Khumoredeen Nuverally,	ca	Maclelan, J. L	sh
King, William H.	ca	Macleod, M. A.	ca
King, F A	ca	Maloobhoy Doughersee	sh
King, David O.	ca	Maltby, Charles	sh
King, and fam. Lieut 59th	ho	Man, James Lawrence	ca
Kirk, Thomas	sh	Maneckjee Bomanjee	ca
Kleakowski, M. de	sh	Maneckjee Nanabhoy	ca

Maneckjee Pestonjee Taback	ca	Mitchell George P. C.	ho
Mohamed Ally Motabhoy	ca	Mitton, Thos	ho
Maneckjee Pestonjee	ca	Mohamed Pudmeh Muscatee,	ca
Margesson, H. D.	ca	Moladina Noorhahmed	ca
Marçal, Honorio A.	ma	Moncrieff, Thomas	sh
Marjoribanks Doct. Samuel	ca	Monicou, Pierre	ho
Markwick, Charles	ho	Montiguy, M. de	sh
Markwick, Jr. Richard	ho	Moore, H	ho
Marques, D P	ca	Moore, William	abs ca
Marques, F F	ca	Moosah Hassam	ca
Marques, José M.	ma	Morgan, Edward	ho
Marques, Manoel V.	ho	Morison, William, m. d. and fam	ho
Marsh, W T	ho	Morris Mrs.	ho
Marshall S. (<i>Sheriff's Officer</i>)	ho	Morrison, John G	ho
Mas, H. E. Don Sinibaldo de	ma	Morrison, Martin C	am
Matheson, W. F. S.	ho	Morrison, George S	ho
Matheson, C. S.	sh	Morrison, W.	ho
Mathews, I. H. and fam.	ho	Morss, W H	ca
Maveety, J. (<i>Tavern Keeper</i>)	ho	Moses, A R B	ca
Maxwell, Lt. 95th.	ho	Moul, Alfred	ca
May, C and fam	ho	Moul, George	ca
McCartee m. n, D. B.	ni	Moul, Henry	ca
McClatchie, Rev. T. and fam	sh	Muir, J. D.	am
McDonald, & Mount T. <i>Keeper</i> .	ho	Muirhead, Rev. W. and family	sh
McDonald, J. <i>Boarding House</i> .	ho	Muncherjee Saporjee Lung.	ca
MacDonald, J.	sh	Muncherjee Jevunjee Mehta	ca
McFarlane, J. <i>Tavern Keeper</i>	ho	Muncherjee Nesserwanjee,	ca
McGregor Dr.	ho	Muncherjee Frammurjee,	ca
McKenzie, C W	ca	Mur, J Manuel	ca
McKenzie, Robert	P. S. ho	Murray, John Ivor, m. d.	wusung
Mc Mahon, Rev. Felix	ho	Murray, H	ca
McSwyne, P C	ho	Murray, Y J	ho
Meade, J. Lt. <i>Ceylon Rifles</i>	ho	Murrow, L. E.	ca
Meadows, Thomas T.	ca	Mylius, Capt. R. <i>Ceylon Rifles</i> .	ho
Meadows, John A. N.	ca	Nanjee Sah Mohamed	ca
Medhurst, W H. D. D. & fam.	sh	Nanjee Yacoob	ca
Medhurst, jr, W H	sh	Napier, Charles	ho
Meer Sasson Moshu	sh	Napier, Hon. G	abs ho
Meigs —	ho	Neave, Thomas D.	ho
Mello, A. A. de	ca	Nesserwanjee Byramjee Fack.	ca
Melrose, W	ca	Nesserwanjee Framjee,	ca
Melvon, John,	P. C. ho	Nesserwanjee Ardaseer Bhanja	ca
Mennecker, C V	ho	Nesserwanjee Bomanjee Mody	ca
Mercer, Hon. W T	ho	Nasserwanjee Hormusjee N.	ca
Merwanjee Dadabhoy	ca	Newman, G. W.	ho
Merwanjee Dadabhoy Wadia	ca	Newton, J. <i>Surgeon C. Rifles</i>	ho
Merwanjee Eduljee,	ca	Niel, R. & fam. <i>Albion House</i>	ho
Meufing, W. A.	ho	Noor Mohamed Kamal	ca
Michaelroy — P. C.	ho	Noor Mohamed Datoobhoy,	ca
Michell, E R	ho	Norleen, Gustaf	ca
Middleton, & John fam.	ma	Noronha, José M. de	ho
Millar —	ho	Noronha, D.	ho
Millar 2d T. Lt. <i>Ceylon Rifles</i> .	ho	Norton, W. M.	ho
Millar, John	ca	Nowrojee Cursetjee,	ca
Miller, Dr	wh	Nowrojee Nesserwanjee	sh
Miller, John	sh	Nowrojee Maneckjee Lungrana	ca
Milne, James	am	Noyes, C. H.	ho
Milne, Rev. W. C. and family	sh	Nye, Clement D.	ca
Minchin, Capt. 95th	ho	Nye, E. C. H.	ca
Minchin, Lieut. 95th.	ho	Oakley, Horace	ca
Mitchell J.	ho	Olding, J. A.	ho
Mitchell, William H. and fam	ho	Oliveira, J. J. d	ua

Olunsted, Henry M.	ca	Rangel, Segismundo	ca
Outeiro, Joze M. d'	ho	Rangel, R.	ho
Ozorio, Candido J.	ca	Rangel, Jayme	ca
Pages, Leon	ma	Rangel, Floriano A.	ho
Pallanjee Dorabjee,	ma	Rankin, Rev. H. V. and fam.	ni
Pallanjee Dorabjee Lalcaoa	ca	Rathbone, S. Greg	ca
Pallanjee Neasserwanjee	ca	Rawle, S. B. and family	ho
Parish, Frank	sh	Rawson, Samuel, and family	ca
Park, James Dickson	ca	Reiche, F.	ca
Parker, Norcott d'E.	abs	Reid, Frank W	am
Parker, W d'Esterre	ho	Reine, P. B. Major C. Rifles	ho
Parker, Capt. P.	ho	Remedios, J. B. dos	ca
Parker, Rev. P., M. D. and fam	ca	Rémi, D.	sh
Parke, H. S.	abs	Reynvaan, H. G. I.	ca
Parkin, W. W.	ca	Ribeiro, J. C. V.	ho
Pearcy, Rev. George and fam.	sh	Richards, P. F.	sh
Pearson, G. Lt. <i>Ceylon Rifles.</i>	ho	Rickett, John, and family	ho
Pedder, W. H.	am	Richards, Rev. William L.	su
Pedder, lieut. William	ho	Rienaecker, R	ho
Peerbhoy Yacoub	ca	Ripley, Philip W. and family	ca
Peet, Rev. L. B. and fam.	su	Risk, J.	ca
Penrose, Wm. <i>Tavern Keeper.</i>	ho	Ritchie, A. A.	ca
Percival, A.	ho	Ritohie, John <i>Tavern Keeper.</i>	ho
Pereira, Ignacio de A.	ho	Rizios, A	ho
Pereira, Edward	ho	Rizzolati, Rev. Joseph	ho
Pereira, J. Lourenco	ca	Roberts, Rev. I. J.	abs
Pereira, B. A.	ca	Roberts, Joseph L.	ca
Pereira, Manoel L. R.	ho	Roberts, O. E.	ca
Perkins, George and fam	ho	Robertson, D. B.	sh
Perkins, George	ca	Robertson, George	ho
Pestonjee Dinshawjee	ca	Robinson, William F.	sh
Pestonjee Framjee Cama	ca	Rochia, Jozé J.	ho
Pestonjee Jansetjee Motiwalla	ca	Rodrick, Anthony	ho
Pestonjee Nowrojee Pochajee	ca	Roiner, Henry	P. C. ho
Pestonjee Rustomjee	ca	Romthala Ameer	ca
Phillips, Robert	ho	Romthala Versey,	ca
Phillips, J	ho	Roose, William R.	ho
Phillpotts, lieut.-col. G. and fam	ho	Ross, J. B.	sh
Phillpotts, lieut. H.	ho	Ross, W. F.	ho
Piccope, W. N.	sh	Rothwell, Richard	ca
Piccope, T. C.	ho	Rowe, John	wh
Pierce, Wm G.	ca	Rowe, J. R.	am
Pitcher, M. W.	ca	Royos, Jacinto	am
Platt, Charles	ca	Roza, Jezuino da	ho
Pollard, E. H.	ho	Rozario, Florencio do	ca
Ponder, Stephen	ca	Rozario, L. A.	ho
Potter, M. L.	sh	Rozario, C. E.	ho
Potter, W.	sh	Rusden, J.	sh
Potter, D.	abs	Russell, George	P. C. ho
Powell, Dr.	ho	Russell, Rev. W. A.	ni
Power, J. C. and fam	ho	Rustomjee Burjorjee,	ca
Pratent, J. R	ho	Rustomjee Byramjee,	ca
Priestman, C. J.	am	Rustomjee Jalbhoy	ca
Purdon, James	ca	Rustomjee Morwanjee Nalear.	ca
Pustau, William	ca	Rustomjee Pestonjee C.	ca
Pyke, Thomas	ca	Rustomjee Pestonjee Motiwalla	ca
Quarterman, Rev. J. W.	ni	Rustomjee Ruttonjee,	ca
Quin, M	ho	Rustomjee Framjee Mehta	ca
Quin, James	ho	Rutherford, Robert	ho
Rains, Lieut. 95th	ho	Rutter, Henry	ca

Ryder, C.	ca	Smith, Frederick and fam	ho
Ryan, Mrs.	ho	Smith, Richard	am
Sadarkhan Jaserkhan	ca	Smith, W and fam	ho
Sage, William	ma	Smithers J. Clerk & Usker S. C.	ho
Salley Mohamed	ca	Snow, E. N.	ho
Samjee Lalljee,	ca	Soames, Capt. of Str. Canton	ca
Samson, Moritz	ho	Soares, Francisco	ma
Sanchez, Joze	ho	Sorabjee Nowrojee Wadiah	ca
Sanders, Charles	abs	Sorabjee Pestonjee	sh
Sandoval, Juan B. de	abs	Solomon David	ca
Santos, Antonio dos	sh	Souza, Miguel de	ho
Sapoorjee Bomanjee,	ca	Souza, Florencio de	ho
Sargent, Lt. 95th.	ho	Speer, Rev William	abs
Sassoon, Abdalah David	ca	Spooner, C. W.	sh
Sassoon, R. David	ca	St. Croix, Nicholas de	ca
Saul, R. Powell, and fam.	sh	St. Croix, George de	ca
Saur, Julius, and family	sh	St. Hill, Henry	ho
Scarth, John	sh	St. John, St. Andrew, Lieut.	ho
Schumacher, G. A.	ho	Stanton, Rev. Vincent & fam.	ho
Schwemann, D. W.	ca	Staveley, Hon. maj-gen. W.	ho
Scott, William	ho	Steele, Thos. Tavern Keeper.	ho
Scott, Adam	ho	Steedman, Rev. S. W.	ho
Scrymgeour, David	ho	Stevens, D.	ho
Seabra, Francisco A.	ca	Stewart, Patrick, and family	ma
Seare, Benjamin, and family	ma	Still, C. F.	ho
Sedick Omar	ca	Stirling, Hon. Paul I.	ho
Seth, S. A.	ca	Strachan, George	sh
Shaikally Mearally	ca	Strachan, Robert	ho
Shaik Tayeb Furjoolabhy	ca	Stronach, Rev. Alex. & fam	am
Shaik Dawood	ca	Stronach, Rev. John	sh
Shaik Ahmed	ca	Stuart, Charles J F	ho
Shaw, Charles	sh	Sturgis, James P.	ma
Shaw, W.	sh	Sturgis, Robert S.	ca
Sherard, R. B.	ho	Suacardo, Ricardo T. Keeper	ho
Shortrede, Andrew	ho	Sucetmal Nuthoomull,	ca
Shuck, Rev. J. L. and family	sh	Sullivan, G. G. and family	ni
Sichel, M.	ca	Summers, James	ho
Siemssen, G. T.	ca	Sword, John D.	abs
Sillar, John C.	sh	Swettenham, Lt. 95th.	ho
Sillar, D.	sh	Syle, Rev. E. and family	sh
Silva, Marciano da	ca	Taaffe, O. H.	ho
Silva, Jozé M.	ho	Tait, James	am
Silva, Quentiliano da	ca	Talmage, Rev. John V. N.	abs
Silva, Ignacio M. da	ma	Tarmohamed Naincey	ca
Silveira, F. C. P. de	ho	Tarrant, William	ho
Silveira, Albino de	ca	Tarrant, H. J.	ho
Silveira, Albino P.	ho	Tattershall, Capt. C. R.	ho
Simoons, Manoel	ca	Taylor, Rev. C. M. D. and fam.	sh
Sinclair, Fraser	ca	Teesdale, lieut. C. B.	ho
Sinclair, C. A.	ni	Thompson, John	am
Skinner, John	ca	Thorburn, W	sh
Smelt, C. T. 2d Lt. C. Rifles	ho	Thorburn, R. F.	sh
Smith, Dr.	wh	Thorne, A.	sh
Smith, John and family	ma	Tinawy, Joseph	ca
Smith, Arthur	ca	Tozer, Frederick	ho
Smith, E. M.	sh	Trotter, G. A.	ho
Smith, James	ho	Trubshaw, James	ca
Smith, J. Mackrill and family	sh	Tyndal, Bruce	ho
Smith, J. Caldecott	sh	Turner, James, Tavern Keeper	ho
Smith, H. H.	ca	Twynham, Lt. G. S.	ho

Ullet, R. B.	sh	Widderfield, John	ho
Urmson, G.	ca	Wiener, A. G.	ho
Vacher, W. JI.	ca	Wiese, L.	ca
Vandenberg, A F	ca	Wight, Rev. J. K. & fam	ni
Van Loeffelt, J. P.	ca	Wilks, jr. J.	sh
Vaucher, Fritz	ca	Wilkinson, Alfred	ca
Veerjee Rahim	ca	Wilkinson, Francois	ho
Vidigal, Antonio de	ho	Williams, C. D	ho
Viegas, A. and family	ca	Williams, John P. C.	ho
Viegas, L.	ca	Williams, F. D.	sh
Viera, L. F.	ho	Williams, S. Wells and family	ca
Wade, T. F.	ho	Williams, John	ca
Wadman, Edward	ni	Wills, C.	sh
Walkinshaw, W.	ca	Wilson, Alexander	ho
Walker, J. T.	ca	Wilson, R. E.	am
Walker, J	ho	Winiberg H. & fam. <i>T. Keeper.</i>	ho
Walters, Col. 95th.	ho	Winch, J. H	sh
Ward, M. 2d Lt. C. Rifles	ho	Winchester, C. A. and fam	am
Warden, H. H.	ca	Wise, John <i>absent</i>	sh
Wardley, W. H.	ca	Withington, James	sh
Wardner, Rev. N. and fam	sh	Wolcott, Henry G.	sh
Warner, Mrs.	ho	Woodgate, W.	ho
Waters, Charles	ca	Worthington, James <i>abs.</i>	ca
Watson, T. Boswell, & fam.	ma	Wright, James M.	ca
Watson, J. P.	sh	Wright, J. F. E.	ho
Way, Rev. R. Q. and fam	ni	Wylie, A.	sh
Weatherly, James	sh	Yates, Rev. M. T. and family	sh
Webb, Edward	sh	Young, A. I.	sh
Weiss, Charles	ho	Young, James H.	ho
West, L.	sh	Young, W. B. Capt. <i>Roy. Artil.</i>	ho
Whilden, Rev. B W and fam	ca	Young, James <i>T. Keeper.</i>	ho
White, James and fam	sh	Young, Rev. W. and family	am
White, Rev. M. C.	fu	Yvanovitch, Stefano	ho
Whittall, James	ca	Zanolle, Jules	ma

Approximate Synopsis of Foreign Residents in China.

Number of names in the preceding list.....	994
Residents at Canton and Whampoa.....	362
do. at Hongkong.....	404
do. at Amoy.....	29
do. at Fuchchau.....	10
do. at Ningpo.....	19
do. at Shanghai.....	141
Number of those who have their families.....	103
Commercial Houses and agencies.....	138

GOVERNMENT OF HONGKONG.

- H. E. SAMUEL G. BONHAM, C. B., *Governor, Commander-in-chief, Vice-Admiral, Plenipotentiary, and Chief Superintendent of Trade.*
 C. B. Toesdale, lieut. H. M. 83d Regt. *A. D. C. to H. E. the Governor.*
 Hon. Major-gen. W. Staveley, c. B., *Lieut.-Gov. and Commander of the forces.*
 Hon. Major W. Caine, *Colonial Secretary and Auditor-General.*
 Hon. A. R. Johnston, *Secretary and Registrar.*
 Hon. John W. Hulme, *Chief-Justice.*
 Hon. W. T. Mercer, *Colonial Treasurer.*

COLONIAL SECRETARY'S OFFICE.

- Hon. Major Caine, *Colonial Secretary.* J. M. d'A. e Castro, *2d Clerk, absent.*
 Rev. C. Gutzlaff, *Chinese Sec. (abs.)* H. F. Hance, *3d Do.*
 L. d'Almada e Castro, *Chief Clerk.* A. Grandpré, *4th "*
 G. W. Newman, *Acting 2d pro tem.*

AUDIT OFFICE.

Hon. Major Caine, *Auditor General.*
E. Morgan, *Clerk.*

COLONIAL TREASURY.

Hon. W. T. Mercer, *Treasurer.*
J. G. Comelate, *Chief Clerk.*
R. Rienaecker, *Accountant.*
J. Hare, *Assistant.*
Messrs. May and Caldwell, *Assessors
and collectors*

SURVEYOR GENERAL'S OFFICE.

C. St. Geo. Cleverly, *Surveyor Gen.*
Hon. G. Napier (*abs.*) *Clerk of Works.*
J. C. Power, *Acc't & Clerk of Registry.*

ECCLESIASTICAL.

Rev. V. J. Stanton, *Colonial Chaplain.*
J. Summers, *Preceptor Anglo-Chinese
school.*
F. C. Drake, *Schoolmaster, Clerk, and
Sexton.*

HARBOR MASTER'S OFFICE.

Lieut. William Pedder, *R. N. Harbor
Master and Marine Magistrate.*
E. R. Michell, *Assistant.*

SUPREME & VICE ADMIRALTY COURT.

Hon. J. W. Hulme, { *Chief Justice &
Commissary.*
Hon. P. I. Stirling, *Attorney General.*
N. D'Esterre Parker, *Proctor (absent).*
W. D'Esterre Parker, *Acting Proctor.*
R. Dundas Cay, *Registrar.*
F. Smith, *Dep. Registrar & Surrogate.*
G. A. Trotter, *Clerk to Chief Justice.*
W. H. Alexander, *Clerk of Works.*
E. L. Lança, { *Interpreter of Malay &
Bengalee.*
J. Smithers, *Bailiff.*
J. Crook, *Under Bailiff.*

POLICE ESTABLISHMENT.

C. B. Hillier, *Chief Magistrate.*
C. G. Holdforth, *Assistant Do.*
Sheriff & Provost Marshal.
Charles May, *Superintendent of Police.*
D. R. Caldwell, *Assistant Do.*
J. Collins, *Chief Clerk.*
M. Quin, *Second "*
Thomas Mitton, *Sailor.*
Sylvester Marshall, *Sheriff's Officer.*

CORONERS.

C. B. Hillier,
C. G. Holdforth,

REGISTRAR GENERAL'S OFFICE.

Hon. W. T. Mercer, *Off'g. Regist. Gen.*
A. Lena, *Clerk (absent).*
'Ng Ming-Tung, *Chinese Clerk.*

CIVIL HOSPITAL.

Wm. Morrison, *Colonial Surgeon.*
Alberto Botelho, *Dispenser.*

POST OFFICE.

T. Hyland, *Postmaster.*
R. H. Crakanthorpe, *Chief Clerk.*
W. T. Marsh, *2d Do.*
J. Hudson, *3d Do.*
J. H. E. Wright, *4th Do.*

ROYAL ENGINEER'S OFFICE.

Lieut.-col. G. Phillpotts, *Commanding
Engineer.*
Major Biscoe, *Executive Engineer.*
Lieut. St. Andrew St. John.
Lieut. Phillpotts.
William Burgoyne, } *Clerks of Works.*
S. H. Mathews, }
George Burgoyne, *Foreman of Works.*
Joseph Cameron, *Clerk.*

ORDNANCE OFFICE.

Henry St. Hill, *Ordnance Storekeeper.*
Theo. S. Ford, *Clerk.*
John A. Blight,
J. A. Brooks,
D. Stevens,
J. R. Prattent,
F. C. P da Silveira,
S. Appleton, } *Temporary
Clerks.*

ROYAL ARTILLERY.

Lieut.-col. Eyre, *Commanding.*
Captain W. B. Young.
Captain Fisher.
Lieut. Jones.
Lieut. Lugg.

COMMISSARY.

W. Smith, *Assistant Commissary Gen.*
C. W. Eichbaine, *Dep. Asst. Com. G.*
J. W. Fagan, *Clerk of Treasury.*

NAVAL YARD, WEST POINT.

Capt. P. Parker, *Naval Storekeeper.*
Walter Burke.
Geo. Dewar, (*abs.*) *Chief Clerk*
W. D. Hickson, *2d Do.*
J. E. Churcher, *3d Do.*
E. B. Eaton, *4d Do.*
F. Liddall, W. Boxer, *Storemen.*
J. Risk, J. Dearle, *Coopers*

GOVERNMENT OF MACAO

D. Jeronimo Jozé de Matta,	<i>Bishop.</i>	} Council of Government.
Joaquim Antonio de Moraes Carneiro,	<i>Chief Justice.</i>	
Ludgerio Joaquim de Faria Neves,	<i>Major.</i>	
Felippe Vieira,	<i>Judge.</i>	
Thomas Jozé de Freitas,	<i>Procurador.</i>	
Miguel Pereira Simoens,	<i>Fiscal.</i>	

Governor's Department.

Antonio Jozé de Miranda,	<i>Secretary to government.</i>
Jeronimo Pereira Leite,	<i>A. D. C. to the Governor.</i>
Jozé Carlos Barros, Jozé Franco.	<i>Clerks.</i>

Dom. Jeronimo Jozé de Matta,	<i>Bishop.</i>
Rev. Braz de Mello,	<i>Secretary.</i>
Bernardo d'Araujo Roza,	<i>Acting Commandant</i>
Dr. Joaõ Damasceno C. dos Santos,	<i>Attorney-general.</i>
P. J. da Silva Loureiro,	<i>Harbor Master.</i>
D. J. Berradas,	<i>Postmaster.</i>

Judiciary.

J. A. de Moraes Carneiro, C. de O. de C.	<i>Judge.</i>
Joaõ Batista Gomes,	<i>Substitute of the Judge.</i>
Francisco da Silveira, C. de O. de C.	<i>Registrar.</i>
Miguel F. Telles,	} <i>Clerks.</i>
Thomas de Aquino Migueis,	
Antonio Rangel,	<i>Accountant.</i>

Municipal Chamber.

Camillo Lelis de Souza,	} <i>Judges.</i>
Joaõ Jozé Vieira,	
Felippe Vieira,	} <i>Vereadores.</i>
J. F. d'Oliveira,	
A. Carlos Brandaõ	
Thos. J. de Freitas,	<i>Procurador.</i>
Maximiano da Roza,	} <i>Clerks.</i>
Pedro da Roza.	

Chinese Department.

Thos. J. de Freitas,	<i>Procurador.</i>
Joaõ R. Gonsalves,	<i>Interpreter.</i>
Florentino dos Remedios,	<i>Do.</i>
Jeronimo da Luz,	<i>Do.</i>
Joaquim Xavier,	<i>Do.</i>
B. Simoens,	<i>Clerk.</i>
Pio de Carvalho,	<i>Do.</i>

Justices of the Peace.

Joaõ Lourenço de Almeida,	
Antonio Jozé da Rocha,	
Antonio Rangel,	<i>Clerk.</i>

Treasury.

F. J. Marques,	<i>Treasurer.</i>
Miguel de Souza,	} <i>Clerks.</i>
Francisco da Costa,	

Revenue Department.

Miguel P. Simoens,	<i>Fiscal.</i>
F. J. Marques,	<i>Treasurer.</i>
J. Victorino da Silva,	<i>Accountant.</i>
Jozé Joaquim de Azevedo,	<i>Do.</i>
Ludvino Simoens,	<i>Do.</i>
I. Simoens,	<i>Do.</i>

Assessors.

Dr. J. D. C. dos Santos,	
J. F. d'Oliveira,	
Guilherme Francisco Bramaton	
Joaõ Victorino da Silva	
Angelo A. da Silva,	<i>Clerk</i>

HIGH CHINESE OFFICERS AT CANTON.

H. E. Sü Kwángtsin,	徐廣	縉	<i>Governor-general of Liáng Kwáng.</i>
H. E. Yeh Mingchin,	葉名	琛	<i>Governor of Kwángtung province.</i>
Muhtigán,	穆特	恩	<i>General of the Manchu troops.</i>
Tsiuening,	全慶		<i>Literary Chancellor.</i>
Pihkwei,	栢貴		<i>Treasurer, or púching sz'.</i>
Liáng Singyuen,	栢星	源	<i>Judge, or ngánchák sz'.</i>
Hwan Kwángshin,	煥光	宸	<i>Commissioner of gabel and grain.</i>
Wurántai,	烏蘭	泰	<i>Lieut.-general of the Manchu troops.</i>
Tobgantongeh,	托恩	東	<i>Lieut.-general of the Chinese troops.</i>
Hwáitáhpá,	懷塔	布	<i>Col. in command of Gov.-gen.'s brigade.</i>
Tsiáhán,	濟山		<i>Col. commanding Governor's brigade.</i>
Hung Minghiáng,	洪名	香	<i>Admiral at the Bogue.</i>
Mingshen,	明善		<i>Collector of Customs or Hoppo.</i>
Yih Táng,	易棠		<i>Prefect of Canton or Kwángchau fú.</i>
Kingyen,	慶寅		<i>Col. of the prefecture.</i>
Fung Yuen,	馮沅		<i>District magistrate of Nánhái.</i>
Chin Ichí,	陳宜	之	<i>Deputy District magistrate.</i>
Yú Yánglin,	涂陽	麟	<i>Assist. deputy do.</i>
Cháng Hú,	張護		<i>Magistrate of 'Ngáuhau sz' at Fatshán</i>
Sháu Ngántsang,	邵安	曾	<i>" of Shin-ngún sz' near Flút.</i>
Fán Weikioh,	范維	廷	<i>" of Kwángph sz' near Saichú.</i>
Tsau Mienting,	鄒冕	照	<i>" of Huangting sz' near Fatshán.</i>
Fung Wancháu,	馮文		<i>" of Kamí sz' ; the extreme west.</i>
Shauki,	壽祺		<i>District magistrate of Pwányú</i>
Chau Tingchih,	周廷	勢	<i>Deputy district magistrate</i>
Wú Páuching,	吳保	楨	<i>Assist. deputy do.</i>
Tsiángnien,	祥年		<i>Magistrate of Káutáng sz', near 2d Bar</i>
Chin Yuhshin,	陳玉	森	<i>" of Luhpo sz', near E. of city</i>
Hü Wanshin,	許文	琛	<i>" of Sháwán sz', on the east</i>

Shin Hwanchang,

Sun Yuehlieh,

沈運昌
孫日烈Mag. of Mótakli sz' on the northeast.
Superintendent of boats, or hopo sho.

DIPLOMATIC ESTABLISHMENTS IN CHINA.

H. B. M. SUPERINTENDENT OF TRADE AND CONSULAR ESTABLISHMENTS.

At Hongkong.

His Excellency SAMUEL G. BONHAM,	{	H. B. M. Plenipotentiary and Chief
Hon. A. R. JURNSTON,		Superintendent of Trade.
Rev. Charles Gutzlaff, <i>absent</i>		Secretary and Registrar.
T. F. Wade,		Chinese Secretary.
Mr. William Connor, (<i>absent</i>)		Assistant do.
Mr. Frederick E. Harvey		First Assistant.
Mr. W. Woodgate		Acting First Assistant.
Mr. Joaõ Hyndman		Acting Second Do.
Mr. G. S. Morrison		3d Clerk.
		4th Clerk.

At Canton.

JOHN BOWRING, LL. D.	Consul.
Adam W. Elmslie, Esq.	Vice Consul.
Thomas T. Meadows, Esq.	Interpreter.
Mr. J. T. Walker,	Senior Assistant.
Mr. E. F. Giles,	(<i>absent</i>)
Mr. Horace Oakley,	Junior Assistant.
Alexander Bird,	Consular Agent, Whampoa.

At Amoy.

TEMPLE H. LAYTON, Esq.	Consul.
John Backhouse, Esq.	Vice Consul.
Martin C. Morrison, Esq.	Interpreter.
Mr. Frederick L. Hertalet,	First Assistant.
Charles A. Winchester, M. D.	Second Do. & medical attendant.
Mr. W. H. Pedder.	Clerk.

At Fuhchau.

R. B. JACKSON, Esq.	Consul.
William R. Gingell, Esq.	Interpreter.

At Ningpo.

G. G. SULLIVAN, Esq.	Consul.
C. A. Sinclair, Esq.	Interpreter.
Mr. Patrick Hague,	Senior Assistant.

At Shànghái.

RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, Esq.	Consul.
D. B. Robertson, Esq.	Vice Consul.
Walter H. Medhurst, jr.	Interpreter.
Mr. F. H. Hale,	Senior Assistant, (<i>absent</i> .)
Mr. Frank Parish,	Acting senior assistant.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

His Excellency JOHN W. DAVIS,
Rev. Peter Parker, M. D.

Commissioner of the U. S. A. to China.
{ *Secretary of Legation, and Chinese*
 Interpreter.

R. B. Forbes, Esq.
F. T. Bush, Esq.
Charles W. Bradley, LL. D.
John N. A. Griswold, Esq.
R. P. De Silver, Esq.

Vice Consul at Canton.
Consul at Hongkong.
Consul at Amoy.
Consul at Shánghái.
Consul and Naval Storekeeper, Macao.

FRENCH LEGATION.

ALEXANDRE FORTH-ROUEN,
Leon Pages,
Jules Zanolle,
Henry Du Cheane,
Jozé M. Marques,

Envoyé de France en Chine.
Secrétaire.
Chancelier.
Elève Consul.
Interpreter.

H. G. I. Reynvaan, Esq.
G. E. Haskell, Esq.
Robert Jackson, Esq.
M. de Montigny,
M. de Kletzkowski,

Vice Consul at Canton.
Agent Consulaire at Hongkong.
Agent Consulaire at Amoy.
{ *Consul at Shánghái, and Acting Con-*
 sul for Ningpo.
Interpreter at Shánghái.

SPANISH LEGATION.

DON SINIBALDO DE MAS,
Don Juan Bantista de Sandoval,
Don Juan A. Lopez de Ceballos,
Don Jozé de Aguilar,
Don Juan Locaroz,

{ *Envoy Extraordinary and Minister*
 Plenipotentiary.
Secretary of Legation.
Diplomatic attaché. (absent)
} *Attachés & students.*

James Tait, Esq.
Sr. Jozé Vicente Jorge,

Vice Consul at Amoy.
Spanish Consul at Macao.

Robert Browne, Esq.
Richard Carlowitz, Esq.
William Pustau, Esq.

Consul for Netherlands.
Consul for Prussia and Saxony.
Consul for Austria.

W. W. Parkin, Esq.
Clement D. Nye, Esq.

Consul for Peru at Canton.
Vice Consul for Chili.

John Burd,
Joseph Jardine, Esq.
Alexander Calder, Esq.

Danish Consul, Hongkong.
Acting Danish Consul, Canton.
Acting Danish Consul, Shánghái.

John Dent, Esq.
T. C. Beale, Esq.

Portuguese Consul at Canton.
Portuguese Consul at Shánghái.

Sr. A. A. de Mello,
Camillo Lelis de Souza,

Brazilian Consul.
Vice Consul for Brazil at Macao.

ART. II. *Letter from B. J. Bettelheim, M. D., giving an account of his residence and missionary labors in Lewchew during the last three years.*

[We have only a few words to add in explanation of this letter from Doctor Bettelheim, for we think it will best speak for itself. In Vol. XVI, page 55, a reference is made to him, since which time we have received nothing from him that we felt at liberty to publish, though we have had the pleasure of reading the journals sent by him to his Society in London. The wish to learn something authentic from the Doctor himself, led us to address him a note to this effect in February last by the Preble, which visited Napa on her way to Nagasaki, as stated on page 351 of the last volume, and he has promptly met the request. In printing it, we have made a few verbal alterations, which we are sure the author would willingly accede to were he here to be inquired of. We commend the Letter to our readers, and shall be most happy to forward anything which may be sent to us for the writer. The letter is addressed to Rev. P. Parker, M.D. and dated Napa, Sept. 1849.—*Ed. Ch. Rep.*]

MY DEAR SIR :

THOUGH I address this letter to you as one of the chief authorities, on whose suggestion, approval, and promised countenance, our Committee as well as myself entered upon this mission, still what I say to you I say to all our missionary brethren in China, even those whose acquaintance I was unable to make during my short stay there, persuaded that they are all anxiously looking upon this station as the first pioneering trial on *terra Japonica*—quite a *terra incognita*—and surrounded with difficulties not common to other enterprises of this nature.

I thought our Committee would endeavor to keep our friends in China as clearly informed on this mission as our home friends, whose assisting hand can not so soon reach us; but having understood from Mr. Williams' kind note, that some communication respecting our state here might be acceptable to you all, I now endeavor to trace back in my memory some of the leading events that may most interest you, beginning from our landing till this, the fourth year of our sojourn in Lewchew; praying it may please God so to guide my inexperienced pen, as to make this retrospect of our mission instrumental in rousing the interest, and enlisting the sympathy of all who read it.

There is one fact, or rather opinion, likely to be current in China concerning this country, which I conceive does our mission much prejudice, namely, that Lewchew being a Chinese dependency, it runs against the faith of our treaty to intrude upon this locality. Now I beg you to discountenance such a notion among the friends of the mission, for I have strong reason to consider this false rumor one of the grounds on which we are left unaided in our heavy struggles; otherwise, it cau

scarcely be accounted for, how it comes that such a well devised and almost romantic enterprise should fail to rally round itself a host of friends.

I must here premise, that as I foresee the summary of our doings and sufferings for three years and a half in a station like this, will swell to a size beyond a common letter, I must beg your patience and forgiveness ; the more so as I can give it no other time than at evening, so that the combined effects of my nearsightedness, a glimmering lamplight, and the indistinctness of a manifold-writer, will no doubt be discoverable on every page. I know also that my present state of mind is in no respect bright, perhaps not even right ; and it is quite natural this likewise will be traceable on these sheets. However, as I write to a missionary brother, and from no other than pure motives, I will not be discouraged, nor do I fear to fail in my object if I should sometimes happen to speak of my own griefs instead of giving you a report on the mission ; the spirit may be willing to keep close to the point, but the flesh is weak, and out of the abundance of the heart the mouth will speak, notwithstanding all the efforts of prudence to make a secret of our troubles. It is a mercy, when amid all our hardships, certainly much beyond current missionary difficulties, we have grace given us not to murmur or repine ; a Divine favor for which I feel doubly thankful, as mental dissatisfaction and a wayward heart would add poignancy to every ingredient in the bitter cup we have here daily presented to our lips. But "not to murmur" does not mean to impose a hypocritical dumbness on one's feelings. Besides, I know not whether the complaints of a missionary are not as much a part of his report, as the details of his encouragements. Shadows belong to a picture as essentially as the bright dashes of the pencil ; and evening and morning made the first, and still continue to make every, day.

Having thus prepared you for the "weep and smile rhetoric," in which I beg you to allow me to tell you my tale, I shall begin with our *Landing in Lewchew*, which was effected on the 2d of May, 1846. We had come to anchor the day before. I am thankful to record, I was then, as I had been during the voyage from Hongkong, much in prayer ; I had taken with me this preparation of mind from under the roofs of my dear brethren in Canton. The fortnight I spent in your house just before my departure, the edification I received from converse with Drs. Bridgman, Devan, and Ball, the praying duo in which we took leave of each other : do you not remember it ? The devotional evening spent at the Stantons, just before our embarkation kept my heart in holy tune, all along our twenty days' passage, and raised me above the trials

awaiting me. I think I can not better describe my state of feeling, than by quoting a few sentences from my journal of April 30th :—

“The aspect of the great Lewchew is truly picturesque; hills crowned with trees, fine verdant slopes running down to the sea, and all on which the eye can rest, like the garden of the Lord. May soon the Rose of Sharon glow here in its original hue!”—“ I just hear the report, ‘The town is in sight!’ How my heart beats! Is it zeal for God’s glory that agitates my whole frame? Lord, forbid that any other emotions than those of a devoted servant of the Cross occupy my heart. Oh, that the Lewchewans may know the day of their visitation! How many anxieties would my poor mind be spared, were they thoroughly to understand my friendly mission to them. Oh, Lord Jesus! it is now time for thee to work; thy church has found out this distant spot in thy creation, where to plant a new abode for thy truth. Prayer, and gold, and silver, have been offered upon thine altar for this cause; thy humble slave has devoted himself, and wife and children to this difficult task. Thy grace and favor have brought us to the threshold of our hermitage; wilt thou bring to the birth, and not cause to bring forth? Oh Lord, disappoint not thy praying, wishing, longing servant; let us be received; let thy word find a place; let thy truth be valued; give us prudence and wisdom to know in what way best to gain the confidence of thy sheep in Lewchew. May they hear thy voice, and follow thee, for thy own dear name’s sake. Amen!”

From these extracts, you will easily see that I feared the worst, but I had One to look to able to uphold me. Though I might be defeated, I had prepared for retreat—a retreat into the stronghold of every believer, before I ventured on the war; and it was this which gave the Cross the victory. My anxieties were many, my supports were also many; and the guiding Star of Bethlehem sparkled brighter amid the thick gloom covering every step before me. In the instructions I had received in London, was an entry to the end that if refused reception at Lewchew, I should settle down in Fuhchau, and there try to work my way over; a plain proof that our Committee itself had strong doubts as to the practicability of an immediate opening of the mission on its own ground; and it was but natural I should share in its misgivings.

However, one day more proved the Lord to be mighty and strong to the pulling down of every imagination that seemingly obstructs his way. We had scarcely anchored when the Rev. Mr. Forcade came on board. Conceive my joy and exultation, not only to meet a European, but to have a palpable proof that they may and do reside in Lewchew; this was all I wanted. I had English feeling enough not to allow that

to be refused to the union-jack, which was granted to the tri-colored cockade; and let me tell you, by the bye, the union-jack, at this time, was to me tantamount to the flag of Protestantism; I trust in God, we shall not have to strike it, while the rosary and distaff of the scarlet lady remain hoisted. Mr. Forcade had so many things to tell me, and I was so totally ears, that I forgot I had a mouth, and only found it again when I gave him a promise of a loan, which I made as gladly as he frankly applied for it, he having been at that time two years and upwards without remittances from Macao. I should not have mentioned this at all, were it not to prove once more that even a cup of water offered in the name of a disciple does in no wise lose its reward. Under God, I think this incident, so insignificant and small, did great things towards our settlement in Lewchew. For the very morning after I had gained the goodwill of Mr. F., the Sabine, a French frigate moored in Napa roads; and I make no doubt, it was the Bishop's kind mention of me, that procured us the most unqualified benevolence from the captain and officers of that ship, as well as of the whole French squadron that soon after arrived under Admiral Cecille.

But I must not run ahead of my story, and will therefore take you back again on board the Starling, where we were soon beset with crowds of capped and uncapped natives, all wondering, and perhaps somewhat more than wondering, at the idea of my becoming a settler in Lewchew. The preceding day we had notified our intentions to the first messenger who brought as usual (as we now know to be usual) the long card from the governor of Napa, but which I took for nothing less than a card from the king, so immensely large and long was it; yea, the very messenger, say what he might, would not pass off with me for any less personage than the King. So much for my implicitly believing Capt. Basil Hall's narrative, and the notions of a fairy land his book is calculated to form in the mind of every unsuspecting reader. Lewchew was to me a realization of the magic stage on which old Arabian or Hindoo tales are said to have been acted. The testimony of senses, I thought must be cautiously listened to; everything must be better than it appears to be, and I scolded my prosaical taste, for not being able to divest myself of the ideas current in the old world, and to penetrate the mystical veil, which I imagined does and must cover all things around me. So dangerous is it to poetize a country without expressly writing on the frontispiece of the work, "a Novel or Romance;" for it then takes a plain reader like myself, who happens to be transported into such an illusory paradise, much time before he can conscientiously believe his own eyes and ears.

You know I had the misfortune to lose my Latin-Chinese interpreter the day before my embarkation, and that it was mere Providence that brought us a man just as we set foot on board the *Starling*; his knowledge of English was in perfect keeping with mine of Chinese, and by the time of our arrival here, we could converse with each other but very little. He was a Cantonese, and more merchant than man of letters, and I believe, did himself scarcely understand half of what was told him, since all who speak Chinese here, use the mandarin dialect; and thus it happened, and fortunately too, that I could never persuade myself the natives meant in earnest what they said; and whenever my interpreter reported to me their utter unwillingness to receive, or even let us land, I seemed persuaded he had not understood them, and smiled with the full assurance of one whom Capt. Hall had taught better things of Lewchew; just like a practical miner who sees gold in the depths, where others tread indifferently on earthy impurities and sedimentary waters. No doubt it was providentially permitted I should be kept in such a romantic state of mind, while surrounded as I now understand by towering difficulties. Had I then seen matters even partly as I now do, I know not what would have become of our mission. As it was, nothing could shake my intention of landing as soon as our boats could be lowered; but how to get them lowered, was the great problem. The Captain had some misgivings as to the faith and steadiness of his men, and one way or other delays were made when I thought promptitude the best course to be pursued.

At this time I also learned the surprising news of the positive determination of our intended infant school missionary not to land—a stroke which blasted many a darling hope I cherished, and at the same time gave me much concern for her, as the *Starling* was not to return to Hongkong for the next eight months. But neither did this divert me from the way of duty I saw so clear before me according to my then views. I now saw that nothing short of a coup-de-main would turn the balance in my favor; unable to get the ship's boats to land my things, which were already prepared on deck, I begged the officer on guard to let as many of them as possible be speedily lowered into the two native boats alongside the vessel; while I endeavored to keep their owners as merry as I could in the cabin below. This was agreed to, and most luckily effected before the company showed any signs of impatience; a drop of liquor is always welcome to a Lewchewan, and he will sit with you as long as you fill his glass. But now a good part of my cargo being transhipped, I on my part became impatient; the mystery was revealed, and the company hastened pellmell down to their boats,

and shoved off at full speed as if to prevent their unexpected good luck further increasing. This was just as I desired. I had not the slightest fear of any damage being done to my goods, and could not repress an encouraging feeling crossing my bosom on beholding the natives doing something towards the reception of their missionary, although I at the same time knew they did it involuntarily.

At this stage of affairs, the captain could not of course refuse a boat to let me look after my baggage, and in this boat likewise some boxes were taken on shore. That we had the native boats to guide us was the most fortunate feature of the whole affair. For had I landed without them, I should certainly have carried all my cargo to M. Forcade's dwelling, taking advantage of his kind permission given me the preceding day. Such a step, I afterwards plainly saw, would have been the worst we could have taken; for once housed, however huddled together (Mr. Forcade had then only a single room and a cabin), the officials would have gladly seen both parties as uncomfortable as possible, and never have made the slightest effort to accommodate us, or suppose they were indeed capable of a shadow of hospitality. We should have been obliged to accept thankfully, the meanest hovel they might have felt disposed to pick out for us.

As it was, we rowed in quite another direction, following the natives to Napa,—(Mr. F. lived in a village called T'umai), and arrived with them at a spot called Tundo, just at the entrance of the junk-harbor, where as we now know, it was impossible for them to let us stop. Thus the onus fell on them, to try by all means to get us to go to another place; so that we could, as we really did, stand out for a good residence, by mere passive continuance where we were.* Some slight resistance was made to landing our goods, part of them were actually plunged into the sea during the pushing to and fro, but as it did not amount to more than a faint attempt, I found it best to leave it entirely to the heroism of the second mate, while I went twice more to and from the ship, till all things were landed. I then brought my family, and straightway proceeded with them to the temple. Arrived there, we were immediately waited upon by a great number of officers. The table being served, the parley recommenced, it seemed to me never to end. At last the governor of Napa came, but as I did not know at all how to compliment either in the Chinese or another manner, I found it best to

* The temple at this spot, called *Lin-hi sz* 臨海寺 or Seaside monastery, besides serving for all visitors, allows a full view of all the shipping transactions of Læwchew.

continue unmoved in the stern oriental dignity, I soon perceived it was best to assume and keep up, till at least a concession as to residence was made us.

After much talk, and, as I observed, a special conference between the officials, the governor rose, and to my great surprise performed a regular *kotau* before me, a kind of last effort on their part to shake me in my purpose. After dragging his excellency up from the ground, I appealed to his own sense of honor, whether it was admissible that I should make myself a fool and return, after having come so far, without being able to tell those who sent me anything about a nation in whose welfare they were so much interested. The most prominent and repeated objection they made was that they would have no more of the *papatis* (a term which I interpreted to mean *papists*); I assured them very positively we were no *papatis*, and ended by producing a bottle of port, that their honors might wash down any further objection that might venture to rise; if I did not wholly succeed, it was probably, as I now know, because the gentle juice of the grape has much less affinity to Lewchewan judicial throats than the triple distillation. We had however so far come to a good understanding, that the talked-of immediate reëmbarkation was entirely dropped.

But this was not all; for on seeing the *tí-fáng kwán* making ready to retire, I expressed astonishment at his omitting to order my things to be removed from the beach, intimating at the same time that I held him responsible for any damage happening to them. As I write, I wonder whence, at that critical juncture of circumstances, I had the courage to act and speak as I did. "It shall be given you in that same hour:" with a grain less of boldness and perseverance, I feel persuaded even now, I should have lost my object. A mere hint of this local officer, just while withdrawing from the temple, was the fiat, which at once set every hand at work; and though we had a great number of boxes and packages, in less than a quarter of an hour, all were in the yard, though not all under cover. Might not all these hands, with the same haste have been made to turn against, as they eventually were turned for us? How much reason, therefore, had we for thankfulness and prayer, to praise God and take courage.

Next day I was waited upon by the *púching táfú* with a long letter, of which, at the time of delivery, I, of course, understood nothing beyond what my Chinese, with the dozen of broken English words he had caught at Canton, could tell me. But I think this and several other dispatches I have from the government of Lewchew, of importance, in order to silence the remarks of some who circulated in China

the report that we had introduced ourselves here as messengers from the English government. Sir Thomas Cochrane himself, when here, was capable of believing it on mere hearsay, without any further proof; and I think it but fair to show he was too credulous. I do not deny that suspicious Japanese officers may entertain such thoughts, and in fact, they can scarcely come to any other view in the matter, judging from their own slavish laws, which forbid any one to leave the country without their knowledge and consent. Yet it is not my fault, nor Sir Thomas' fault, that government here still retains the same suspicion after all he has said against it and us. He spoke of the king of Lewchew (to use the words of his own secretary), as an *independent sovereign*. Would any one style so, with all his sympathy for monarchical dignity, this headman of a few insignificant coral rocks, disputed too by Japan and China? On even him the Sovereign of England (as if the latter had acknowledged, or were, or desired to be, in treaty with this would-be miniature sovereign) would not put the disgrace of sending a person like me.

Sir Thomas, without giving me the slightest information of what this government had said, save that he sent his secretary to tell me what he (Sir T.) had said; without confronting me with them; yea, even without inviting me to a conference, which, as his secretary told me happened to turn exclusively upon our stay here, believed that I had thrown myself upon this island as an official ambassador, who, of course, in that case had done so without insisting upon the right of having an English admiral's broadside at his installation. Leaving myself out of the question, I wish that ambassadors could be introduced without the stunning credentials of a man-of-war. Far from considering this a disgrace, I should think it the greatest mark of honor paid to any nation, whose official agents were received on their mere word. But this aside. I need only refer, in the present case to my Chinese interpreter, now in his own country, and who of course knows all about our mysteries, for evidence; let him be examined, whether at any time we even hinted at our being official emissaries. Having been robbed of nearly all my cash, and publicly beaten at Lewchew, I thought it not only allowable, but even my duty, to threaten that I would bring the matter before the English government. This was English right, and beyond this I did not presume. But as our difficulties had not begun till after Sir Thomas left, there was no occasion on our part for English protection; so that this government could not at the time of the admiral's visit, produce any proof whatever, not even a distorted intimation or allusion on my part to the assumption of a

false position. I think this will be more effectually proved by giving you a copy of the earliest official communication from the authorities; for if there had been a shadow of truth in this report, it would almost of necessity find its support, at least by way of allusion or implication, in these documents, since we would, of course, give ourselves out for what we desired to be acknowledged immediately on landing, when we stood in greatest need of protection; and would certainly not have failed to avail ourselves at that trying time of so powerful a persuasion, if we had had the least design of using it.

The first document in this series is dated May 2d, the second day after our landing, when the Lewchewan authorities might naturally be supposed to have had the greatest respect for the newly arrived English ambassador, as they could not then have forgotten for what sort of a great man he had introduced himself the day before.

Communication from the Treasurer of Chungshán fū.

該 嘆
 醫 上 岸 則 船 往 別 去 等 語 隨 念
 伯 德 令 携 帶 妻 子 在 洋 日 久 當 有 心 憂
 身 苦 乃 辭 其 所 請 使 不 上 岸 是 心 之 所
 不 忍 也 但 查 國 家 法 度 素 無 他 國 人 員
 上 岸 淹 留 之 例 由 是 再 三 再 四 固 行 請
 辭 向 不 肯 允 諾 遂 帶 妻 子 上 岸 要 為 淹
 留 理 合 詳 明 等 由 據 此 茲 查 他 國 人 員
 上 岸 棲 身 素 係 國 家 嚴 禁 况 又 敵 國 叢
 爾 蛋 疆 土 瘦 地 薄 物 產 無 幾 不 可 稱 國
 若 使 他 國 人 淹 留 甚 有 不 便 但 至 前 年
 偶 有 佛 朗 西 船 隻 到 國 乃 蒙 其

總兵啟稱數月之後必有
 大總兵船隻到來要留執事一人通事一人以便通達
 該事務等因隨即披陳前由固行請辭奈
 事總兵不肯聽從遂留兩人開船回去本職無如之何
 迄今任其淹留伏念敝國自該兩人留國以來自
 官吏下至民庶因其日夜辦事未由各修職業以至
 苦窮之地更至今年饑饉頻仍舉國人民無物可食
 皆用蘇鐵以充日食聊得活命誠恐日後饑饉益逼
 以入饑餓輾轉之境本職務要待佛國
 大總兵臨國之時披陳實情再三哀請使其率該兩人
 一同歸國若復
 貴客淹留敝國則官民苦益添苦而國亦不能自立也
 必矣伏乞洞察小邦苦疲之可傷俯垂大邦恤小之
 仁慈停止留國之舉待有風日爽晴仍坐原船駕回
 貴國不勝仰望之至矣切稟
 道光二十六年四月初七日琉球國中山府布政大夫向永保

"A duly prepared petition.* Hiáng Yungpáu, the treasurer of the department of Chungshán in the kingdom of Lewchew, hereby earnestly begs you not to stop in these quarters in order to tranquilize

* Other documents go to show that the authorities here petition almost every foreigner, and call every captain of a ship *Tá-jin*, or His Excellency.

this little region. The report of Ching Liáng-peh, the local magistrate of Napa, states as follows: 'that the English physician Bettelheim, told me with his own mouth, "if your honorable country will let me come ashore, the ship will immediately leave, &c." Having reflected that the said Bettelheim had brought with him wife and children, and that having been a long time at sea they must be suffering both in body and mind, my heart could hardly bear to refuse him to land as he requested. But an examination of our laws and regulations shows that there is none for permitting persons or officers from another country to land with the intention of remaining. I repeatedly and decidedly begged to decline his request, but he would not hear to it, and brought his wife and children ashore with the intention of stopping. As is right, I clearly inform you of these things.'

"On receiving this, I again examined, and ascertained that our government has hitherto strictly forbidden foreigners of all ranks to come ashore to live. How much more, too, since this country has such insignificant limits, the ground everywhere so impoverished and poor, and the productions so inconsiderable; it can scarcely be called a country. If foreigners dwell here, truly it will not be convenient. But year before last a French ship came in, whose captain stated, 'that after a few months, a ship of a high commander would arrive, and that in the meantime, he wished to leave an agent and an interpreter with him to explain affairs better.' As soon as I heard this, I explained the matter, and firmly refused his request; but the captain would not listen to me, and sailed away leaving behind the two individuals. I, the treasurer, could do no other way, and here they have been left to stop till this time. Now in the opinion of this government, since these two men came till now, both officers and people, seeing that they constantly attended to their own matters, have each confined to their own business and station. But in this miserable region, the present year has been one of extraordinary dearth, so that the whole population has been greatly straitened, and obliged to feed upon wild pine-apples to keep alive; truly, I fear that before long, the scarcity will become alarming, and we shall be upon the borders of starvation. I am now anxiously awaiting the arrival of the high French commander, when I shall state the circumstances of the case, and again earnestly beg him to take these two men home with him.

"But, Sir, if you now persist in stopping here, the distress of rulers and people will become more aggravated, and the country surely will never be able to stand it. I humbly beg you to have some consideration for this distressed, worn-out country; look down on us with mag-

nanimity, be humane and compassionate. Give up the design of stopping in this land; wait till wind and weather be favorable, then embark in the same ship, and sail back to your country. This is what I anxiously hope and look for you to do.

“An urgent petition. Táukwáng, 26th year, 4th month, 7th day (May 2d, 1846). Hiáng Yungpáu, treasurer of Chungshan fú in Lewchew.”

With this request of course we could not comply, and contented ourselves by returning a good present instead of an answer. An American clock, one of those so elegantly and showily made, and yet so cheaply sold at Hongkong, was the greatest attraction among the whole, for at the time of our arrival we mustered a good stock of fancy things, with which our home friends—Bath and Ireland in particular—had so kindly furnished us. I added a good number of bottles containing Price's aromatic spirits and oils, of which we soon perceived the grandees were extremely fond, and also a delicately wrought small silk purse, with some of the smaller English coins in it, given me by Miss Bacon, sister-in-law to Consul Alcock; to which I added every description of gold, silver, and copper coin found in my collection.

This present, partly intended for the king, and partly for the treasurer, I insisted on personally accompanying to the office, thinking it possible to get at least into the neighborhood of the independent sovereign of Lewchew; but after having been led a long and wearisome way, I succeeded only in being brought to what I now know to be the *kung kwán*, or public hall at Tumai. I was not even privileged to see the treasurer, but only his delegate, he himself having been excused on grave business. Indeed, I could easily believe, poor things, they had extraordinary affairs to attend to; for by this time, the French frigate had already sent out several engineering parties to various localities, which could not but cause the Lewchewans greatly to wonder, and perhaps to be alarmed. Far as I was from wishing this nation any harm, or even an apprehension of harm, I could not but feel grateful for the providential succor, we, without seeking or appealing for, derived from the presence of this man-of-war. Considering its simultaneous arrival with us, it looked somewhat as if intentionally come for our protection, and also served as a counter-irritant, engaging the brains of government, and no doubt also of their spies, on another side; and it thus unwittingly effected a diversion most favorable for us.

Often have I had to acknowledge, and will always thankfully acknowledge, the uniform friendship and kind attentions we received from the Sabine, and later from the Victorieuse, and in general from

all French ships that have visited this. The remembrance of their many benefits to us, and the countenance given us just at a time when most needed, is to us no small ground of hope and evidence that the Lord's special care is on this mission. Strangers have taken us up; since we have been here, it has pleased the Ruler of all nations to bring us help from far; Frenchmen and Americans have visited this place comparatively more frequently, and consequently assisted us more than our own countrymen; a plain proof that missionaries are not forsaken, though thrown into the most forgotten corner of the world. Such providence^s happening without human concert, go far to show that the Lord reigneth; and as far as this mission is concerned in them, they also manifest that God is for us, and to him we cheerfully leave the further development of his holy and acceptable will.

If we are enabled to think so at present, after years of wasted toil, how much more were our hopes likely to be strengthened by such evident tokens of Divine favor, when yet in all their freshness, and quite unchecked by any disappointment; day after day we received new proofs of mercy watching over us. No sooner had the Starling trimmed her sails for leaving, than I was invited to go and look at a house intended for our residence. I cheerfully went, but finding it damp, dark, low, and small, if for no other reasons, I refused; and marked my utter aversion to any similar house, by not even stopping in it, whatever my tired conductor might urge to the contrary. This decision on my part had a good effect. The next day, I was shown the temple we now inhabit, a spacious wooden building, pleasantly situated, though rotten from age. I immediately consented, even on condition of the chief bonze continuing to reside in the house as the guardian of the idols, which were to be screened off by a sliding partition, in the place they formerly occupied. To have a priest to preach to even in my house, I considered rather an excellent missionary opportunity. In short, we were soon settled in our new residence; one of its rooms was a long back pantry, which struck me at once as an eligible location for opening a hospital, a plan, which at that time, I imagined would be most agreeable to the authorities.

We were so happy in our minds, and our missionary hopes so vivid, that far from thinking it any restraint to have five natives quartered upon us in one part of the house, under the name of *todzies* 通事 or interpreters, we looked upon it as the best arrangement possible to get into contact with the nation, and likewise desirable for a speedy progress in the language of the land. We had more objection to a lodge, or hut, placed in a recess within and near the entrance, and

another facing the door, and a third in the lane leading up to the house. They were called *shchibang*, or guard-stations, each containing five men taken from the class of the literati. We were told these were necessary to protect us and our property against malevolent attacks from bad men, with whom the country abounded. True or false, I saw no reason for not letting them have their own way in what did not concern me personally; and at any rate I saw in these measures facilities for my missionary labor—a consideration which outweighed every other. After a few days' residence, the only alteration I saw it would be necessary to make was relating to the idols enshrined in the back part of our bed-room; for besides their drawing a swarm of rats to sport among the sacrifices offered to them, they exposed us to daily witnessing the abomination of the bonze worshipping them, and many boys providing them with fresh flowers. In this alteration, however, though laboring hard, we succeeded only partially. On making a direct application to have the gods removed, I received the following official answer:—

Reply of the Treasurer in relation to moving from the temple.

道	近	貴							貴					
府	光	禧	遷	日	客	甚	隨	方	神	後	要	棲	客	昨
布	二	不	茲	另	久	為	查	許	一	據	將	身	手	接
政	十	宣	修	擇	為	緊	該	依	案	護	此	安	札	
大	六		寸	其	居	要	寺	舊	敞	國	院	樂	往	
夫	年		啟	所	住	若	實	奉	僧	寺	之	不	觀	
向	四		順	而	則	使	係	安	等	住	神	要	護	
永	月		候	後	有		國	本	既	持	另	說	國	
保	十			告	不		家	寺	因	僧	居	遷	寺	
謹	三			之	便		禱	等	具	等	外	去	甚	
啟	日			更	乞		告	由	由	口	出	別	是	
	中			賜	待		之	前	稟	稱	等	所	妥	
	山			轉	他		處	來	請	遷	因	且	當	

"I yesterday received your letter. You went to see the *Hü-kuoh* (Country-protecting) monastery, and found it in all respects commodious and suitable for a residence. You do not speak now of removing to another lodging, but you request us to remove the gods of the temple and place them outside of it.* But the abbot of this monastery has told me, in relation to removing these gods, that on his previous humble application you permitted them to remain as heretofore. Now this temple is the place of prayer for the whole country, and consequently of the utmost importance. In case you should remain long in it, there would be much inconvenience. I beg you to wait till another day, when I will choose a place, and let you know, that you can move. I send this short note, respectfully hoping you are happy; this is all I have to say. Hiáng Yung-páu, treasurer of Chungshán fú. May 8th, 1846. An important communication."

I accordingly deemed it best to drop the matter, and confine myself to the adoption of means by which the idolatry, of which I could not bear to remain a witness, would be effectually stopped. First, I declared that the exhalations of fresh flowers at night were noxious, and most so in a bed-room; and the idols had of course to do without them. But the bonze, though he had of his own accord, found himself a lodging out of the house, still regularly visited the gods, till an event happened, which, by its immediate consequences, appeared to have lessened his attachment for his temple. One night, something moved so fiercely up and down the paper partition that separated the gods from the rest of the bed-room, and which was close to the head of our bed, that we were greatly alarmed, not doubting it to be a serpent, of which we were told some lodged themselves in the lofts of houses. As soon as the day broke, we had the partition opened, and all our *todzies* armed with sticks, made a strict examination, but in vain.

On the bonze being called and informed of the event, he wished for a tablet to be brought from the temple, to write a charm on, which would be sure to frighten away the serpent. But I maintained I would never become a party to any such thing, and as I came there to teach the nation that all their idols and charms are follies, I could by no means permit them to suppose I had any trust in similar nonsense. The bonze still insisted, and a large red table having golden letters, was taken out for him, on the back of which the cabalistic scrap was

* There is a small shrine in front of our residence.

to be stuck. This piece of furniture is the *gwansu*, or ancestral tablet, which though of Confucian origin, is held in high honor amongst the Budhists, and in their temples the names of the deceased abbots are enshrined and worshiped. The bonze having had his way, I insisted now on having mine; for had I allowed this table to be put back in its place, and everything been quiet afterwards (as has been the case), he would have triumphed, and the people been confirmed in their absurd superstitions, and even led to suppose that Christians also derived benefit from Budhistic witchcraft. On this ground, I peremptorily refused reädmission to the tablet, and am almost persuaded it broke at least the regularity of the daily visits of the bonze to the temple.

Sometime after I threw out hints as to the inconsistency of a bonze coming so often to the temple, one would think, merely to look it my wife, a treat which he could not get anywhere else in the country; and I pleaded that since I was not permitted to see any of the wives of the respectable natives, no more should I be compelled to let my wife be courted but by those whom I would permit. Now I thought the bonze had less right than even other people to such a gratification. This was a very strong argument for these Confucian polygamists, who like Mohammedan hareem lords are ridiculously jealous; and to this objection, together with the absense of the representative of the dead, one if not the chief of their idols, I ascribe the gradual diminution and final suspension of idolatrous rites in our house. This done, we soon took away the partition, which infact made the whole secluded part only a haunt for vermin. By and by we shut up the cages of the different idols, but not without strong remonstrances to the contrary, as they conceive the inherent godhead dies without a good supply of light. Oh, how great is that darkness, that has need of daylight to keep its gods alive! They *love* darkness more than the light, for they know and admit that they are in the dark, but are fools enough to think any spiritual light coming directly upon them would do them no good, unless it was first reflected from the smeared faces of their saucy idols.

This then is the plain history of the cessation of idolatry in the Protector-temple of the empire of the independent sovereign of Lew-chew; and nothing is wanted but help from Christians to enable us to keep this house for ever a house of the living God, in whom there is no darkness at all, and to whose worship it has been consecrated more than three years. It is painful even to think of the possibility of idol worship being reëstablished on such a spot. How many hun-

dreds are now at least practically prevented from idolatry, by the mere fact of our occupying this temple. Shall Budhism again rear its own ruins? Shall we restore a fort given up by the enemy? Must not heathen Lewchew be convinced by this time, that the *Hú-kwoh sz'* had nothing to do with what it claimed respect and support for? The dozens of big, and scores of minor, idols in this establishment, now for years kept in utter darkness, a mode of treatment admitted by their own votaries to be deadly to their supposed divine life, must almost necessarily lead the nation to conclude that it was not they who protected the country, but that there is a great and living God, who being the Father of us all, giveth good gifts to his children, and with paternal tenderness, and forgiving, sparing love, maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good; and that it was He, who, while their idols warmed themselves in his sun, left not himself without a witness among their blinded votaries, and did them good, giving them rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find Him, through whose precious blood this wonderful love and forbearance were purchased. Is it possible that Christians, whose hearts revolt at papal idolatry in Europe, should not sympathize with the horrors a missionary is exposed to among Asiatic heathen? Is Lewchew too far for them? Is it outlawed in God's creation? "Thus shall ye deal with them; ye shall destroy their altars, and break down their images, and cut down their groves, and burn their graven images with fire." Is God now less a jealous God, less an enemy of idols, than he was of old? And now the enemy,—Budhistic priests and Confucian rulers,—has surrendered his gods, shall we be forced into the foolish generosity of restoring them? Shall we let Satan loose after chaining him a little?

Having written thus far, I was obliged to lay my retrospect aside for three months, in order to complete a grammar of this language I was preparing. The rough copy of a vocabulary, a labor carried on between two and three years, is also ready. I hope both of them will be useful and welcome to missionary brethren, whom we can not give up the hope it will finally please the Lord of missions to bring to our help. I scarcely know how or where to take up the thread of my tale, but as a communication we had to-day (Sept. 7th) from government allows us to indulge the cheering thought that Providence is about to secure us this year again our usual post: for as the Lewchewan junks brought us no letters this year from Fuhchau, we conclude they will take none from us, and I take it for a hint that I should go on in a narrative, undertaken with the view of reviving the interest of our brethren in

China in behalf of this mission. At any rate I cherish the hope that some missionary society will be willing to come to our assistance, for it appears our little Society has exhausted its strength in giving birth to this mission, and we are now left here like a forsaken orphan cast upon the wide world, without means of communication, without advice and direction, yea, without support. What a mercy not to be without God, without a Savior and Comforter in such circumstances. Let me, however, be clearly understood. Much as I desire that the missionary world should look into a case of unparalleled destitution and grant us its sympathies, nothing is farther from my mind than to base my appeal on such insignificant grounds. It is the mission, the cause of the Cross, yea, and the hopes of the Cross, which unless soon and effectually succored, must inevitably sink, that makes me feel my nothingness and come forward to plead for God and truth, and for those precious souls, those four immortal souls, in whom it has pleased God to kindle a spark of this heavenly life, and who should not be left without further Christian nurture.

In pursuing this narrative, I must waive the plan of particularization, on which I intended to go on; time has failed, and would again fail me for such a method. A brief summary, which after all I think may best please you, is as much as I can engage for.

Sir Thomas Cochrane's visit was over, but its consequences were not. All that had been gained by the firmness and perseverance of a French Admiral, was lost by the blunder of an English Admiral. Though we had not advanced much with government, and had only obtained the means for a little locomotion, as we could get horses, boats and carriers, wherewith we could easily outmanœuvre the native sloth of the spies, yet it was our all, and since Sir Thomas' visit it was lost. How could it be otherwise? Horses were ordered for officers belonging to his ship and refused; but nothing was said in the matter. Government grew bolder, and complained that too many officers went ashore, and the admiral found it wise to restrict them to a small number—six, I believe, were daily to be permitted the pleasure of a ramble. These are concessions of the very nature of Japanese restrictions on foreigners, and unless we desire to encourage them to continue in this oppressive course, we should never yield, or by no means quietly yield. I know there is Russia, Austria, Rome, and several other states in Europe, were we must submit to the trouble of passports, and curtailments of the exercise of our limbs. I know what China was, and still is in this respect towards the western barbarians. We submit to these and other restrictions laid on us because we *must*

submit ; but would we do so if a mere refusal of compliance was sufficient to settle the point ?

When on my first interview with Sir Thomas, moved with affection and deep compassion for the very trying situation my suffering wife was then in, I solicited his intercession with the powers that be, to permit us to hire a female servant—a point which since then the gallant captain of the last French ship here, the Bayonnaise, has warmly taken up, and would certainly have carried, had he been able to stay here longer than a few hours. The English Admiral, for all that Mrs. Bettelheim is a right born English lady—expressed astonishment at my request, saying, “That neither could our consul at Fuhchau get any female domestics.” But the question is, Is it right? No, it is certainly wrong, in Fuhchau as well as in Napa. We must bear it, perhaps, when we can not help it, or where remedy would involve too serious consequences ; but where we can rid ourselves of an evil with slight effort, it is wrong to endure it. One feels naturally called upon to advise, scold, and even give a slap to a boy whom he sees committing a wrong ; and it is quite likely his parents too will give you thanks for your trouble, though perhaps you would, from various considerations, abstain from correcting a grown up offender not under your immediate control. Now a strong nation stands towards a small one very much in the position of a mature man to a stripling ; and though no right principled man would approve of a giant constituting himself the master of a dwarf, on the simple argument that his limbs were longer, there will still be cases in which the common sense of justice seated in every human breast, will pronounce the use made of power over weakness right, and in its proper place.

Sir Thomas left here late in October, 1846 ; and early in November, I had a dispatch from government, a long, long delayed answer to an application made soon after our arrival. This rescript shut every door we hoped might be opened for general philanthropic usefulness.

“ Without spending time upon compliments, your letter can be answered. Herewith the reply is sent. With regard to the practice of physic. In this country, we have usually gone to China to learn the medical art, and to purchase medicines ; and we are now well skilled in healing and bestowing aid, so that we are afflicted neither with want of medicines, nor ignorance [of doctors]. Therefore there is no need of any one going to you to be examined and get medicine, or of studying medical books, and the art of compounding remedies.

“ With regard to studying and writing English. Though I have already ordered the *todzies* to make most strenuous exertions to learn

both to speak and write English, as our country is small and the people stupid, they can not be aroused sufficiently to receive instruction, and become qualified to conduct important matters.

“With regard to studying geography and astronomy. The captains of our vessels have usually gone to China to learn them; they are able to observe the state of the weather, are skilled in using the compass, and know the rules for sailing; they are also acquainted with all the channels between here and China and the neighboring islands, so that they are not exposed to accidents. There is therefore no need of their receiving instruction from you. It is consequently impossible to allow you to do the above things. I send this short note in reply, at the same time wishing you happiness and peace, and begging your attention to it. Sháng Tingchú, the superintendent of Chungshán fú, replies. Nov. 10th, 1846.”

中 山 府 總 理 大 臣 尙 廷 柱 覆	福	貴					大	貴	尊						
	安	寸	客	國	看	一	能	事	英	焉	客	無	中	札	套
	求	啟	無	及	察	案	精	織	國	又	胗	缺	華	可	語
	祈	謹	受	屬	天	查	受	盡	話	學	脉	誤	學	覆	未
	府	為	教	島	氣	做	教	心	寫	大	服	之	習	茲	叙
	總	回	者	諳	操	國	條	機	大	英	藥	憂	醫	回	
	理	覆	以	其	用	船	辦	習	國	國	學	故	術	覆	
	大	順	上	水	針	主	事	話	字	字	醫	向	買	者	
	臣	候	條	道	盤	人	務	寫	一	一	書		來	醫	
	尙		難	得	航	等	又	字	案	案	習		藥	生	
	廷		以	以	海	素	學	然	查	查	藥		材	一	
	柱		施	無	之	往	地	國	雖	雖	商		善	案	
	覆		行	恙	法	中	理	小	經	經	者		施	做	
		茲	故	往	華	志	人	飭	飭	並		療	國		
		具	向	還	學	天	愚	通	通	無		治	素		
				中	習	文	不			在		以	往		

* The phrase shí liào chí 施療治 probably intends to convey the idea

This was a stroke blasting all our prospects at once. It was the third dispatch we had received from government, and the first from the *tsung-li kwán* 總理官 the first dignitary in the country, higher than whom we now understood we could not go. For though our latter urgent and repeated petitions had all been addressed to the king himself, we had even after so long a delay, received no rescript, and we were thus obliged to look upon the short, measured, weighed, and sharply cutting note of the premier as the ultimatum of all our applications. The Lewchewans wanted neither physician nor apothecary, charity doctor nor master of languages, neither would they know aught of geography or astronomy. What was I then to do? The answer was plain, *to be their missionary*. "Because thou sayest, I am increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knoweth not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and blind, and naked, I counsel thee to buy of me the word of God, which is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two edged sword, and a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." I purposed to be their missionary and nothing more; the only occupation they did not officially deny me, and the only one indeed for which I had good reasons not to ask permission, knowing, too, I had permission, commission, and express order, from the highest Power to go to every nation and disciple them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

I had some weeks before this begun the public exercises of my missionary office with memorized sermons in the composition of which—strange to say—my *todzies*, one way or other had a good share. Some prayers from Morrison's Chinese translation of the English liturgy had by this time been rendered into the Lewchewan, and daily read over at family worship—and we will praise God for it,—being audibly followed by our servants, all native Lewchewans. This was encouragement enough to go on in our blessed work, and to know nothing among them save Jesus Christ and him crucified, every other way to a rational employment having been cut off.

Through divine grace I was thus permitted to have in this country about a year's active missionary exertion. True, the opposition increased with each month—nay, each single day—still the whole of that

that charity was given to the sick on the part of government or the native doctors, as a retort to my suggestion that the poor needed relief, and shows their hypocrisy. Recently, I took a box of ointment to a poor leprous woman, who was much in need of it, and who burst into tears as she saw it, exclaiming, "Oh, Sir! this will take much money." The native doctors know how to charge for their medicines, and there is not a charitable institution in the country of any description

period deserves to be called the golden age of the mission, compared with the days of dross, of iron mixed with miry clay, the hard toils met with disdain, that awaited us afterwards. Be it curiosity to hear what the foreign babbler had to say, and the strange gods he set forth; be it that a higher invisible power had decreed that Javan (Japan) and the isles afar off, which had not heard his fame, nor seen his glory, should now for a season hear the marvelous works of God; a fact it is, that crowds gathered, and were permitted to gather round me wherever I raised my humble pulpit upon a stone, in the corner of a street, in the market, in the roads or lanes, in Shui, or in Napa, no matter where I halted, there all the passers-by stopped, the inhabitants of the neighborhood opened their houses and slipped out, all of them, men, women and children; the stalls were idle, sellers and buyers forgot their trade, while apparently engaged in a higher business. I have seen coolies lay down their burdens and quietly listen; laborers lean their heads on the handle of their rural tools and rest in pensive attention; thoroughfares were obstructed, and roads and open places rendered impassible from the masses of people crowded in the space around me; none forbidding, none driving them away, much less preventing their assembling as has long since been, and up to this time is, our sad case.

At the same time I presented the king with ointments, and did multiply his perfumes; I sent message after message to one magistrate and another, to try if possible to come in personal contact with our mysterious rulers; and though I did not succeed in this, yet I succeeded in getting them to accept of the presents, however specious their complimentary refusals occasionally sounded. They even confessed themselves more than once to be in our debt, and were persuaded that we did not come to seek our own, seeing we had much and to spare. It was this feeling I desired to see established in them, and wished to spread it abroad among the nation, lest they should at any time be tempted to think we had a trading speculation in view. Besides, we know "a gift doth blind the eyes of the wise," and has certainly its commensurate weight even with a cunning Japanese magistrate, while I counted all things as stubble and chaff, provided I could purchase with my liberality a drop of spiritual freedom for a nation given over blindfolded to the caprices of a few rulers. The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, but here they tyrannize over them, and yet are called benefactors. Pride, fullness of bread, and abundance of idleness, as in Sodom, characterize the supine and haughty ruler; neither does he strengthen the hands of the poor and needy, though styling himself, and styled by an enslaved nation, the *father of all*.

To throw a spark of light into this thick darkness, is worth sacrificing comfort, health, wealth,—even life itself.

A year, as I said, all went on well, far beyond my humble, and sometimes even sanguine expectations. But, alas, it is now nearly two years since that year of bright hopes ended. I often linger on the cheerful recollections of the past, like a cheering dream, which though turned into nothing on awaking, yet one can not banish from the mind, and I fain hope to see it realized at some future day. I shall never forget a scene which drew out my deepest emotions; even now when I think of it, it calls forth my liveliest gratitude to the Giver of every joy, present and past. I stood on the bridge before the *Min-tun dam* 明論堂 proclaiming the love of God as revealed in the gospel of his dear Son, to two crowded shores, and felt as happy and triumphant as if, on Xerxes' bridge across the Bosphorus, I had seen Europe and Asia hang on my lips. Speaker and hearers were absorbed in the momentous subjects considered. Amid the gloomy aspect of my present unattended and unheeded labors, when traversing the localities formerly enlivened by cheerful multitudes, I ask myself with painful astonishment, Are these the places where the gospel aforesaid made such sensation, raised such hopes, and at least found ears to hear it, if it did not hearts? Why now no marks of life, no sign of interest? Is it all quite gone? Who has done this, who has so utterly wasted God's vineyard? There is no other answer: the enemy has done it, Confucianism has done it, Budhism has done it, Japanese treachery and tyranny have done it—all alike horned heads of this many-headed beast, Antichrist. Here we have not only to combat the natural aversion of the human heart to anything requiring faith, not only to soften the insolubility of inveterate prejudice, and meet the active opposition of false creeds and their champions; we have also to resist the underhand, vexatious, unrelenting encroachments of an idle government, glad to find employment for its procreants, and try to outmanœuvre its subtle, unseen machinations, characterized as they are by reckless falsehood towards us, and cruel oppression of the natives.

In this land, where the authorities are all in all, and the people nothing, it is matter of wonder and gratitude, that we have been able to prosecute missionary labor with the degree of liberty we had, even for one year; to nothing, humanly speaking, but the support we had in the almost regular arrival of men of war, and the deep, moral effect wrought on the whole nation, its rulers not excepted, by the protracted exercise of liberty, which the French would not suffer to be denied them by Japanese chicanery, can the shortlived freedom we enjoyed be account-

ed for. Perhaps the very different treatment we received from government may be further explained also by the circumstance that at the time of our arrival, we found a king in the land—at least we were told there was one. Though a mere cypher, yet the very name of *King*, a lofty conception, second only to divinity in Confucian states, exerts a secret magic, manifesting itself in various ways. It is quite likely that to spare the king any possibility of trouble, the ministers spared us many troubles, deeming it a high merit not only to keep the monarch at ease, but to keep him asleep; it appears to have been their anxious effort, perhaps it was a duty imposed from Yedo, to keep him out of the government altogether. Owing perhaps to this forced state of public deadness, rather than rest, which the ministry plumed themselves in maintaining while they had a king, we were comparatively left to ourselves—the surest means they well knew of keeping us at rest.

We did not want much more than access to the people; nay, we were satisfied with less, and contented ourselves as long as they were permitted to assemble, or rather were not driven from the spot when we addressed them on the welfare of their souls. However, this was too much to be granted by a Japanese cabinet. For none know better than despots how dangerous a weapon the tongue is; none know better than liars how great the power of truth is; and none the value of light more than they who shut it out, convinced that each ray must lay open to every eye, what they have so much reason to bury in darkness. It is not improbable, that the sudden demise of the king was a theatrical exit, contrived in order to make possible the changes an active foreign family had rendered necessary; though young, and never even said to be indisposed, he had to die at the shortest possible notice. No sooner was he dead, than all things around us at once assumed another aspect toward us; yea, on the very day which we supposed to be that of his burial, we were assaulted with stones and sticks in the open road, and thankful to come off with bruises and sores when we might justly have despaired of life.

Dishonored thus in the eye of the nation, it was to be expected that a change would be felt in all our movements. The charm attending the appellation *Englishmen*, already weakened by the overdone patriotism of an English Admiral, was now quite broken under Lewchewan sticks; and subjects of the two first nations of Europe—for during this scuffle, I was in company with the French missionaries, who had invited us to this unfortunate trip—were pelted off a highway open to every peasant, without any one taking thought of the matter. My remonstrances to government only produced an official denial of the

assault, in which it was fully assumed that that they could forbid us the public roads if they liked. Here the matter rested. By and by the *todzies*, who accompanied me abroad, and whom I was glad to see ex-officio compelled to constitute part of my audiences, a circumstance rather advantageous for inviting the passers-by to stop, and especially for attracting the populace, which is almost mechanically drawn into imitation of the *samorai* (the class of literati, to whom our official outriders and footmen belonged)—these *todzies*, instead of keeping near me as a watch, or as they used to call it, “a guard of honor,” began to decamp as soon as I stopped in a market or street, and from hiding-places, hinted, or beckoned, or threatened the people away. Mrs. B., who went with me to the Sabbath afternoon meetings, as long as regular congregations awaited us at certain favorite spots, once saw an old fellow on whom this eye and finger mechanism was all quite lost, dragged off by force.

Such means, certainly, would dampen the zeal even of a European market assembly. Still it was not all at once, that government thought it prudent to disperse our public meetings. It took a year of persevering opposition, now hidden, now open, to enable even a despotic cabal like that we had fallen under since the king's death, to bring about a total desertion of the places where I halted, and of the streets and lanes I passed through. First, there was a bustle, a running here and there, a rattling and clapping of shutting doors and windows, as if a devil incarnate had come in their way; green grocers deserted their stalls, laborers ceased their work, and crews left their boats; women dragged their children in-doors in such haste and fright, as to make them scream out when they saw me again afar off. Often the noise, confusion, and bewilderment, rose to such a pitch that I was not always free from fear myself, and almost dreaded to walk about. My complaints to government were unheeded; but in fact we then had, and even now have, no government. Slaves rule over us; the authorities are inaccessible. Who could say to whom my communications went? If a verbal or a written answer was returned, I could not say who was its author, whether the magistrate or his messenger, we having proofs that a dispatch had been opened and resealed in my very house.* In fact, the compradors whom government forces upon us are our masters, for without them we can not procure a morsel of bread, nor take our dispatches to government beyond our own threshold; while, too, they are at the head of the spy and police force at work against us.

* My communications were often returned on the ground that they contained the name of Jesus, or doctrines unknown in Confucianism.

About the same time our presents were refused acceptance, and several lots of them actually sent back, as if to seal our dismal doom at this critical juncture, by far the greater part of our available coin, six hundred dollars and upwards, were stolen from us, and all knowledge of the theft was not only clean denied, but the impossibility of such a case happening in a house watched within and without like ours, triumphantly dwelt upon in two long dispatches, ostensibly coming from the first magnate in the country. But perfectly cured as I now was of the deluding influences Capt. Hall's narrative had inflicted on my good natured disposition, I strongly insisted upon the removal of those whom I had palpable reason enough to consider in-door thieves, and perhaps official burglars. I was thereby freed from direct surveillance of my domestic doings, and the shame of having guards following my every step out of doors, but it did not better our position with the people. Several new guard-posts were erected in the lanes, which I was obliged to pass when leaving the temple; one of them was so situated that I could be descried as soon as I emerged from the bend of a wall that hides the door, so that I saw my unsought outriders, turn into every corner long before I could reach any lane. Of course on reaching it I found a complete wilderness, a grave-like silence, as if not a living being dwelt in any of the houses bordering the long streets. I was wonderfully sustained under these trials, trials almost maddening to my susceptible feelings, which had never before been outraged to such a degree. I had never before known a case where a man in his sound senses was made a kind of scarecrow, before whom his fellow-men flew off in all directions bewildered like terror stricken birds.

At the same time, I could easily conceive how much the people themselves were annoyed, and this increased my pain. I might for hours walk up and down a lane by myself, and I once tried for a whole week, besieging a row of shops from morning to night but in vain; not a door would open. Have you ever heard anything similar? Surely this people are grass, yea, chaff trod under by the heavy foot of pitiless barbarism; this land is the caldron, the people are the flesh, and the savage rulers devour them. The whole nation are slaves, worse than the negroes, bleeding and agonizing under the lash of a few taskmasters who know not, and will not learn to govern them kindly. What must be the enormities of the penal code that can secure such degrading obedience? For how can such a state of things be imagined, and above all realized, unless long continued, barbarous cruelties, though perhaps hiddenly perpetrated, bring the victims to bear, as the Lew-chewans bear, the spoiling of their goods, fasting, and incarceration in

their houses without daring, or perhaps (what is still worse) wishing to emerge from such low and brutish degradation. Much as there has been in the year 1848 to mourn in the atrocities committed in Christian Europe during the late riotous revolutions, they are virtue itself compared with the systematic massacre of the humanity, not to say the feelings of a whole nation. Despotism like that here gives no hope of improvement. It feeds greedily on destruction, and can not cease from devouring every rival existence, knowing it lives only by the death of others. It has one will, and none besides must have any will. In Lewchew it has triumphed, and Oh, what a dark triumph it is! The triumph of death over the grave of its slain, the shout of madness over dethroned reason, the echo of Satan's *Bravo!* when the world sank with a crash into the tomb of sin.

"What shall I do unto thee, Ephraim?"—what shall I do unto thee, Lewchew? Thus I asked myself with the prophet, when in the extreme of my perplexity. I well knew nothing but the gospel of the living God could remedy, or even reach such a case. But how should I begin to go to work? Faith cometh by hearing, but how shall they hear, when thus driven beyond the reach of the joyful sound? When my aggravated sins shall be remembered at the judgment-seat of Christ, then remember me, oh, my God! for good, and pass not by the days and nights I spent between the dead walls of these streets, stretching out my hands to this strange people, and lifting up my voice if possibly it might pierce through to the immured captives, and convince them that a Christian heart is not soon done out of sympathy; and that I loved and desired their salvation, though I saw them not. Rolls of portions of Scripture and of tracts in the Chinese, and addresses written in the Lewchewan—copies of which my good wife busily helped me to multiply during late night hours—were the only missiles I threw into the besieged courts; but alas, what I strewed with difficulty and hazard for many months, was easily gathered by the vigilant enemy, and brought back to me, a large trunkful, by government emissaries. My chief pulpit, the great market of Napa, where I knew they could not long go on driving off buyer and seller, and where my charities to a few cripples waiting there for alms, had evidently made a good impression on the multitude, was certainly not forsaken; but no sooner did a man or woman look up to the speaker, than a hint, a yell, or a pull from somewhere, was sure to sink the daring eye to the ground. These vexations finally quenched every attempt of the people to hear me.

In March, 1848, perhaps in consequence of a large ship approaching the shore very closely, some faint signs of a reconciliation appeared.

The theft was found out, and I was better satisfied that the discovery had been made by them than by us; for I now thought it possible that the change in their conduct might have been grounded partly on my complaint in relation to it, which they may have perhaps considered as a wanton vexation, but which they now must of course acknowledge was based on truth, to be met, if they did what was just, by the restoration of our own. In connection with this event, several circumstances occurred, which it is not necessary here to detail, but in which I am persuaded we left the impression of our open and benevolent intentions, both upon the government and the nation, made me hope some change would ensue for the better. All the dispatches we received were tinctured with goodwill. The governor of Napa on that occasion came repeatedly to our house, and crowds of followers with him, all expressing sympathy for the past, and confidence for the future. The strong steps I took in behalf of the culprits and their families, and the unremitting pains taken till I obtained a written promise under the great seal of the state, that their lives would not be forfeited, must have had some weight with men who have no regard for the poor, who use power without moderation, and who may have thought us like themselves bent on vengeance and oppression. The following dispatch, in which a couplet on the foreigner's "pearl-body" occurs, will suffice to show that my rising hopes had a pretty good foundation.

Dispatch relating to the punishment of the thieves.

"The balmy zephyrs, soft and rustling,
Proclaim the coming of the spring:
So may your good self be brisk and happy,
Fearing no limits to your felicity.

"A carefully prepared communication, relating to the degree of punishment of the criminals convicted of stealing the foreign money belonging to you, Sir. I respectfully received the other day your letter, in which you say, 'It is needless to examine these two prisoners very strictly, and I humbly beg to inquire what punishment the government intends to inflict on them, and to ask that I may be informed,' &c. According to the statutes of this country, all prisoners are taken cognizance of by the criminal judge (*yuh kwán* 獄官 the jailer) alone, who meets out [their punishment] according to law, and no stranger can know previously what it will be; moreover, the laws of rewards and punishments form the highest prerogative of the sovereign, and consequently can be no otherwise than justly ordered. For many ages, we, in this country, have ruled according to the Chinese code; and in the present case, it certainly can not be

decided according to what you say, and it will also be very difficult to let you, Sir, know what it will be. But I think that the crime of these two prisoners may be said not to be a capital offense according to the laws. I humbly beg you, Sir, not to be anxious about them, and respectfully return this note in reply, wishing you at the same time every happiness.

“Special reply from Sháng Tingchú, superintendent of affairs in Chungshán fú. March 30th, 1848.

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The aggravation of the case lay in the circumstance that we are foreigners, which, as some told me, makes our money to be considered as our life; for as we can not earn any more, we must starve to death without it. Others again told me, the case is considered as a betrayal against the fatherland, which by so grave an offence against a foreigner might have been exposed to great difficulties, and perhaps summary reprisals. Either view made me extremely uneasy regarding the fate awaiting the culprits. I was therefore greatly relieved by the above dispatch, and no less amused with the punctiliousness of this miniature government on their judicial power, and the impatience manifested at my talking to them of English law. Peace being thus patched up after a fashion, government even thought of getting me again to a public dinner, intimating they wished thereby to show the nation that our differences were all settled. But on this very ground I was obliged to refuse, alledging that I wished the people still to understand I was grieved at their being forbidden access to me, while neither did I feel at liberty to forget the transaction on the public road near Shui, till a straightforward apology had been given.

Had there been a shadow of sincerity under all this parade of restored goodwill, I should immediately have felt it in my labors. But there, the only quarter to which I looked for evidence of the worth of these doubtful promises and ambiguous professions of friendship, all remained as dark and cloudy as before; not a single breeze sprang up in the right direction, and consequently, I had to go on in my old hard and toilsome way. I now began more steadily to visit the huts where my guard lived, and particularly that one nearest my door, to which, I think, twenty men belonged, four of them serving by turns each day, and the whole set changed about twice in a year. Here then I had annually forty immortal souls, to whom access could not easily be denied me; for even when the guards in the other huts were ordered all to leave as soon as I entered, such rudeness could not be ventured upon at my house-door, where I could threaten to remove the whole hut, in case the inmates behaved impolitely. Difficulties, however, were constantly raised, and when I absolutely insisted upon their keeping several of my books in the hut, that they might have something better than cards and dice to beguile the time with, it came nigh to having a rupture. I maintained that this hut formed part of my residence, and I would not be forbidden to keep the books of Jesus there. In a country where written charms are much in vogue, and strange immunities are attributed to scribbled slips pasted on doors and walls, perhaps they took, and may still take my deference for our Scriptures and tracts as some-

what like their own superstitious veneration for books or even their torn leaves; but this I could not help, for though the synagogue of Satan has taken some of the best usages of the church of God, and introduced them into false systems to baffle us by the similarity, this must not make us give up our own institutions. It sufficed for me that I carried my point; let them think me wrong, or like themselves in the motives, I cared but little; my object was to bring them into contact with the pages of the life-giving word, and get their eyes when I could not secure their ears. The fact that I soon saw the books used and torn, and had occasionally to change them, and sometimes even surprised the *todzies* while, to my delight, they were engaged over them, or the maps made for their inspection, proves that the effort was not in vain in the Lord. To this end I also stuck up sheets containing the Decalogue on different walls in the house, as the general custom here is, and pasted large oblong slips of red paper on my door-posts, inscribed with Christian motives. I drew several general and special maps, and easily multiplied copies by means of the manifold writer; these, lettered with Chinese characters, were given to the *todzies*, and I am persuaded reached government likewise.

The mere knowledge of the shape of the earth goes far to upset their whole cosmogony, and a glance at the two hemispheres, in which I colored all the English possessions one bright imperial yellow, in order to give these islanders some notion of an empire to which the appellation of *tien hiá* 天下 the world, more justly applies than to China. At the same time, I raised my heart in gratitude to God, that she has done so much for Christian influence in this globe. Paganism, though numerically the greatest, and perhaps also covering the most ground, is geographically less advantageously situated than Christendom; parts of it are included in Christian influence, or inert in themselves, and it is without mutual relations between its component parts. Heathen Lewchew understands well what is meant by such ideas being pressed on them, and I hope they will not be entirely lost.

To the rolls of tracts with I colported through the streets, I added a good bagful of cakes, easily baked in an oven constructed with my own hands (these people can not construct an arch of bricks), and those who refused a tract, were frequently less rigorous towards my cakes, and perhaps were attracted a little by the gorgeous flowery chintz bag which held them. Even after my hawking stratagems had been outmanœuvred by the vigilance of the enemy who countermined all my efforts, and nobody cared either for my tracts, or my bag, or my cakes, a few naked, sunbrowned little ones still remained my customers; and

observing that the dark of the evening gave the spies less play-ground, I chose this time to go out into the byways and hedges, where tawny children presently hopped to and fro me in considerable numbers, of course with the natural desire of getting a cake or some cash, but now and then they got something better, a grain of sweet heavenly manna, or a shekel out of the sanctuary; no wonder a stop should be put to such delightful rambles. These were children who I hope felt attached to me, and I am sure I patted and fondled them with paternal affection. Even long after our intercourse must have been betrayed and declared illicit, as I easily inferred from stones pelting me occasionally in the dark, I saw them still sneaking and slinking around till they could safely approach, and get their sweet trifles; but this likewise had to be given up.

Shut out entirely from street labor, nothing remained but boldly to venture into people's houses. To confine myself to the huts where my guards were quartered would have been too easy a triumph for the evil one, and the surest way to concentrate all opposition there, and eventually to lose even that last anchor-ground in the impending storm. To secure the little one has, it is necessary to strive for more; a rule that holds good in any kind of gain, commercial as well as spiritual, for he that has not, from him shall be taken even that which he has. This great principle, in my humble judgment, it is a pity to see so little acted upon by the church; otherwise her missionary efforts would far surpass her pastoral ones. For though in this dispensation, the world is not to become the church, yet the latter loses ground, even what she has, when she gains none. The command to *go to all nations* plainly indicates we are not to wait; and it would moreover, practically be in vain to wait till any one of them be entirely converted. What missionary settled in a town, would not simultaneously with his city mission, take a range in the villages around? Has not Seroor in India its voluntary troubles at Wadagaon, and does not Mr. French rightly say, "I am more and more convinced of the importance of this (the *village preaching*) department of labor." Christ, our Savior, who left heaven for his mission upon earth, by precept and example inculcated missionary pilgrimage on the church: why is it neglected? Capernaum, doomed to be brought down hell, and offering therefore, as may be supposed, a lasting station for his divine missionary sympathy, once in a lucid moment of grace, begged that he should not depart from them. Did he settle down with them? No; he said unto them, "I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also, for therefore am I sent. And he preached in the synagogues of Galilee." Such was the practice of Christ, such his command.

The Church, unlike the Jewish polity, is not confined to one or two lands or nations; she is to be a great multitude, which no man can number of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues. Oh, tell me, will you shorten their shout of holy triumph? Shall Lewchew have no voice mingling in their hosannas! Ought any nation to fail to swell this universal choir, worthy the enthroned Redeemer of a world? Oh, tell the American Churches, I feel for the coppered Indian, I mourn for the African negro, I sympathize with the Mohammedan fellah, I rejoice over the awakened Nestorian and Armenian, but there must be a corner left in the American heart for Lewchew, the more so as she is the threshold to our brightening hopes in Japan. Let the people of God there be sure that in proportion as the disciples of Christ go to all nations and disciple—or, venturing on his plain command, at least try to disciple—them, in the same ratio the number of their home churches, and the number of hearts in those churches will grow. On the field subject to the exclusive control of Revelation, no operation or plan must be chalked out according to reason alone. However poorly capable a human mind may be to take in the universal missionary church, the infinite mind of our Captain has spoken out plain on the matter, “go ye unto all nations.”—Many of the prayers and exertions at home would bring down richer blessings both to far and to near, if they were directed to some outpost church.

In fact, the concentration of Christian effort to any given locality savors much of the old Babel project, the ethics of which were, “lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth.” Now, just this was the will of God: “replenish the earth, and subdue it.” And does He, who desired the posterity of the first Adam to be scattered over all the world, even while the plain of Shinar was quite spacious enough for them, not equally desire the offspring of the second Adam to spread over the whole globe? Shall we remain in our home pastures, beneath the shadow of our steepled church towers, and drink the sweet waters of Siloam, while others are famishing from thirst? It is a consolation that he who knew how to scatter Babel, knows also how to scatter his church. Israel in the flesh was scattered abroad, but at the same time in mercy, for they “were sown among the people,” as a seed that shall serve him; and it stands to reason that the spiritual Israel of God must take the same tour round the globe, that as sin entered into the world and passed upon all men by the traveling up and down of fallen man; even so, through the instrumentality of the light sown unto the righteous, by the righteous, the works of darkness shall be destroyed, and the desert changed into the garden of God.

(To be continued.)

ART. III. *Journal of Occurrences: affairs at Macao; rules from the British consular agent at Whampoa; U. S. sloop of war St. Mary's; executions among the Chinese; town of Victoria erected into a city, and the colony of Hongkong made a bishop's see.*

AFFAIRS at Macao have taken a singular turn during the last two months. We have not been able to find room for all the communications which have passed between the Council and H. E. Sü, but have endeavored to insert all of any importance, and for the rest refer our readers to the China Mail, to which paper we express our acknowledgements for those we here introduce. In page 651 of the last volume, the apprehension and confession of another of the murderers is given, as communicated to the Council. They replied, taking exception at the confession and summary execution, at which Sü expressed his astonishment in the following manner, and at their still detaining the prisoners.

Sü's Reply to the Council's Letter of the 14th October.

Sü, gov.-gen. of Kwángtung and Kwángsi, &c. In reply to the dispatch of the 29th day of the 8th moon (14th October), which I received as an answer, stating that at a proper time attention would be given to its contents, which are empty words without meaning; and requesting at the same time a reply to the dispatch of the 17th of the 8th moon (2d October), I have now to make the following observations. The dispatch says, that the three individuals are not imprisoned, but detained for the necessary inquiries. Now, is not the long period of two months sufficient for the conclusion of these inquiries? In these 7th and 8th moons, two depositions have already been taken of the criminals who had been on two separate occasions apprehended, and copies of these depositions have been sent accompanied by dispatches; and there is no one who does not know that this case is already settled. Are not these depositions of the real aggressor and of an accomplice, then, sufficient documents? and is it still necessary to have recourse to witnesses and inquiries from individuals unconnected with the question? Besides, after the three individuals have been given up, they will have to continue in the exercise of their duties at the Barrier Gate, and consequently will not be concealed. This is all I have to communicate in reply to the dispatch of the Council of the Portuguese Government. 1st November, 1849.

The Council rejoined, Nov. 7th, in one of the best papers yet issued under its seal, exposing the discrepancies of the two confessions, and the flagitious nature of the exchange Gov. Sü had proposed between the three prisoners and the relics. After comparing the two confessions, and showing their discrepancies, they conclude with the following remarks:—

“As to the justice of the demand which this Council made to your Excellency in their dispatch of the 3d ultimo, it was a very simple one. They merely required that your Excellency should tell them, without circumlocutions, whether you would deliver them the head and hand of the deceased governor, or whether you wished to traffic with these precious remains; nevertheless, your Excellency has not, up to this date, satisfied so simple a requisition, continuing to keep possession of those mutilated members, as a property of your own, no doubt because you are conscious of having acquired them by means which, in your Excellency's judgment, give you a right of disposing of them as may seem good to you, regardless of constituting yourself by this act a participator in the crime which gave you the possession of them.

This Council have already endeavored to show your Excellency the iniquity of the infamous traffic which you proposed to them, and the necessi-

ty of the head and hand being restored to them without any condition or clause whatsoever, which this Council can not, because they ought not to, admit. They have already, in short, caused you Excellency to see, that such an inhuman and unheard-of act, committed towards the person of the Representative of Her Most Faithful Majesty, amounts to an atrocious offense against the sovereignty of Her Majesty, and an outrage to the nation, to whom is due entire and condign reparation. In the face, therefore, of the extraordinary proceedings of your Excellency, and of your tenacious persistence in remaining deaf to the voice of reason and justice; and as this Council have already informed Her Majesty's Government of all that has taken place, nothing more is left them to do on the subject, but to protest again against your Excellency, holding you responsible for the assassination of the Most Excellent Governor Amaral; for the retention of his head and hand; for the violation of the rights of Her Majesty and the Portuguese nation; and lastly, for all consequences whatsoever that may result, as well from that act, as from the unqualified proceedings of the Chinese authorities of Canton with regard to it. And, as it is requisite that full knowledge be had of all the circumstances of this unheard-of case, this Council are going to make them known to the Representatives of all the foreign nations resident here, as well as to the governments of all other friendly powers, allies of Her Majesty, by means of a Manifesto, of which a copy will also be forwarded to your Excellency."

To this the governor-general sent the following reply.

Dispatch from Su to the Council of Government of Macao.

Su, Governor-general of Kwángtung and Kwángsi, &c. I have received the dispatch of the noble Council of the 25th day of the 9th moon (9th November), and having made myself acquainted with its contents about the murder of governor Amaral, proceed to reply, that as the aggressor Shin Chi-liang was apprehended at Shun-teh, a place not far from the capital, he was taken there within a day, and immediately tried and sentenced in order to avoid delays in the examinations. By thus proceeding with the execution without loss of time, can there still be any doubt on the point? Besides, the case of beheading a criminal is not one to be trifled with. Shin Chi-liang made a deposition, and afterwards confirmed the same, and it was in consequence of his confession that the place where the head and hand had been buried was discovered. Can it still be said that this individual was a supposititious criminal, and not the real aggressor? If in all these circumstances doubts are entertained, the life of man is of great consequence; the execution could not be thus carried into effect, without the family of Shin Chi-liang uttering a word about it. As to the depositions of Shin Chi-liang and Ko Ahong, as each of them expressed himself according to his own way, there has been a difference in some circumstances; but there was no discordance as to the fact, and all of them in their depositions have acknowledged Ko Ahong and the others to be the accomplices, but did not mention the individual Kam Tong. Are not the depositions of the criminals sufficient to serve as documents, when rumors are still believed? With regard to Ko Ahong and others who ran away through the Barrier gate; as on that occasion, night was already approaching, the soldiers at that post could not, in the midst of such a hurry, recognize them in order to stop them. This is a very simple reason; how then can guilt be brought home to these soldiers?

A deputed officer was sent to take the head and hand of governor Amaral, to be delivered up: but the noble Council having kept back the three soldiers belonging to the gate, without setting them free, the said officer could not take upon himself the responsibility. Here is the cause of the delay and of this confusion. All things should be managed with reflection; and in a proper way; obstinacy can not bring affairs to a conclusion. This then depends on the serious consideration of the noble Council. This is all I have to answer to the Council of the Portuguese government.

10th moon, 9th day (23d November, 1849).

The Council of Government published a lengthy Manifesto, dated Nov. 26th, 1849, which is entitled "A Demonstrative Exposition of the proceedings of the Chinese Authorities of the province of Canton, in relation to the disastrous event which occurred at Macao on the 22d day of August, 1849." In this paper, the Council begin upon the presumption that the assassination of Gov. Amaral was encouraged, if not authorized by the Chinese authorities, and add, "that the subsequent conduct of these authorities has raised those

presumptions to such a height that they can not but be accepted as proofs of their complicity in the atrocious crime, the responsibility of which, far from attempting to remove by the efforts they should have employed to throw it off from themselves, they have progressively aggravated to such a point that at present the whole of it attaches to them exclusively." Taking this ground, the Council proceed to recapitulate the principal facts of the case in order to fortify their position, going over with a brief analysis of the papers which have proceeded from the governor-general, and his acts in relation to the criminals apprehended and executed for the murder. The paper doubtless carries conviction to the minds of those who joined in "the public voice," which "unanimously accused the Chinese authorities of having connived at this horrible outrage," but to those who dissent from that public voice, it adds no new proof of Sü's connivance, much less of his previous authorization of the outrage. On this matter, we have already given such an opinion as the facts then brought to light led us to adopt, and need not here repeat, since we see no grounds for altering it. The Manifesto concludes with the remark that

"The necessity of occupying themselves with the present task has been extremely disagreeable to this Council, but they feel it to be imperative on them not to leave unproclaimed manifest, although pungent and bitter, truths, which had been unjustly provoked, in order to establish and fix by unquestionable facts the responsibility of that iniquitous outrage on the head of him to whom it belongs; the expositions and documents brought forward in this Manifesto appearing to them sufficiently to prove,—

1st. That the treacherous and barbarous assassination of the councillor João Maria Ferreira do Amaral, governor of this province, was nothing else than the consequence of a premeditated plan of aggression, for the development of which this act was the first step agreed upon. 2dly. That if this plan was not concocted with the concurrence of the Chinese authorities, its execution was countenanced by them. 3dly. That the same authorities, by refusing to satisfy the just demands made on them, and with which they were bound to comply, and by committing other acts in violation of the law of nations, constituted themselves participators in the crime which by the same law they were bound to punish. 4thly. That, in conclusion, all the responsibility of this atrocious crime, and of all its consequences, attaches to the same authorities, for which responsibility this Council again protest, renewing all their former protests, which they hereby ratify, in the hope that this responsibility will one day be made effective for the satisfaction and redress of outraged justice, of violated laws, and of so many and so sacred rights trampled under foot."

When sending a translation of this Manifesto to Sü, the Council expressed the following disclaimer, which called forth a reply, and an inclosure throwing some additional light upon the subject.

The Council of Government &c., to Su, Governor-general of Canton.

This Council have the honor to forward herewith to your Excellency a copy of the Manifesto, which, as they informed you in their dispatch of the 7th ultimo, they made public on the 26th of the same month.

This Council avail themselves of the present opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's dispatch of the 23d November last; and as they have already stated in their former dispatches all that it behoved them to say on the subject to which it refers, they confine themselves at present to declaring to your Excellency, that whatever may be your proceedings relative to the restitution of the mutilated members of the most excellent the deceased governor of this province, they will on no account influence those of this Council with regard to the three Chinese detained here, in relation to whom this Council will act as they have acquainted your Excellency in their dispatch of the 3d October last. Macao, 3d December, 1849.

Jeronimo, Bishop of Macao.—Carneiro.—Neves.—Simoens.—Goularte.—Pereira.

Dispatch from Su to the Council of Government of Macao.

Su, governor-general of Kwángtung and Kwángsi, &c. In order to satisfy the question relative to the murder of governor Amaral, I proceed to state as follows: Shiu

Chi-liang, the real assassin, having been first apprehended, was executed. Afterwards his accomplices Ko Ahong and Li Apau were detected, the latter of whom was killed when about to be seized, and Ko Ahong also was captured, and made a confession, a copy of which was inclosed in a dispatch to the noble Council as is on record. Inquiries were in the meantime going on after two individuals, surnamed respectively Chou and Chen, who had escaped; and the mandarin of Kwángchau has now reported to me that repeated and strict searches were made to discover the said criminals, but as it was thought probable that they might have taken refuge with the pirates and joined them, a description of these men was ordered to be drawn up, in order that when the pirates should be apprehended it might serve to identify them. The mandarin lately brought from Kweishen hien one Chang Asin, alias Chou Asin, who conjointly with Chou Ayau and Chen Afat had gone to join the pirates. As there were reasons to suspect his complicity, he was repeatedly interrogated, and he deposed that he knew Chou Ayau and Chen Afat, who as well as himself had been workmen at Macao; that one Shin Chi-liang, known to him, having determined to assassinate Amaral, to revenge himself, had bribed Ko Ahong and Li Ayau to assist him in his design, and arranged with them, in concert with Chou Ayau and Chen Afat, that they should prevent persons from approaching. All agreed to go together. Hearing of the strict search that was making for them, they fled to Hiangkang, a seaport, when they joined the pirates. Having afterwards fallen in with the English, the said Chou Ayau and Chen Afat were killed in action, and he, the deponent was apprehended by the soldiers of the (Chinese) government and sent to Canton.

This deposition then, having been compared with those of Shin Chi-liang and Ko Ahong, they were found to agree, and the two men who ran away are thus clearly identified as accomplices. With regard to the said criminal, who confessed to having committed piracies, which is in itself a crime punishable capitally, as he was an accomplice of the other delinquents in preventing people from approaching at the time of the murder, his guilt is still graver. Therefore, besides directions being given for the reiteration of the examinations, in order that his trial might take place, the deposition of the said criminal was transmitted for my information. From this it appears that the principal accomplices in the crime being six, of whom one was drowned, two were killed by the English soldiers, and the remaining three apprehended; all therefore are discovered. Chou Asin has already been committed for trial, that he may afterwards be rigorously punished. All this I make known to the noble Council, sending at the same time, a copy of the confession of Chou Asin. 'Taukwáng, 29th year, 11th moon, 6th day (19th Dec. 1839).

Confession of Chang Asin, alias Chou Asin.

I lived at Macao jointly with Chou Ayau and Chen Afat, where we earned our livelihood by acting as workmen. An acquaintance of ours named Shin Chi-liang, on account of the Portuguese Governor Amaral having made roads without the Campo gates, by which work the graves of his ancestors were destroyed, was so enraged therewith that he determined to murder Amaral, in order to satisfy his revenge. For the purpose of assisting him in his design, he bribed Ko Ahong and Li Apau, and charged me, together with Chou Ayau and Chen Afat, to act as guards on the occasion, so as to prevent people from approaching. All of us agreed to this, and on the 5th day of the 7th moon Shin Chi-liang having heard that Amaral would go out for recreation, proceeded with us to waylay him. Towards evening, when it was twilight, Shin Chi-liang seeing Amaral approach on horseback, went up to him under the pretense that he had a petition to hand him, and said that he had a complaint to prefer; and whilst Amaral was stretching out his hand to receive the paper, Shin-Chi-liang drew a sharp knife he had concealed in the handle of his umbrella and commenced stabbing him in the arm and shoulder, until he fell from his horse, when he immediately cut off his head and hand, and we ran away, each his own way. Chou Ayau, Chen Afat, and myself, having afterwards heard that strict search was being made for us, fled to Hiangkang, a seaport from whence we went over to the pirates, whilst with whom Chou Ayau and Chen Afat were killed in engagements we had with the English soldiers, and I was afterwards seized by the soldiers of government, and taken to Canton. I pray therefore for mercy.

On the 21th, one month after sending Sü a translation of the Manifesto, the Council forwarded the following dispatch with the three prisoners, who had been detained since August.

From the Council of Government, &c., to Su, Viceroy of Canton, &c.

This Council send to Your Excellency the three Chinese guards at the Barrier Gate, who were detained here; likewise their depositions and those of two witnesses, from which it is seen clearly and evidently that these three men belonging to the Barrier were at least cognizant of the horrible outrage committed near that post on the evening of the 23d August. They are either guilty, or acted under orders in permitting free passage through the Barrier to the vile perpetrators of that abominable crime. This Council therefore send these prisoners to your Excellency as guilty persons, in order that they may be tried according to Law; and by sending these three prisoners,

they hold your Excellency answerable for them; and again require from your Excellency the capture of the assassins and accomplices, and also insist that the proceedings, until the criminals are confronted here, follow the course laid down in justice and law; and they protest against any acts of a contrary nature; and farther renew all their former protests. This Council having reported everything to their Sovereign, have nothing farther to do until they receive her commands.

Macao, 24th December, 1849.
 Jeronimo, Bishop of Macao.—Joaquim Antonio de Moraes Carneiro, &c.

Immediately on receipt of this, the tsotáng, through whom it was sent, intimated that the head and hand were at the disposal of the Council, and after some delay the relics were delivered up on the 18th inst., to a commission appointed for the purpose, on board a lorchá off the Praya Grande. They were well preserved and easily identified, and were carried to the chapel in the palace, where service for the dead was performed by Bishop Matta; and the flags were at half-mast and minute guns were fired on the melancholy occasion.

The following Regulations have been published by the Consular Agent at Whampoa for the guidance of masters of British ships. They show the result of long experience in relation to the dealings between foreign seamen and the Chinese, and that prevention of intercourse is the best remedy for the evils which once were connected with it. It is a melancholy reflection that seamen coming to this heathen land from a Christian country must be shut up like convicts on board their ships during their stay in port, in order to prevent them from injuring themselves and others. It recalls to mind the anecdote we once heard a sailor narrate: That a little girl was once crossing the gangway of a man of war, and as she stepped over and looked up and down the deck, she caught her mother's dress in terror, exclaiming, Look, mamma! so many sailors, and they are all loose!—We hope the day is not far distant when seamen in heathen countries will be an honor to, and for the advancement of the holy religion they profess in name, and not a reproach by their intemperance and folly.

Regulations for Masters of British vessels and others at the Anchorage of Whampoa.

I. The consular offices are open from 10 A.M. to 4 P.M. daily, with the exception of Sunday, and such holidays as public offices in England are closed.

II. Masters are required, within twenty-four hours after arrival, to deposit with H. M.'s Consul at Canton, their vessel's certificate of registry or sailing-letter, Bocca Tigris pass, and manifest of cargo, after which due permission will be obtained to break bulk.

III. Except in the case of vessels belonging to H. M.'s colonies and possessions abroad, masters are required, within forty-eight hours after arrival, to deposit, or cause to be deposited, with the consular agent at this anchorage, the agreement with the crew, together with an account at the foot of such agreement, of all apprentices on board, setting forth their Christian and surnames at full length, the dates of the registry of their indentures and assignments respectively, and the ports at which, and the times when they were registered; and also all indentures and assignments of apprenticeships, and the register tickets of all the crew who shall be subjects of her Majesty, the whole to be kept by him during the ship's stay, and, excepting the register tickets of deserters, to be returned to the master a reasonable time before departure.

IV. The laws of England are in full force, regard being had to the difference of local circumstances, and to the provisions of ordinances for Her Majesty's subjects within any vessel at a distance of not more than one hundred miles from the coast of China. The consular agent calls especial attention to the Act 7 & 8 Victoria, Cap. 112, to amend and consolidate the laws relating to merchant seamen, which Act, except so far as relates to agreements, register tickets, and having apprentices, applies to ships belonging to all Her Majesty's colonies and possessions abroad when at this anchorage; and all certificates and sanctions required to be endorsed on agreements, shall, in the case of these ships be otherwise given in writing when no written agreement exists. This act enacts that no seaman can be shipped, discharged, or left behind, without the previous sanction of the consular functionaries in writing; and they are instructed by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that great care must be taken that such discharge is never sanctioned except in cases of absolute necessity. In those cases where offenders may be given in charge legally without the previous issue of a warrant, application is required to be made to the constable at the office of the consular agent.

V. Seamen and other persons dying on board, stone and other ballast, are prohibited from being thrown overboard.

VI. Cleanliness in this climate being indispensable for the preservation of the health

of crews, masters are held responsible for payment of their washing. The usual charge is one dollar for each seaman for the first month or part of a month, and fifty cents for each subsequent month or part of a month, of a ship's stay.

VII. Seamen being strictly prohibited from going to Canton and on shore, bum-boats are to be permitted to come alongside the ships in reasonable numbers, at meal times, at the gangways only, to sell clothes and other necessities. Dealers have been cautioned against giving credit, inasmuch as no debt exceeding in amount five shillings, incurred by any seaman can be recovered until the period of his service shall have been concluded.

VIII. All masters or other persons in charge of vessels about to leave this anchorage shall give notice thereof in writing to the consular agent, and hoist a blue-peter at least twenty-four hours before the time of intended departure, unless he shall think fit from a sufficient cause to dispense with the observance of this regulation.

IX. Every British subject arriving at this port, not borne on the muster roll of any British ship, and intending to reside here, is required within a reasonable time to enrol himself in a register kept at the consular office for the respective districts: and if any British subject conveyed to this port in a British vessel, shall, prior to the departure of such vessel from the dominions of the emperor of China, be found requiring public relief, such vessel will be held responsible for the maintenance and removal of such distressed British subject.

X. Any individual appealing from the decision of the consular agent, is required to forward his appeal unsealed and under cover to the consular agent for transmission to the consul.

XI. All fines are payable in ready money. Dollars locally termed *chopped* are received by weight at the rate of 7.17 taels to 10 dollars, and the dollar is received at the exchange of 4s. 2d.

The Consular Agent takes this opportunity to make the following remarks:—1st. On Sunday there is usually an opportunity of attending divine service. 2d. To avoid exposing European seamen, it is advisable to engage a sampan, or Chinese boat, for pulling up to Canton and about the anchorage. 3d. To prevent pilfering, a particular watch ought to be kept on Chinese in and about a ship when discharging and loading small and loose packages. 4th. Bathing in the middle of the stream, unless at slack water, is highly dangerous. 5th. Insubordinate conduct being most frequently occasioned by drinking intoxicating liquors to excess, and if these be excluded, masters would have comparatively little trouble in maintaining good order amongst the crews, it is recommended to them to arrange to watch each other's vessels, and to make signals when boats come under the bows or sterns. At meal times, when bumboats are permitted at the gangways, vigilance is necessary also, though the precautions taken should not be vexatious to the crew. 6th. The consular agent having little leisure for correspondence, all persons at this anchorage having business with him, are requested to transact it personally. 7th. Pillets may be obtained at First Bar. 8th. The consular agent is anxious to do his duty without fear or favor, and to treat all persons courteously who have recourse to him; but having frequently come in contact with very unreasonable individuals, who have not hesitated to misrepresent him most grossly, and to treat him with marked disrespect, he feels reluctant to fine any one on this account if it can be avoided, and with this view intimates that the law gives him ample power to cause his official authority to be respected.

ALEx. BIRD, *British Consular Agent.*

Whampoa, 3d November, 1849.

The U. S. sloop of war *St. Mary's*, 20 guns, bearing the broad pendant of Commodore Voorhees arrived in these waters on the 31st, from Honolulu. Her officers are as follows: *Commodore*, Philip F. Voorhees. *Lieutenants*, John B. Marchand, C. A. R. Jones, Wm. E. Boudinot, A. C. Rhind. *Acting Master*, David Ochiltree. *Surgeon*, Samuel L. Addison. *Purser*, Cameron Anderson. *Lieut. of Marines*, F. B. McNeill. *Commodore's Secretary*, Dabney C. Wirt. *Midshipmen*, David L. Braine, Felix Grundy, Joseph L. Breeze, Edward T. Williams. *Boatswain*, John Crosby. *Sailmaker*, Wm. B. Fugitt. *Carpenter*, C. W. Babbitt. *Gunner*, J. Brown. *Purser's Clerk*, James Conway.

Executions among the Chinese. The number of criminals who undergo capital punishment at Canton usually amounts to several hundreds annually, but no governor-general has in recent years equaled the present incumbent in the number of persons whom he has sentenced to the sword; during the last year there have been nearly 400 executions, though it should be remarked that criminals can not be capitally punished at any other city in the province besides Canton, with the exception of Kiungchau fú in Háinán. The place of execution in Canton might perhaps be called a public square, but it rather resembles a vacant lot

lying among others built upon, for it is not regarded as a thoroughfare ; during most of the time it is occupied by the workmen of a pottery manufactory near by to dry their furnaces and other ware, so that it is literally, a *potter's field*. This place near the Tien-tsz' mátau, or Imperial landing-place, on the southern side of the city, parallel with the *Sa-t'kiái*, or Rain-cloak St., and opening into the *Tsing-taiien kivi* or Granary-front St. ; there being no fence or gateway between the latter and the *fáh ching*, or law arena as the spot is called, whenever an execution takes place, the street gates on both sides of the opening, and that at the lower end towards the river are all shut as soon as the officers arrive with the culprits. This compels all passengers who may be going by at the time to stop in the street until the execution is completed, and the gates are reopened ; the rush to see the bloody corpses is then very great, few persons being admitted as spectators.

It is shocking to witness the indifference with which life is taken on these occasions ; and the moral effect of such scenes to prevent crime is nothing at all. A few days ago, twenty heads were cut off. The wretched criminals were brought from the prison borne on men's shoulders in small cages hardly large enough to hold them doubled up in the smallest compass ; the bearers put the cages on the ground, and actually emptied the prisoners out by turning them over, just as if they were already carcases. The executioners used large hangers, and while the officers in attendance are making ready, these callous men are vamping about and showing the spectators how neatly they can do the bloody deed. On this occasion, the criminals were all dressed in clean clothes ; these are sometimes given by the officers, and are always desired, under the idea that the spirit appears before Yen-lo-wáng in hades in the dress the body had on when it left. The provincial judge, the prefect, the two district magistrates, and a centurion, who acts as the deputy of the colonel in command of the city, were all present with their lictors. The criminals were all made to kneel in a row facing the south before them, and their names read off by a clerk ; there were five headmen, and eleven swords standing in a row along the wall. One of them took a sword, and as a man held up the pinioned arms of the criminal behind, thus forcing his head horizontally forward, he struck it off with a single blow, the headless corpse falling along on the ground, and he wiping the blood from the blade on his jacket. He replaced the weapon, and took up another, and after the fifth had been executed, his turn came again ; and thus the whole five took turns, each one decapitating four persons, and using two swords. Not a word, not a sigh, not a groan, proceeded from any of them, and in a few short moments after they were brought on the ground, their gory heads were thrown together in a pile, even before the contortions of the muscle of the chin and neck had ceased, and their bodies left upon the ground ; the heads often remain until they become bare skulls, but no obstruction is put in the way of the relatives taking away the corpse and the head, except in atrocious cases when the officers order the head to be exposed in a cage where the crime was committed as a warning to offenders. As soon as the dreadful ceremony was completed, the officers and their attendants, with the procession of empty cages returned into the city ; as the gates were opened, a great crowd rushed in to behold the bloody corpses, among whom were probably friends of some of the victims, ready to carry away their remains. In case no one appears to claim them, the authorities order them to be buried in a golgotha on the eastern side of the city called *mán yan chung*. Officers or persons of note are usually carried to the spot in sedans ; as the chair is set down on the ground, and they are ordered to step out, the executioner stands ready, and strikes off the head as the person stoops to pass out. Criminals sentenced to the slow and ignominious death, sometimes called "cutting into ten thousand pieces," and to strangulation, are bound to a cross before their execution.

The town of Victoria in the colony of Hongkong has been ordained to be a city, and the island of Hongkong and its dependencies erected into a bishop's see and diocese, to be called the Bishopric of Victoria. Rev. George Smith, D. D., well known as the author of a work on China, has been consecrated as the first bishop of the new see. He left England in November last, in company with a number of clergymen, and may therefore be expected soon to arrive, and enter upon his duties.

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

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ART. I. *Letter from Rev. B. J. Bettelheim, M. D., giving an account of his residence and missionary labors in Lewchew during the last three years. (Continued from page 49.)*

I BEG you to forgive this digression, and kindly to forbear with me. It may after all be no digression, in view of the missionary interest at large, though no doubt it is so from my report. But I am glad to have thus unintentionally proved that I am able to forget my own trials, whenever an opportunity offers to speak for missions. Tears have often moistened my eyes while writing the above lines, partly sorrowing, I hope after a godly manner, for the delinquencies attaching to the church even in her missionary enterprises, and partly moved by heavenly joy, when the whole tenor of the divine scheme of salvation, beaming from the page of Revelation, flashed upon my mind, and told me, "Refrain thy voice from weeping and thine eyes from tears, for there is hope in the end, that thy brethren will come out from their borders, and push their way to the ends of the earth." As for me, I have not hastened from being a pastor at home to follow after the Lord in a land that is not known, neither have I desired the woful days we pass in Lewchew.

Repeated consideration respecting my duty to God, and examination of his plan of evangelizing the world, have confirmed me in the view that to break up new ground is most consonant with the wide reaching aim of the gospel; and I am thankful to say, that though nearly four years of great hardship have passed over me since I left England, I feel myself like Caleb—that as my strength was then, even

so is my strength now. I mean strength of purpose in the Lord to persevere in the aggressive system. Just in proportion to the little ground which has been gained, do I feel my zeal awakened to new efforts for continuing the attack, only praying for grace that this zeal may not degenerate into obstinacy, become the tool of wounded pride, nor use unlawful weapons. When I feel sure against such drawbacks of the natural old man, then am I strong when I am weak. It is in the spirit of this discipline that I waged, and do wage, the warfare of faith in Lewchew. It is like an onset of cavalry upon a strong square of infantry, but it has its blessed trophies, and its sustaining encouragements also. I can exclaim, "By thee have I run through a troop, and by my God have I leaped over a wall; thou hast also given me the shield of thy salvation, and thy gentleness has made me great."

How I felt the first time I found myself within a Lewchewan house can be better imagined than described; but as I had counted the cost beforehand, and was prepared even for a "Get thee behind me! Get thee hence!" or something still more forcible than words, nothing new could well befall me. I was little moved with the cries of the women, or frightened at the screams of the children, but seated myself in the first room I could get access to. You will perhaps ask in surprise, at the outset, how I could gain access into houses, whose doors a well trained body of spies would certainly take the precaution to have shut? The answer is simple. I did not enter by the door, at least in most cases, for I could not, but found my way in through the deep gaps in dilapidated back walls. I might say, I have done some service to the masons in this way, and perhaps to the owners too, for by and by the former got more work, and the latter got their walls repaired; this whole practice of getting in through such an opening at the back, at first considered here no more irregular than it would be in villages at home to get over a fence or a hedge, came by and by into disuse, to the great annoyance of the children and youth who are capital jumpers, and feel as much at home on the top of the roofs as a cat does. At present the spies alone are entitled to this privilege; they appear and disappear like ghosts on the stage, the magic consisting in the easy removal of the straw sandals, and the adaptation of their exercised naked feet to all the inequalities, that this rocky coral shore affords. One would often be tempted to think they can pass through walls, so sudden is their disappearance and reëpearance. More than once, when congratulating myself on a short interval of the free use of my limbs, have I been undeceived by perceiving the spies on the roofs looking down upon me. The masons have

likewise to thank me for jobs of work they had on low walls, over which I addressed the people in the yards, when as yet I had not courage enough to enter, and several such walls I could point out, which have been raised two or three feet.

By manœuvring to get out of the track of the spies, or turning quite suddenly in an unusual direction, I have always the choice of a few open doors. A strong gale overthrows a Lewchewan wall almost as easily as it does the sliding paper doors and partitions inside the houses; and a long rain is sure to wash open some new entrance by carrying away the dust and movable filth stuffed between the stones, so that one can pass and repass for several weeks over the traces left behind by a typhoon before the many fresh thoroughfares are stopped up again. Besides, the greater part of the houses I visit, at least at present, are of the poorest sort—huts and hovels, sometimes accessible on all sides, or standing in a yard formed by a few bamboos sparingly planted around them; if they have a door at all it consists usually of a few bamboo branches knotted together with straw strings, a loop of the same material being all the fastening required, and as easily untied by me as by any one else who has to enter. So much for the mode by which I gained admission into the houses.

Their furniture and domestic arrangements are all in the Chinese style. As is the mother, so is the daughter; and I might add, as a cage is full of birds, so are their houses full of deceit, of charms and scraps, and other emblems of idolatry and belly-worship; such as cups, trays, tea-holders, and chopsticks in abundance, and constantly in use. When you go from house to house, you would suppose the population were constantly at meals, especially the higher classes, whom I meet always either at their breakfast, lunch, dinner, or supper. No wonder they are great of flesh and slow bellies, pacing along with measured dignity like idlers, whose only business is to watch their gait and looks before the multitude, accustomed to measure grandeur by such and like outward farces. As neither tables nor chairs are used, the written, and sometimes painted ornaments on the walls are very conspicuous; but most so is the god's corner, where the ancestral tablet is set up, either open or enshrined, and provisioned with a stock of sacrifices, varying according to the wealth of the householder. What the prophet of old said of degenerate Israel, applies fully to them: "These men have set up their idols in their belly, and put the stumbling-block of their iniquity before their face." Nothing can be more revolting, more abominable than this constant display of idols and eatables, while you have to tell them of a God who is a Spirit, and whose kingdom is not meat and drink.

In the beginning of my visits to the dwellings, I rather selected the respectable part of the population, and met with astonishing good reception. After the first surprise and confusion occasioned by my sudden appearance was over, one or other of the family, and sometimes even the master, kept me company, and was sure to hear the message of salvation, as I was watching my time, and gave my visits a professional turn as soon I could. But invariably the second or third visit to the same house found matters altered. In some instances, I was plainly forbidden the house. In some, all the inmates ran off. In others, the master told me if I had any compassion upon them, I would not expose them to the dangers they ran in letting me enter their doors. Not very long ago, in three instances, I had hairbreadth escapes from a good beating; on one occasion the stick being already lifted up for a blow, and arrested only by another person seizing the hand of the infuriated old Confucian fool, whose language was, "prophesy not in the name of the Lord, lest thou die by our hand." Nothing of the sort threatened me when I began these visits, and these methods of opposition have been gradually ripened under the fostering care of the enemy. The people, if left to themselves, are too indolent for any act of unkindness that requires exertion, and would never dare to withhold from another the common marks of respect, universal in this land even between peasants, unless they were commanded to do so.

Formerly, there was at least some appearance of regard paid me by the spies. They contented themselves to hint, to hiss, to beckon, or to vociferate unseen by me, placing themselves in a back or side ground. Now, all is done in my very face and eyes. Whole troops of these wretched hirelings, swelled by a levy, as I suppose, from the neighborhoods I successively cross, march in files before and behind me, like soldiers; every side lane being guarded on both openings, and their shouting and hooting almost deafening. Thus my heritage is unto me as a lion in the forest, it roareth out against me; but shall I therefore hate them? No. I only abominate the government, which brought about such a state of things all the while its officers made, and still make, professions of goodwill and friendly offices, whenever a ship calls in. I do not suppose that with all this drilling and manœuvring around me, the rulers would dare to order an *open* assault, or hazard our lives. This display of physical force is no doubt partly intended to provoke me to some overt act of revenge, and warrant thereby what they might further have in view to do with us; partly it may be a measure of intimidation to keep us locked up at home, seeing what reception we meet with out of doors, and partly that they might degrade us before

the nation, and show they have as much power over us as over the peasant, and that there is none who bemoaneth or hath pity upon us. But they have forgotten that I am a missionary, a soldier that beareth hardship, and to whom life is not more dear than the end for which it is to be endured. I have set my face like a flint against their assaults; I know they shall not prevail against me, for the Lord is with me to save me, and keep me. I fear nothing but myself. A single moment of forgetfulness, the least act of rashness, might cut the thread on which our lives hang, but it is my prayer and hope that the Lord will perfect me in humility and self-abasement, so that nothing shall be able to offend me that does not offend him, and then I may safely leave the requital of my wrongs to him.

Among other measures contrived to make my visits disagreeable to myself as well as my hosts, one was that the latter were to plead deafness and dumbness, and as soon as I came in sight, they were to motion with the hand, by pointing to their mouth and ears, and shaking the head in the negative. It would be amusing, but out of place here, to tell you how I surprised some of these mimic fools into a sudden cure, but this device shows you that no method is left untried to prevent the introduction of the gospel, especially into houses of the better sort. Still here and there I have found, and to my surprise, still find at least an ear to hear; and the rest I leave cheerfully with Him, who promised that his word shall accomplish that which he pleases, and prosper in the thing whereto he sends it. I greatly long and pray for a companion in these rare trials, for though I fear not the reproach of man, nor am afraid of their revilings, I am afraid of their lying falsehoods, and it is but common prudence to wish for a witness, where both parties are full of distrust, and a breach is impending every moment.

The *kung-kuán*, or public office at Napa, is a building which serves for public business and for a school; I visited it regularly for eighteen months, meeting there from five to thirty, and even as many as fifty persons, when I happened to surprise them at official meetings. Sometimes, if the leaders were inimically disposed, a hint from them sufficed, and the whole congregation jumped out of the windows, or over the wall into the neighboring houses. But usually I have been and am still pretty well received, only that at present I can not get out one single answer from them to my questions. In this office, for several months I had a few books hung upon a nail, which I always found on the spot on my arrival; in a similar way, I held some maps there stuck up on the wall. Gradually all this was discontinued, as none

would produce either books or maps when I asked for them a second time. I likewise regularly visited the public office at Tunai (the village in which the French missionaries resided) for nearly a year, meeting there very many children. I continued my visits to this place for a long time, even after I had found none there beside the two guards. The *kung-kwán* at Napa, being near at hand, has still my attention, though less regularly; I usually find there the same company, and they have heard enough to know better. My time is certainly better spent among the peasants and workmen, than among the class of literati, who are all fed on the sweat and labor of the enslaved common people—a class, whose members, unlike their fellows in China, are here never allowed to raise themselves to stations of power.

Among the poor, especially in very filthy neighborhoods, where, according to Confucian etiquette, I am sure even their cynic *Liú-hiá Hwui* 柳下惠 might have hesitated to venture,* I have somewhat more freedom, provided it be not at, or near the harbor, where I have always met with the most determined opposition. Need I say to him who knows that God has chosen the poor, the weak, yea, even the foolish and base things of the world, that missionary visits to the most degraded class of fellow-men are the most sought after and welcome, inasmuch as they have the mercy of the Scriptures plainly on their side. And though I would despair to bring any aid merely human to bear upon such a destitute, brutalized mass as our poor are, I can not for a moment doubt divine things must have their promised effect on them. If the dry bones of Ezekiel's valley began to live, and the stones by Jordan's shores are said to quicken into children of Abraham, the hand of God is surely not too short to reach and remedy Lewchewan objects. Yet even among these outcasts of humanity the unseen enemy of the soul has his usual stronghold, and the general rule of espionage, though occasionally slackened, is still so *visibly* interfering, that I have little to boast, and much to be humbled for, even among the humble.

* *Liú-hiá Hwui* was one of the seventy-two worthies, who were disciples and many of them cotemporaries of Confucius. His family name was Chen, and his name Hwoh; he received the title of *Liú-hiá*, or Under the Willow, from the place where he ruled. He belonged to the same country and age as Confucius, and enjoyed the confidence of his sovereign. He was very strict in his observance of the forms of etiquette, and is chiefly known for his not noticing a young girl of eight or ten years of age, who was once seated in his lap by a relative. He is also styled *Chi-ching* 志誠 the Just, from his regard to equity and veracity.

At the beginning of the present year our troubles multiplied thick upon us; these two things befell us, famine and beating. Our appointed purveyors for some time supplied us with the worst articles possible, so that we were obliged to refuse payment, and of course, refuse all acceptance of food through them. On one occasion, I succeeded in getting a man with a horse-load of potatoes into the house—no mean proof that the natives have neither enmity against us, nor desire to know of any law prohibiting dealings with foreigners. The step was taken so suddenly on my part, and so early in the morning, that I had my man in the lane leading up to our house, before the spies were on the alert. A tremendous hooting drove off the man as soon as he came in, but being so near I led the horse up to the door myself. However, on going out for other purchases, we met with a frightful accident. I had a servant with me at the time, and after selecting and laying down a good price for a piece of meat, ordered him to take it home. But on hearing the spies cry out and order the rabble to run after and tear it away from him, I took the meat into my own hand, and twice succeeded in dissuading them from attacking me, but they were repeatedly urged on, so that I took to my heels. Through a whole long street they pursued and finally overtook, and tore away from me this purchase made in a way, for which we have established several precedents in the markets, where no opposition had been attempted, neither towards myself nor Mrs. B., whenever we laid down silver coin for the articles we took from a stall. This public attack and disgraceful defeat frightened us greatly, and certainly there was much ground for it, considering the effect such scenes have on the mass of this population.

In this trying juncture of circumstances, we heard of an English bark being wrecked off Kumisan, whose captain had been brought hither by two American whalers to solicit a junk in order to take off his cargo, and wait until some ship put in, the whalers not being able to give him any other succor. It would take me too much time to spare, in this already long paper, were I to detail all the treachery with which this "hospitable" government met our application. Captain Clark had to find his way in the whalers to Shánghái, from whence H. M. S. Mariner was ordered over to the assistance of the wreck. A letter intrusted to the whalers, in which we begged succor from the nearest British authority, thus reached our consul at Shánghái, and though when the Mariner was here, I was not told she had been sent further than to Kumisan, I still incline to think the urgent note I addressed to the captain of any ship that might arrive at Kumisan, and

which the officers here were over glad to take thither and keep in readiness, was not of itself sufficient to bring a man of war seventy miles off its track. I am therefore grateful for any hint Mr. Alcock felt himself permitted officially to give for extending us so opportune a relief.

This government, persuaded that I had now had enough of Lewchewan hospitality, sent message after message to learn if the ship could be induced to come hither, supposing that I would avail myself of the opportunity. To make still more sure, on my advice, they prepared and kept ready a letter at Kumisan, in case the ship would or could not put in here, to be sent to the governor of Hongkong. They hesitated long before they ventured on such a step, which they plainly saw assumed a political character, and upon which ground I found it all the more palatable; for I thought it a good piece of diplomacy to bring about an overture from a Japanese government to English officials, however trifling the motive might be.

Our situation was such that I felt fully justified in appealing to the English government for protection, but being persuaded that a missionary's prayer would likely be quite disregarded, I tried to give it as much weight as I could. Since the government here with pleasure became my secretary, I confess I expected that some step or other would be taken by the English government, if not for us, at least for themselves. The way was open, the passage from Hongkong or Shánghài to Napa takes from four to six days, and for so long a time, it seemed to me an English ship might absent itself, and no doubt often does so for naval exercise. So cheap and easy an opening for diplomatic relations with Japan, who knows when it will offer again? Government here saw eye to eye with me. I told them, that though I had often written on the difficulties I meet, none will easily believe that the rulers of a country, which has obtained such renown for hospitality, should be in earnest in opposing the residence among them of a family which brings them advantage, and never can do them any harm. I further told them, that I was sent by a public body, very much interested in the welfare of Lewchew, and that I can by no means return without first hearing from them on the subject. Moreover, I am here so placed, that I can not call a ship over here when I like; it must be sent, or come of itself, and as the English government, in cases when no other can be got, will always feel it their duty to succor a subject by a ship of war when near, it is quite likely, if the authorities in Lewchew bring the case strongly and clearly enough before our government, that we would obtain a ship to take us off.

I have been the more particular in giving you the secret springs of this transaction, for I am persuaded that evil-minded persons will avail themselves of the dispatch written by the Lewchewan authorities to our governor, to prove more conclusively that I assumed an official character. At the same time, I confess, I promised myself direct relief from any issue the matter might take; and some hopes indirectly, since the government here would now be persuaded I was ready to leave if recalled. What they actually wrote to governor Bonham I know not, but they told me it was in all respects parallel to the following dispatch, addressed to the captain of the *Mariner*.

“A prepared petition. Sháng Tingchú, the superintendent of affairs and great minister (now the Regent), and Má Liángtsái, the treasurer (or governor) of the department of Chungshán in the kingdom of Lewchew, hereby beg you to take pity on us, and receive Bettelheim on board and carry him home, in order to do a favor to this little land.

“You plainly see that this kingdom is exceedingly small, its productions scanty, its people destitute, so that we are unable to have relations with other countries in a suitable manner; and therefore when their people or officers come ashore here to live, they do what the laws of the land prohibit. Yet Englishmen and Frenchmen have come here loitering about, and in order to provide them with things necessary during several years, both officers and people have been obliged to come at all hours, in order either to oversee or to work for them; the one to disburse from the public stores, the other to labor for the daily use of these men—all which has been very distressing, impoverishing, and irksome. The Frenchmen went away last year about the seventh month in a ship of their own country which came in here; but your countryman Bettelheim has delayed his stay here a long time, whereby poverty has been added to poverty, and the country is not able to stand it. Moreover, our country is out of the way in a corner of the ocean, and there are always mists upon the hills and exhalations arising, so that we fear the climate will not agree with them, and they will unhappily be liable to sickness. Besides requesting Bettelheim himself to embark and return home, as is proper, we humbly request and beg your Excellency to glance at the circumstances of the case, and take pity on us; and when your noble ship is about to turn her head homeward to take the said Bettelheim on board. Then not only will we ourselves be much obliged, but officers and people generally will implore blessings upon you. An urgent petition. March 9th, 1849.”

Letter to Capt. Matheson of H. B. M. brig *Mariner*.

具稟琉球國中
山府總理大臣
尙廷柱布政大
夫馬
良材等爲乞垂
憐恤接
伯德令一同回
國以惠小邦事
切照敝國蕞爾
蜃疆產
乏民窮不能與
他邦應待也是
以他國人員上
岸棲
身素係國法所
禁但有
英佛兩客逗遛
以來官民人等
爲備其供應物
件數年
之間日夜羣集
末由修職營業
上則有廩餼之
費下
則有日用之費
甚苦窮阨至該
佛客于去年七
月際
因有該國船隻
到來坐駕其船
長行回國今
貴國伯德令等
久致淹留則窮
益添窮而國不
能自立
也况且敝國僻
處海隅常多山
嵐鬱瘴恐有土
不
服染成病症之
憂茲除懇
伯德令附搭回
國外稟請伏乞
大人電察前情
俯垂憐恤恩准
於寶舟返棹之
時接該
伯德令一同回
國不但卑職感
激卽舉國官民
亦戴祝
不諛矣切稟

If anything is to be wondered at in this dispatch, it is how these astute and crafty Japanese officials can think that Englishmen are so stupid as to believe such nonsense and act upon it; a cursory perusal would I think, leave this impression upon the mind. But my conclusion is quite different. They are so cunning as to desire to pass for simpletons, in order thereby to throw us off our guard; they stupidly try to

ape the partridge's simplicity, supposing it will be taken for sincerity, or perhaps for a mistake. As they well know the only ground on which to base a request for our removal is their *law* prohibiting residence to foreigners (more than which really the whole dispatch means nothing); so that, if you yield, they boast they know how to force their old law, unmitigated by any collateral plea, even upon nations like England and France. You may be assured that this is the drift of their diplomacy.

Except one question, raised at the conference, either by Captain Matheson of the *Mariner*, or by Mr. Robertson, the vice-consul at Shínghí, Whether they had any complaint to bring against me?—all went well. And even to this question, the hypocrites, in the full supposition that we were to leave, thought it becoming the joyful occasion to answer by all rising and unitedly holding out their arms as if to embrace me. We met every argument they urged, some being sufficiently answered by a general laugh, and concluded by telling them plainly, we did not feel called upon to acknowledge a law by which a peaceable man was forbidden to reside in any country.

Their disappointment at this result was great, too unexpected to be concealed, and I took good care not to add my complaints to their already sufficiently bitter chagrin. I begged Captain Matheson not to produce the letter I had addressed to him recounting my grievances, and except a few trifling points orally mentioned, I thought the conference had better be broken up, which, as I was the interpreter, was easily done, though I saw they wished to prolong it.

How little advantage Christian nations can promise themselves to obtain from Japan, by yielding, temporizing, gentlemanly, appeals, has already been many times shown; and how little, on a minor scale, we gained here by the intercessions of the *Mariner* was soon seen; for a passage across the river in the public ferry-boat was refused me, as heretofore, and still more unmistakably in another pelting at noonday, which I received before March ended, while addressing a few people in the streets, at their open shop doors. On my repeated complaints, I got only a verbal message, that a boy, wishing to drive off some fowls, had missed the birds and struck the wall, from which the stone rebounded and hit me on the inside of the fore-arm, a place to which no missile taking such a ramble could possibly find its way, and still less retain force enough to inflict a considerable wound.

I come now to an epoch in our history, which may be peculiarly interesting to you, namely, the visit of the American sloop of war *Preble*, Commander Glynn. No sooner had I rowed near her, than the officers

vied with each other, who should be first to show me sympathy. "Seven boxes for you, Sir!" was the salutation given me, before I had even set foot on the gallant ship. "Seven boxes," said I; "well, there will certainly be *one* man with them." The kind greeters knew not what I referred to; I meant a missionary brother, for whom I would have given seven boxes of my own, even for a simple European servant. But if there was no man who came to remain with me, there was Capt. Glynn and his excellent corps of officers to do for us, as much as they possibly could while here; and though it became apparent, even the next morning, that little Yedo has as good means as big Yedo to have little intercourse with an American man of war, and all hope of any melioration of our position by the kind offices of a friendly ship was of course cut off, still the single fact that Captain Glynn bought provisions in the market and paid for them, and had them carried home by natives, notwithstanding the hostile position government assumed against his ship, has done you, and consequently us, more good than Commodore Biddle did with his three-decker in having a look at the capital of Japan.

These, however, are matters foreign to me as a missionary, but I can not omit to beg you to make my heartfelt acknowledgments both to Commander Glynn and his officers for the many presents and contributions made us in a variety of ways, most considerate on their part; among these, Dr. Burt's forgetting a fine Manila hat and a new fashioned coat, was not the least charming specimen of the method with which gift upon gift was put upon us. I wish I could walk half as much as the shoes and boots Captain Glynn gave me would serve; but there is an end to my excursions, unless a man comes to my help, who can stay at my house, or at least in Napa, while I am absent at a distance. Since my Chinese servant left in the *Mariner*, I can not stir from home. I am the more thankful to your countrymen, for I could in no way requite, or even gratify them, by procuring any native articles for them, a service which I could formerly always do for ships in port; for the *Preble* I could not get even a single potato, and I am therefore quite in debt to her generous officers.

I am now near the conclusion of this paper, and wish only to add a copy of one more dispatch, which will leave no one in doubt respecting the lying duplicity of this government, and in which, besides a plain mention of the case of the *Preble*, will be found a variety of topics entered into, quite unusual in Lewchewan official papers; you will thus be the more fully able to advise us on the further steps to be taken, if any are found advisable, for this mission.

敬啟者前日接有

貴客尊札數條其可覆者盡陳于後○三月十五日接到尊札

內云經在

英大人面前議准

貴客出銀僱馬僱艇無阻滯也卑職前日上英船之時曾無議

准其事今乃如此說者實出于意外敵國馬匹如前日所告

出產素少不但百姓不敷馱貨之用抑且士民畜而騎之者

最少矣至于民家小船造作不多所有數船只不過運貢辦

公耳一切私用猶苦難辦况于人賃益覺其難然逢有

貴國船隻到來即停止前項運貢辦公聊撥二小船以通往

來此以事出于非常而不得不辦也倘平日軟許人賃則不

得運貢辦公失便不少故雖有僱船之請屢經請辭仍乞洞

察前由嗣後停止僱馬僱船○又云強止我免步行四方隋

即着官訪問並無強止

貴客者案查

貴客行路之時不許愚民小兒等失禮得罪等因屢經飭示在

案今因

貴客示諭復已行令各處嚴加檢束勿違○又云探卒等驚嚇愚民趕着欲聽聖道者不可也且使舖家等掩門晝時停工止貿易全不可也敝國上自官吏下至百姓無欲聽

耶穌之道者傳聞

貴客欲教

耶穌之道在各街上用手比勢高聲講解行路之人或有趕行而觀者或有站住而看者此非欲聽

耶穌之道也員吏役等無喝逐其聚觀者又店舖爲習俗也店班不多者當主人出外之時關閉窗戶此非官吏等着令關戶也○又云耶穌全能無限無量誰逆其旨乎敝國自古以來叨列中朝屏翰專

孔孟之道官民各隨其分得以修身齊家至國家政務亦行聖賢遺法永致安寧之治如

貴耶
 客從
 道前
 乃屢
 非在
 人路
 心之
 所講
 嚮解
 往其
 也是
 以道
 並無
 聽從
 縱令
 逗遛
 日久
 如此
 講解
 欲人
 承聽
 亦無
 人信
 從情
 願嗣
 後止
 其講
 解而
 待有
 寶
 舟到
 來搭
 駕回
 國不
 勝仰
 望○
 三月
 二十二
 日接
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 云近
 日或
 昨往
 兵船
 回來
 或別
 屬花
 國兵
 船一
 二隻
 遣到
 這
 裡總
 理官
 切勿
 待之
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 待前
 日的一
 樣敵
 國逢
 有他
 國船
 隻到
 來即
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 相待
 少無
 輕忽
 當亞
 美利
 駕船
 到來
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 已
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 三月
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 札內
 云孩
 子男女
 未出
 痘者
 應到
 院種
 入痘
 汁卑
 職即
 遣大
 夫備
 由請
 辭嗣
 于四
 月初
 二日
 據
 貴客
 示諭
 牛痘
 種入
 人所
 已得
 種之
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 彼出
 露而
 已總
 不流
 行全
 身况
 不能
 流行
 民間
 因送
 新種
 痘法
 論一
 本等
 語敵
 國
 治痘
 之法
 已如
 前日
 所告
 人皆
 知熟
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 地薄
 產乏
 將有
 種
 痘先
 察年
 成之
 豐凶
 又考
 孩子
 之年
 紀預
 貯食
 物藥
 材方
 請

痘痲于中國流行國中使孩兒一時出痘是爲習俗今計種痘年期尙早至藥材之貯亦無所備况又上屆辰年以來因英佛亞三國船隻接踵到來上自官役下至百姓日夜駐劄那霸辦理公用末由修職營業且因

貴客逗遛益苦公用之煩現今舉國人民極其困窮若于此時使痘瘡流行則不免死亡之患矣故曾遣員請辭祈爲體諒更有所希者牛痘之法雖云不流行民間然國異人殊深恐或有風氣流行若欲使

令女兒種痘祈俟回國之後方行播種因將所送新種逗法論奉還○以上數端本應及早回覆但患病臥床未見全愈今乘病間聊具鄙語敬行回覆祈爲包涵並候

金安不一

道光二十九年四月二十六日中山府總理大臣尙廷柱覆

Reply of the Regent on several points.

“ A respectful communication. Your several letters were received some days ago, and those parts which can be answered are all herewith replied to in order. On the 7th April, your letter was received, in which you say, that, ‘ In the presence of an English captain, it had already been agreed to permit you to hire horses and boats with your own money, &c.,* and that no obstruction would be put in the way of doing so.’ When I was on board the English ship, there was no reference or assent to such a thing, and in saying so, you have certainly exceeded what I understood upon the matter. The horses of this country, as I told you before, are usually few in number, and the people themselves have not enough to transport their goods; whilst those which are reared for scholars and people to ride upon are extremely few.† As to boats, the people construct very few, and those which are made are only used to carry taxes, or on the public service; so that to allow a private person to use them is somewhat difficult, and to hire them out to an individual is still more out of the question. Even when one of your country’s ships arrive, we have to suspend the public service of carrying articles in which they may happen to be engaged, and take off two or three boats for a while to go to and fro; this, however, is an occasional service, and must of course be attended to. But if we should permit them to be hired out to persons, they could not be employed on government service as they are needed, which would be highly detrimental. Therefore, although you have requested to hire boats, I have repeatedly begged to decline the request; and also again draw your attention to the circumstances of the case, and beg that you will stop hiring horses and boats.

“ As you also observe, ‘ I am forcibly stopped, and hindered from going about,’ I immediately ordered the officers to inquire into the matter, and it seems that you, Sir, are not forcibly stopped. It appears, in fact, that when you go abroad into the streets, you say you are unwilling that the rustic people, the little children, and others, should violate all propriety and offend you; consequently, I have again

* The captain of H. B. M. brig *Mariner*. In my communication, I did not say *permitted*, which of course I could not do before the experiment was made. I only said that the object had been spoken of, and it was one of the topics mentioned in my letter to Capt. Matheson.

† When the French ships were here, their officers rode about in numerous parties, and when I went to Oonting on a visit to Admiral Cecille, accompanying the officers of a French merchant brig, we had the best horses, and at the post, houses had a choice of relays from among 20 to 30 horses.

and again given my orders to this effect, as is on record. And now once more, on getting your dispatch, I have again issued the most stringent injunctions for the people not to disobey, but to preserve the utmost respect.*

"What you further say, 'That the spies and soldiers terrify the rustic people, and drive off those who are wishing to hear the holy doctrine,' is not correct; and still more unjust is it to say that they cause the shopkeepers and people to shut their doors, laborers to cease from their work in midday, and all business to be suspended. For in this country, from the highest officers to the lowest of the people, nobody wants to hear the doctrines of Jesus.† I have heard it said that when you, Sir, desire to preach the doctrine of Jesus, you go in the streets, gesticulating, and speaking in a loud voice; but passers-by, even if they run up to gaze at you, do not thereby prove their desire to hear the doctrine of Jesus. The policemen, or the officers, do not hoot at or drive away those who gather to look, and those in the shops are only acting as is their custom. We have no great number of shops, and when the master wishes to go out, the doors and windows are closed, but this is not done by command of the officers or police.

"You remark, 'Jesus is almighty, and his power immeasurable and boundless; who can resist his will?' For ages, we in this land have rejoiced, with the rulers and statesmen of China, in learning the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius alone. By these, rulers and ruled, according to their several stations, are able to cultivate virtue, and regulate their households; and in the government of the country, we follow the rules left behind by those sage and holy men, which have been to us an everlasting canon of peace and prosperity: but the hearts of men do not at all incline to hear the doctrines of Jesus. You have in days past orally explained, and nobody has received them; though you still loiter and hang about here for a long time, wishing people to hear them, yet nobody will believe and accept them. Hereafter I wish you would cease this preaching, and when a ship

* I never complained against any but the spies. Government declared that it is the children and peasants which molest me; and the drift of this promised injunction to preserve the utmost respect is that the people will be more strictly driven off, should I address them. The context of facts is absolutely necessary to enable you to read aright these official papers.

† We have the best reasons for saying that when a Japanese official document speaks of the nation, it supposes it to be absorbed in the wellbeing of a few rulers.

arrives, go aboard of her and return home. This is what I earnestly hope you will do.

"On the 14th of April, I received your letter in which you say, 'Should the ship [Preble] which left here yesterday, or should one or two other American ships be sent hither, the *tsang-li kwán* (the regent) should by no means conduct towards them as he did to the one on the previous day.' Now, when a foreign ship comes here, we treat her with propriety, and never exhibit the least contempt. When the American ship anchored, I sent the treasurer to salute her captain, and prepare the articles he wanted; how could we presume to neglect anything? I am therefore quite at a loss to know what you mean by your remark.

"On the 21st April, I received your letter in which you observe, 'All the children, who have not yet had the small-pox, should come to my house for vaccination.' I thereupon sent a high officer politely to decline the proposition. But afterwards, on the 24th, you wrote again to say, 'That when a man was vaccinated, the pox only appeared on a spot, and did not extend over the whole body, and therefore the disease could not spread among the people; and you sent a volume called *Account of a New Mode of Vaccination*.' I have before intimated to you that we are already well acquainted with the mode of curing the small-pox; but as this country is poor and its productions scanty, we must ascertain whether or not the year is an abundant one before we commence vaccination, inquire into the ages of the children, and prepare a store of medicines and provisions, after which we will get pox scabs from China, and distribute them in the land, and require all the children to be vaccinated at the same time. This is our usual practice. But just now, I think it is too early in the year to vaccinate, and the store of medicines is not ready.* Furthermore, since 1844, on account of English, French, and American ships coming here one after another, every class of people, officers and plebeians, have been obliged to stop at Napa, and attend to the public service, even to the detriment of their own public functions and private business. And you, Sir, too, by loitering here, have much increased our troublesome public duties, and now the whole kingdom† is greatly im-

* My stock of medicines is at their service, if they need any. Last year the officers sent cows to me to be examined whether any vaccine virus could be obtained from them, so sensible had they become to the importance of vaccination from my repeated representations on the subject. This year some virus was received by the Preble.

† That is, really the rulers.

poorished. If, therefore, the small-pox was to spread among us at this juncture, we certainly could not escape the calamity of death; and it was on this account that I sent an officer to beg to decline the offer, and I also request you to accede to it.

“There is one thing more, which is rather observable. Though the New Method says that the small-pox will not spread among the people, still the natives of different countries are unlike, and I am very fearful that the effluence or virus may get abroad. If you wish to vaccinate your daughter,* I beg you will wait until you return to your own country, when it can be done. For these reasons, I return herewith the copy of the New Method of Vaccination.

“I would have earlier replied to these several points, but I was confined to my bed by illness, and write these few words even before I am at all well, which I send as a respectful answer, begging at the same time you will excuse me, and wishing you the highest peace.

“Reply of the Regent Sháng Tingchú. May 18th, 1849.”

A greater tissue of the most palpable misstatements and pretexts, betrayed too by the very enforcement and stress laid on points where they felt their error to be unmistakable, and a better proof of their obstinate and ever increasing opposition to even the most advantageous and philanthropic offer to do good to the nation, can not be given. The document is also remarkable for its discussion on the religion of Jesus, a name, which formerly they could not bear, and on account of which they returned several of my dispatches. This, notwithstanding the language they still dare use against the King of kings and Lord of lords, I consider as a point gained, and proof that persevering effort has a softening effect, even on Japanese hatred to Christianity. That which deserves prominent consideration, too, is, that this dispatch clearly demonstrates that the rulers perfectly know I am a missionary and nothing else, and that whatever they do say, or may have said, on the political nature of my mission, is mere hypocritical foppery, as they themselves are convinced that a messenger at all authorized by a European government would not have been left four years in such destitution, at the mercy of the populace.

Weary as I am of writing, I must not omit all mention of a visit from the Nancy Dawson, a Thames yacht, on a trip round the world, which put in here, May 22d. Imagine the delight of my wife to be

* This is to give the paper an air of sincerity, for the writers knew at the time, that my babe had been vaccinated, though I am sorry to say it did not take

again in the company of a lady—a Londoner too like herself, after so long a separation from all female society. Captain and Mrs. Shedden were all friendship and generosity towards us. Omitting further details, I will only mention that a meeting was arranged between Capt. Shedden and the authorities, at which the latter were outmanœuvred, and obliged to keep possession of a letter I had prevailed on Capt. S. to write them concerning us. I suppose they took it for an official note, and felt at a loss to decide what to do; for if it was official, it must have an answer, but how to reply, if not disposed to yield, was their dilemma. One night, after we were already in bed, tired with fatigue, and depressed with grief occasioned by parting that day with our friends in the yacht, and after the officials had had four days' time to prepare a reply, the messengers came knocking at the door, in great haste to deliver the answer to Capt. Shedden's letter, as if there was now any way left me of recalling him. At the same time, another dispatch was given to me full of excuses for the delay, and of regret for the sudden departure of the ship, and begging I would read over Capt. Shedden's letter.

Reply to Capt. Shedden's letter.

具稟琉球國中山府總理大臣
 尙廷柱爲據實回覆事前日恭接
 大人尊札內云貴國仁待本船付
 水送鮮食物本官多謝多蒙央
 貴國定其價值本官就奉送之焉
 等由敝國彈丸小國物產無幾
 但因人自遠方來聊送水菜少展待
 客之誠請勿給價又云近來英
 兵船主在此之間買來數東西
 求託伯德令將價錢交于賣人
 等但貴國措阻此人免收價值
 如此英兵主之好名受辱不勝
 等由查該船主所買物件價錢
 經着動用工項交給賣人不使

他吃虧是係卑職待客當然之禮請勿給價至所說攔阻實人免收價值恐有傳聞之誤也又云伯德令修文書送我內有英臣兩回受辱數冤屈之案等由敝國於待伯德令也以禮相接毫無使他受辱冤屈之事又云自家往來之時有人驚嚇良民大聲嗚噓他嗚噓他掩門掩門等由敝國自古以來俗稱西洋人爲嗚噓他此非輕慢之語也又官家常關門戶至于民家平日開門惟當家人出外之時乃行關閉不是杜禦伯德令又云自家買何東西遣家人食物買來乃國政不肯倘若有人賣與英臣者則國政從重治罪等由敝國逢有他國人購需物件必飭屬吏買辦不許私爲買賣是爲國法又云所異者國政布散流言說伯德令等窮舉國做琉球爲貧民風聞不但遠實且又加害大英國之好名等由敝國自伯德令逗遛以來舉國官民奉公奔走投廢職業甚至因疲然不敢流言窮國而墜

貴國之令名又云伯德令所買之東西食物價高昂值未厘清楚也矣等由伯德令所需物件按照時價公平算明但因敝國素無金銀通用故所領價銀存貯庫中僅備器物之用耳安有抬價求利哉又云今時貿易之事此海方很多屬英屬別泰西國有船往來不得不到這裡若貴國仁待預備賣出需用之物則早日貴國進興得利加富等由敝國地薄產乏逢有他國船來其所需水菜等物猶苦難辦至其預備物件費之實非國力所及也豈有圖利求富之意哉又云伯德令多有藥材自

英國帶來到這裡若有人不幸抱恙請來到院則英醫勉力醫理等由敝國往古以來傳授醫術於中華得以療病不必用英醫之術伏乞

大人體諒切稟

道光二十九年閏四月初六日

“ A prepared petition. Shíng Tingchú, the prime-minister (or regent) of the department of Chungshán in Lewchew, hereby replies, bringing proofs for the truth of his words.

“ A few days ago, I respectfully received your excellency's dispatch, in which it is said, ‘ Your government has treated me very kindly in sending water to my vessel, and giving me fresh provisions, for which I am greatly obliged and thank you ; I beg you to set the price for them, and I will accordingly send the money, &c.’ Our little kingdom, like a cannon-ball for bigness, can furnish but few productions ; yet since your excellency has personally come here from afar, we have managed to send you water and a few vegetables ; for this trifling token of hospitality, we beg you not to think of paying.

“ You also remark, ‘ The captain of a British man of war lately in here bought several articles, for which he requested Bettelheim to pay those who sold them ; but your government prohibited their receiving the money, and kept them away, by which conduct the good name of the captain of a British man of war is greatly disgraced.’ The fact is, in regard to the articles purchased by this captain, the money had already been disbursed from the public treasury, and paid over to the sellers, so that they could suffer no loss ; and as we officers always wish to act towards visitors with proper hospitality, I begged him not pay for them. I fear, therefore you have been misinformed as to the sellers having been driven away, and not receiving their money.*

“ You further say, ‘ Bettelheim has written me a letter, in which he mentions two instances when he was disgraced, and many other cases of oppression and wrong done him.’ This government has ever behaved towards Bettelheim with propriety, and never in the least degree caused him to be disgraced, nor has it wrongfully oppressed him. And you say he adds, ‘ When I go out and in, there are persons who affright the common people, and cry out with a loud voice, A Hollander ! A Hollander ! Shut your doors ! Shut your doors !’ Now we here commonly call all who come from the West, Holland-

* The truth is, that as the authorities thought I was going to leave in the *Mariner*, they afforded us great facilities, and a bill was made out in presence of Capt. Matheson of all the things we bought. But the upshot altered matters. When I resorted to the market where the earthenware was bought, the overseer, who had made out the bills, and all purchasers and sellers, were driven off I wrote repeatedly to the government, but in vain ; and at last took the money and threw it down on the spot where the purchase had been made. I could not learn, however, whether the money ever came into the hands of the seller.

ers,* and the term is not at all a disparaging one. Further, officers usually keep their doors shut, but the common people let their's remain open during the day, except the household is going out, when the doors are barred; this is not done to annoy nor as a defense against Bettelheim.

"Again you remark: 'When he (Bettelheim) goes out to purchase articles himself, or when he sends servants to buy eatables, the laws forbid it; and whoever sells to him are regarded and punished as criminals by the laws.' Now the regulations of this country in dealing with foreigners require that official compradors be employed to purchase whatever may be needed, and do not permit private dealings.

"Further you remark, 'It is very surprising that a report should be spread abroad among the people, that Bettelheim and his family impoverish the country by living in it, and that they will make the Lewchewans a poor people; this report is not at all true, and injures the reputation of England.' Since the time that Bettelheim came here, the whole country—officers and people, have had orders to serve him most zealously, and have done so, even to the damage of their own duties and business, until they are quite weary of it; they have not presumed to circulate a report of his impoverishing the land, and thus defaming your honorable country's reputation.

"And again you observe: 'Bettelheim is obliged to pay very high prices for food and other things he buys, and yet he pays the utmost farthing.' The articles which Bettelheim requires are reckoned according to the current and fair market-price; but as no gold or silver coin is current here,† that which he pays is laid up in the government treasury, to be ready for use in making articles: how can we force up the price, and be thus seeking for gain!

"Further; 'In our days, commerce is greatly extending in these seas, English and vessels of other western countries are going to and

* The origin of the appellation may have been innocent, as indeed they formerly knew only of the Dutch visiting Nagasaki; but at present, in common parlance, *Oranda* means *barbarian*, and is a word used somewhat as *finkwei* is at Canton, to frighten children with.

† Purchases are made here with silver according to its weight, but there are proofs enough of the existence of a currency, and the great consumption of gold and silver. The head ornaments constantly buried with their owners, the extensive trade with Japan, the imports from China, the peddling trade throughout the islands, the mere mention of a *treasury* in a dispatch like this,—amply show that coin or bullion is used.

fro, and will necessarily come into this port; if your government treat them well, and prepare for sale necessaries for their use, the country will soon flourish, and be greatly the gainers by such a traffic.' This country is small and its productions few, and when a foreign ship comes in here, even the water and vegetables she requires are obtained and furnished with difficulty; as to preparing articles for selling to them, it certainly is more than the resources of this kingdom would permit. How then, can we be scheming for gain, and laying plans for enriching ourselves?

"And lastly you say; 'Bettelheim has a large supply of medicines which he brought here from England; if any person is afflicted with disease, request him to come to his house, and the English doctor will zealously do all he can to cure him.' For a very long period, we have practiced the medical art in this country as it is done in China; and in healing diseases, we have therefore no need of employing the English modes of cure.

"I humbly beg your excellency to examine this, and consider these things. An earnest petition. May 27th, 1849."

The conclusion of this letter, of which one most gratifying feature is the omission of prayer for, or even an allusion to our removal, leads me to add a few words on my medical labors.

In the first year of my arrival, I had upwards of fifty patients, most of them suffering from cutaneous diseases—leprosy, psora, lepra, elephantiasis, tumors, &c., just as you have in China. I think the night soil, universally used for manure here as it is in China, without undergoing any preparatory process, and the almost exclusive use of pork as animal food, are among, if not the only chief causes of the prevalence of these disorders. We ourselves, and our poor children, have suffered, and the latter still suffer from psora, in many of its forms. We have obtained some relief by giving up the use of pork and protecting our feet, for the naked feet of the natives (which, before the Preble pitied us, we were obliged to imitate) has no doubt much to do with the frequency of elephantiasis, and other malignant pustules, which from the extremities spread disorder over the whole system. Cataract, leucoma and staphyloma, are not rare, but I only succeeded in getting hold of the hand of a man whose eyes were both covered with leucoma; I led him home, but besides there not being much hope of recovery or relief, he was removed on the second day of treatment by my guard. Several respectable persons from the capital called, and the itch ointment and eye-water promised well; since the death of the king all this has been stopped.

In my visits to families, I met with several cases of heart-rending destitution from want of medical aid. I took medicine to their houses; but on my next visit, bottle, medicine, all, had taken been by the emissaries, and the patients begged me not to expose them to danger and penalties, in addition to the pains they already suffered from illness and want. Since the Nancy Dawson left, I have offered medicines in two cases, which were accepted and used with good effect. Perhaps the express mention made by Capt. Shedden on this topic had some effect. Ophthalmic cases are very frequent, and from neglect or ill treatment many of them lead to blindness.

About the time of the equinoxes, frightful mortality reigns, of which the numerous burials in the cemeteries on both sides of our residence make us mournful witnesses. This year many deaths happened in our neighborhood, and the water of our open wells becoming scarcely drinkable from the mud washed in by the long and heavy rains, I offered the magistrate of Napa twenty dollars to let curbs and covers be made to the wells of this neighborhood. The lying spirit dared to send the money back, accompanied by an official note, in which he told me, though it rained ever so long, that not a drop entered our wells, and they had no need of my money, or of my advice about putting alum or coals into the water. I had also some surgical exercise when the French brig *Pacificque* was here. I amputated the fore-arm of a sailor in the Nancy Dawson, who had been injured by a shot. He left the fourth day after the operation in a promising state.

To sum up. This station, abstracted from the iniquitous interference of government, has proved no exception to the general way in which newly opened missions proceed; and considering that this is Japan, the want of exception is already in its favor. The divine argument against depraved Israel, "Hath a nation changed their gods which are no gods," is certainly felt also under the gospel, notwithstanding its being a commandment of the ever blessed God made known to all nations for the obedience of faith. Nor must we forget the singular and peculiar situation of this nation of Lewchew. "Her father was an Ammonite, and her mother a Hittite:"—China and Japan have begotten and foster this bastard people, and the iniquities of both taint their very soul. You may justly infer the disposition of this government and nation from what you see in the reception they give the doctrines of the cross, and the effect these will exert on them when received. Japan itself is a child of China, in faith, literature, and national morals; and the proverb holds good, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's

teeth are set on edge." Here they won't bite into any fruit which China has declared to be sour. To this must be added, that Lewchew, unlike China and Japan, never stood in any connection with foreigners, has had no relation whatever with a Christian nation, nor sent her ships to distant ports. They have "settled on their lees, they have not been emptied from vessel to vessel, therefore their taste remaineth in them, and their scent is not changed." God has now sent them wandering, and they shall wander; they must submit to his divine discipline, and eventually enter the ranks of his tributary kingdoms.

But the Gospel, since the age of miracles closed, has worked its way by means and effects, and its progress has been proportionate to the means employed, and their adaptation to the various modifications the several localities offer. Now, in this respect this mission is left in unparalleled destitution. It would have been much better not to have begun it, than to carry it on in such a heart-breaking way. For though the want of success is certainly much owing to my unworthiness and incapacity, still, in a great measure it may also be accounted for by the want of adequate machinery to carry forward such an arduous undertaking. For what can a single naked hand do towards breaking up all this hard fallow-ground? What am I before this mountain? Not only did the study of these languages—the Chinese, the Lewchewan, and the kindred Japanese, fall on me, and the harassing opposition we experience, retard both myself and Mrs. B., but a great amount of domestic labor, so that often time and strength failed for prosecuting that labor, for which alone it is worth while to suffer these daily hardships and vexations. In this land, "where every prospect pleases, and only man is vile," the difficulty is not to live and work as a missionary, but to live at all, to live and move about as a man. I am persuaded a merchant or a mechanic would be as much opposed here as I am. The means used by government to rid themselves of us are all directed against the animal man; they beat, they pelt, they starve us, when they please; they send us bad provisions, and abridge our locomotion, and knowing we possess a modicum of human feeling, they harass and vex us in endless methods.

Driving off the people from before me is not done so much that they shall not hear religion, as to show that the government can master a foreigner, disgrace him publicly, and teach the people to fly before him as from a wild beast. Of this intention they make no secret, and drive them off when my wife, or the children walk through the streets. When I complain of wrongs, the natives tell me, we must obey the

laws; and as the laws say, they can have no dealings with a foreigner, he may sink up to his waist in a ditch, or in the sea—as indeed was twice my case—and nobody would act wrong if he did not help him out. To make it possible therefore for a missionary to live here as a man, and carry on this mission effectually, means are required, adapted to the peculiarities of this particular ground, but hitherto none such have been employed. I shall, therefore, close this sketch of my operations with a few suggestions.

1st. Sound the trumpet in Zion; make this mission known to those who watch the progress of the Gospel. In the Record, a leading English religious paper, not a single notice is to be found respecting this mission, and I suppose because its editors knew nothing of it. Among the multiplicity of objects now engaging the world as well as the church, anything requiring special or even common attention, must be prominently brought under notice.

2d. Sound an alarm in the holy mountain of God. The church of God has tender sympathies. Tell her a day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness, has spread over us. I am the man that has seen affliction; I am hedged about that I can not get out; the enemy has made my chain heavy. Now, let the children of God only know my case, and the difficulties experienced in making known the glad tidings of salvation, and we shall not fail to have their tears, their prayers, and their help.

3d. Knowing this, that no mission of Christendom is of any private interpretation, it is the duty of all to work together for good. No mission becomes the private property of those who first undertook it, but all and each who approve of the new sphere opened for Christian and philanthropic exertions, are its patrons. A mission like this in Lewchew, in particular, isolated and cut off from regular intercourse with the main-land, approached by only a few straggling ships, not all of whom assist us, and a few rather injure, will scarcely be regarded as likely to be successfully carried on by a mere handful of men at such a distance. We are thankful for the Divine favor which has enabled us to open this new corner in the Lord's vineyard, and we may be sure that if it is his will to prosper the tillage, laborers will be raised up to enter upon the harvest.

4th. No half work. Either keep it up efficiently, or give it up altogether. One man to a station like this renders even his efforts almost nugatory. If the mission be at all worth carrying on, let there be at the very least one brother sent to my help, one who can endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, shod with the preparation

of the gospel of peace, mild, patient, forbearing, an Abdiel, who in all afflictions, knows for whom he endureth shame, and by whose grace; and yet one who has a forehead of adamant, and can stand reproaches, for all the house of Lewchew is impudent and hard-hearted. If such men are sent here, *utriusque artis periti*, men who trim their way to seek love, and yet like Jeremiah, are born men of strife and contention to the whole earth, I will joyfully sit at their feet, be guided by their counsel, and quickened to increased activity by their zeal and example.

5th. The mission imperatively requires the aid of an educated Chinese, who understands his own language, and can speak the court dialect fluently. No missionary can get along among this people without a good assistant in Chinese, for even the common people understand that character, and he will often wish to show them a book. There is also much writing to be done with compradores and with the authorities; so much, in fact, in my own case, that I have been obliged to give up writing out accounts with my purveyors, and am afraid I must curtail my correspondence with government, though that is now the only channel open for influencing those in power. Some dispatches occupy me an evening and forenoon in composing, inscribing in my copy-book, and writing out a fair copy to be forwarded.

6th. In my present position, I feel the want of a European servant to look after many things, which require and consume my time; and what if, as a last resort, all native assistance be forbidden us by the rulers? Yet this necessity would be less, if a missionary brother and his family came to our aid.

7th. Friendly exertions with merchants, whose ships now fret all waters, must not be neglected; and I am sure some can be found who will allow their captains to turn in here. Lewchew is in a queer location it is true, and a position somewhat further north or south, would have placed Napa in the course of ships bound to Canton or to Shánghái; but placed as she is, let us beg benevolent merchants whose ships sail between Shánghái and Sydney, Canton and San Francisco, or China and the West coast of the Americas, to have them touch here. The laying open the gold in California may be regarded as a design of Providence to push gold seekers between Asia and America upon Japan and the isles afar off. There are resources enough in Lewchew to make it an object with western nations to keep a lookout here, and I hope commerce will soon come to the help of Christianity.

8th. No efforts should be spared to induce England and the United States to send their ships, and survey these waters more minutely. Surveying ships in this neighborhood, and a man of war in this

port, would do good, if their officers and crews conducted as became Christians. I do not mean they should bombard these towns, but those who have power can speak with power. God has given Christian nations power in this world, and they must show the rod, as Moses did when he stood before the rock with it in his hand, when the rock will otherwise neither hear nor yield its native waters. Lord John Russell, in a speech made in the House of Commons on the 22d of Feb., 1848, said, "He contended, that in a foreign country, British subjects had a right to be protected by the public force of this country. The executive government would be greatly to blame if it gave less protection to British subjects now than in former times, and if it allowed the name of an Englishman to be less respected than it hitherto had been." Now then, why should not English subjects, or their friends at home and in China, openly claim protection for them against oppression, ill usage, and public disgrace in Lewchew? "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof:" who can forbid man to visit any part of God's earth? Why then should an English subject not be permitted to reside here? Have we by treaty with China bound ourselves not to visit Cochinchina, or Siam, or Tibet, or Corea? Suppose that Lewchew stands in the same relation to the Celestial Empire that these countries have stood, and perhaps still stand; even then none can oppose our residing here, or declare it against the faith of our treaties.

But admitting, for argument's sake, this to be a Chinese tributary, is it on this ground to be considered like the interior of China, which our generosity, and perhaps also just caution, have shut to us for the present? At a point of time when the brazen gates of Japan are so near to be burst open, is it reasonable or prudent, that Christian governments should look on quietly at the insults heaped upon a fellow Christian, at the Japanese frontier? Is it not an insult to drive a man back from a ferry, which every peasant is allowed to cross and recross fifty times a day? An English officer has here bought goods, a bill of which purchase was regularly made out, and the poor sellers are not permitted to receive payment. A native gentleman once accompanied me for some distance on my way, not minding the threats and shouts of spies; he was dragged from my side, dragged away by the beard, and cruelly beaten for no other sin than that he walked a few steps in friendly conversation with the English barbarian. Another Lewchewan, whose heart was attracted by the excellence of our faith, betrayed by his partiality to a foreigner, whom he was not afraid to call 'father,' was dragged from our neighborhood, and we have never

learned what became of him. Servants who formerly delighted to join in our family worship, are now "permitted," because commanded, to run from their master's house, simply because the name of Jesus had been mentioned to them. Similar facts, showing that this nation is trained—yea, forced, to abhor the names of foreigner and Christian, besides the many instances of personal obloquy mentioned in this paper, this Government has heaped upon us—do they not call every Christian and civilized power, to speak a word to stay the nuisance? And what if we be quite ejected, by open force or starvation? If I rightly understand the measures the Lewchewan authorities now employ against us in our very kitchen, and their open interference with everything of a domestic nature, we are not far from such a catastrophe. We drink our water for money, our wood is sold unto us, and yet we can not order what we find necessary for our health, nor can we get a workman into the house to make or repair utensils for our use.

The transition from respect to an utter disregard of all civility towards us was sudden. This whole nation is like a machine, the key to which is exclusively in the hands of the rulers? A move in any direction is no sooner indicated, than the whole current rushes thitherward. Can any one suppose our disgraceful expulsion will promote the interests of Christianity, or facilitate our intercourse with Japan? I can assure you none in the world. The eyes of Japan are upon us. Our ejection from Lewchew, an act which would not be simply that, but a submission of the foreigners to their law—submission, because military arms are not, though stones, sticks, famine, and cruel vexations are employed against us—will disgrace England as much, and in its moral effect be tantamount to the dismission the American Commodore had sealed on his forehead at Yedo. Do not think such events pass off in Japan for trifles. They are played off as such to the inexperienced stranger, and his pardon is begged for them as for any other common blunder by chance committed against him; just as they would beg my pardon after having pelted me, by saying, children or rude peasants had from inadvertency forgotten their instructions to behave politely towards me, or had intended to strike a bird and missed, the stone finding its way to the wounded spot; but no sooner has the excuse grown a little stale, than the insults are repeated, and the mistakes dished up to the people at large as victories over Christians or Christianity, and perhaps a battle lost against Japan can not do more to elate their pride, and feed their enmity. One of the great reasons that forbid my leaving, believe me, is to prevent or at least retard, shame and reproach to fall upon Christianity. Our defeat is the defeat of our

country and religion; honor and duty bid us to hold fast our confidence, and our faint hope firm to the end, and stand, a brave phalanx of soldiers of the cross, as long as we are helped and supported by God through Jesus Christ our Lord.

And now men of Israel, help! Remember, a son of Abraham, I have become a Gibeonite to help the Gentiles to an inheritance in the Canaan of God. For what am I doing here but hewing wood and drawing water, the first rough and menial service, by which the unshapely block is torn from the quarry of nature, to be subjected gradually to the smoothing tools of civilization and religion. Behold, I, and the children which God has given me, and the wife of my youth, life, and substance, and comfort, all we are and have, are laid upon the altar of God for the Gentiles' sake; will not a Gentile brother, whom grace has brought into the commonwealth of Israel, feel it his duty to come over and help us, and assist the elder brother in his toils and hardships endured for the gentiles' sake? Spread your skirts over this widowed Ruth, who has left father and mother and the land of her nativity, and is come unto a people not known heretofore, a nation meted out and trodden under foot, for no other reason than the glory of God, and the advancement of his kingdom of righteousness and truth. Do at least send us letters of comfort and advice. Perhaps our stay here is, for reasons unknown to me, inadmissible; perhaps the due time of relief has not yet come for these outskirts of the world; who knows but our's is a case similar to Ezekiel's, when the Lord directed him, "Prepare thy stuff for removing; it may be they will consider, though they be a rebellious house."

My dear brother, I need not ask you to excuse my length; I am tired of it myself, but could not cut it shorter. One of old said he had not time to be short; as for me I have not ability to write a short letter, if I have to say much. To say much and concisely is the gift of good writers, and I must be thankful for getting through my matter anyhow.

Believe me,

Your's in the bonds of the Gospel,

B. J. BETTELHEIM.

P. S. Since the preceding was written, information has been received from Dr. Bettelheim up to Dec. 28th, 1849, at which time he and his family were in good health. The same system of watching his motions whenever he goes abroad is kept up by the spies; and even when Mrs. Bettelheim goes out with him to make a diversion in his favor, by drawing part of their attention of herself, their number is increased, in order to prevent either of them quietly addressing the people. Speaking of the hindrances they put in the way of going out on the Sabbath, the recurrence of which they are well aware of, he says: "They make preparations the day before, doubling the guard and look-

out men on every station, so that when I go out to my work, in whatever direction, I find these emissaries at the end of every lane, besides forerunners going before crying, The barbarian! The barbarian! Shut the doors! Shut the doors! Besides this, there is a cordon inclosing me round about, sometimes not less than two yards' distance."

In order to elude them, he has screened himself in a thicket till evening, and then suddenly shown himself in the crowded market of the capital, but his success has not been much more. "Surprise has tamed the enemy—so I thought—and I am granted half an hour to address the wondering multitude. But the enemy is not tame; he is on the alert, and if there is a pause of half an hour, it is used to gather the troop, and on they come, bearing long and heavy bamboos, striking upon the naked bodies of the people as if they were a mass of cattle, and crying out, Why did you not run? Why did you not run?—thus betraying all the more plainly that it is they who teach the people to flee from us as before wild beasts."

ART. II. *Letter to the Editor of the Chinese Repository respecting the objects to be had in view in translating Elohim and Theos.*

MR. EDITOR,

THE following thoughts have been suggested by the arguments employed in the controversy concerning the name of God in Chinese, which will probably not be new to your readers, but as the question must shortly be decided, so far as relates to the forthcoming version of the New Testament, it may be worth while to call attention to a few of the most important points to be considered.

It is to be borne in mind that in reference to the translation of אֱלֹהִים and Θεός, there are two distinct questions. The first is, what term shall be used to translate these words when they refer to idols or false gods. On this question it is believed there is no dispute. The second is, what term shall be employed to translate the words אֱלֹהִים and Θεός when they refer to the true God. It is on this question that the difference of opinion exists. It was formerly contended that the name of the highest deity known to the Chinese should be used as the designation of the true God. This position is now abandoned as untenable. It seems to be so plainly necessary that a generic name should be employed as the designation of the true God, in common with the gods worshiped by the heathen, that all parties admit that the term to be sought for is the generic name for *god* in the Chinese language. A hasty glance at the arguments published on this question shows, however, that the parties are not in fact seeking the same thing, though they call it by the same name. The one is seeking for "the name of the highest genus or class of

beings to whom the Chinese offer religious worship." The other is endeavoring to find "the name of the being, or class of beings, to whom the Chinese ascribe the highest attributes." With these views of the nature of the term to be sought, it is not probable that they will ever be able to fix upon the same word. They must first agree as to the meaning to be attached to the phrase, "the generic name of God." To determine the meaning of this phrase, it is necessary to fix the sense in which the word *god* is used. It may be used for God by way of eminence, or the true God. The phrase would then mean—"the generic name of the true God." But this expression has no intelligible meaning, and this sense of the word *god* in the phrase in question, must therefore be rejected. There can be no such thing as the generic name of an individual, unless the expression be construed to mean the name of the class or genus to which the individual belongs.

There is but one other sense in which the word can be used. If it is not here used by way of eminence, it must be generic, and may be regarded as the translation of *Elohim* and *Θεός*. The generic name for *God*, is the same as the generic name for *Elohim*, or for *Θεός*. A generic name is the name of a genus, that is, of a class all the individuals of which possess certain properties or qualities in common. Every individual possessing these common properties may be designated by the generic name, whatever differences there may be in other respects. The generic name of *God*, or *Elohim*, or *Θεός*, in the Chinese language is the name by which the Chinese designate that genus or class of beings which in English is designated by the word *God*, and in the sacred Scriptures, by the words אֱלֹהִים and *Θεός*. Now nothing is easier than to ascertain what class of beings is thus designated, or in other words, what those common qualities are on account of which the individuals composing this genus are classed together under the same appellation. We find that by the usage of the holy Scriptures, the words *Elohim* and *Θεός* are applied to any object to which men offer religious worship. The English word *god* is constantly used in the same way. An English writer does not stop to inquire what are the attributes ascribed to a being, in order to know whether the word *god* is applicable or not. He is satisfied if it appear that religious worship is offered to the being in question. If men offer to any being that worship which is due to Jehovah alone, that object is properly called their *god*, whatever attributes it may possess, or whatever attributes it may lack. The attributes common to this class of beings are not *divine* attributes, if by *divine* be meant

that which is peculiar to the God of the Bible. The words אלהים *Θεός*, *God*, are alike applicable to Jehovah, and to all the vile and senseless things worshiped by the heathen. There is but one characteristic common to all the beings designated by these words, and that is, that they are objects of religious worship. The name by which the Chinese designate this class is the term by which the words אלהים, *Θεός*, *God*, must be translated into the Chinese language. They can not be properly represented by any other term. Any term which excludes a portion of the class, is not the name of the class; that is, it is not the generic name of *god*. A word must be found which shall be applicable to this whole class, and if no such term exist in the language, one must be introduced. Without such a word, the claim of Jehovah to be the only living and true God, the only proper object of religious worship, can never be clearly set forth. If there were no such word, the very necessities of thought, as the knowledge of Christianity advances, would soon force some word into such a use.

Here, however, we are happily relieved from all difficulty. No one denies that the Chinese have a term which they use to designate the class of beings whom they worship, and it has been abundantly proved that that term is *shin* 神. It has been clearly shown that this word is the designation of a class which includes all the objects worshiped by the Chinese. It may be considered, therefore, as a settled question that the class of beings designated in Scripture by the words אלהים and *Θεός*, the Chinese designate by the word *Shin* 神. This then is the generic term for God in the Chinese language. But it is admitted that *Elohim* and *Θεός*, even when used for the true God, should be rendered by the generic term for *god*. They should therefore be rendered by 神 *shin*.

It has been argued that *ti* 帝 is the generic name of *god*. The only way in which an argument can be constructed in favor of this proposition, is to assume that "the generic name of God" means "the name of the being to whom the Chinese ascribe the highest attributes," or of "the class of beings to whom they ascribe the highest attributes." This again is based on the assumption that the word *god* in this phrase means the "being, or class of beings" to whom are ascribed the highest attributes; or in other words that it means the true God. We have already shown that this sense is untenable. But if the phrase means "the name of the class of beings designated by the word *God*," *ti* 帝 is not the generic name of God,

for it is not pretended that the word is applicable to the whole of this class. The whole argument by which it is thought that *ti* 帝 is proved to be the generic name of God, consists in proving the fact that it is applicable to a very limited number of the beings called *gods*. That is to say, it is applicable only to a small number of the beings worshiped by the Chinese, which all who speak the English language call *gods*.

The proof that *ti* 帝 is a generic term for *god* is based upon the fact that it is the designation of the highest objects of worship known to the Chinese, and also of several other beings who are worshiped. But to prove a term generic, it is not enough to show that it is applied to several individuals of the same class. The word *hound* in English is not a generic term, because it is not applicable to a genus, though it designates a portion of a genus. The arguments which prove that *ti* 帝 is generic for the genus *deus*, would equally prove that *hound* is generic for the genus *canis*. If one tells me that a *greyhound* is not a *dog*, I have a right to know what peculiar qualities exclude it from the genus which it so much resembles, and in which it is commonly included. So when we are told that a *ti* 帝 (when the word refers to an object of worship) is not a *shin* 神, we have a right to know why this class of worshiped beings should not be included in the same genus with other worshiped beings, and whether it is not in point of fact so included by good native writers of the language.

But supposing the proof adduced in this case to be conclusive, from what source is it derived? For the most part from books written thousands of years ago. It is proper to consult such books on a question like this, but they are not the court of final appeal. These ancient classics are not the only witnesses whose testimony should be heard when the question relates to the meaning of words in daily use among the people. The Christian missionary certainly will feel bound to inquire of those for whom he writes, and to whom he speaks, what meaning they attach to words which he proposes to use in instructing them. Let him go to the temples. He finds them full of idols. He exclaims, "These, these, are their *gods*." Isaiah would have mourned over the worship of many *Elohim*, and Paul would have told the de-luded worshipers that their *Θεοι* were worthless and vain. Let him inquire of the worshipers what they call them, and he will be told that they are *shin*. The tablets and inscriptions give him the same information. He now tells them that, "There is but one *Ti* in the universe—that these *shin* are not *ti*—that they should cast away their *shin*, and worship none but *Ti*." Now the emperor of China is

a *ti*. What then, would the hearers understand from such an address? A single experiment will be sufficient to satisfy any one who will make it. It is a simple matter of fact, to be determined not by arguments, not by long quotations from ancient works, though these have their use in illustrating the subject, but by the hearing of the ear. Do the Chinese of the present day call their *gods*, *skin*, or do they call them *ti*?

The fact is, *skin* would long since have been adopted, but for two or three objections. The principal one is, that it is not used for God by way of eminence. This, however, is a matter of usage, and does not affect the general meaning of the word. This usage can easily be introduced without any violence to the genius of the language, and indeed already prevails, to a limited extent, in the colloquial dialect of some parts of China. Even *ti* is not free from this objection; for however it may have been used anciently, it is not so used now, in the language as spoken by the people.

The objection that the word has other meanings may also be urged against *ti*, which, in its ordinary acceptation means *ruler*. It is said that *skin* means *spirit*. In the translation recently published of the quotations in the *Pei-wan Yun-Fu*, under the word *skin*, we read of the "spirits of the woods,"—"of the hills,"—"of the streams:" we read also of "presenting offerings to the spirits,"—"doing obeisance to (worshipping) the spirits,"—"propitiating the spirits,"—"sacrificing to the spirits." Are not the beings here spoken of precisely such as in the Scriptures are called *θεοι* and *Elohim*? If *skin* ought never to be rendered by the word *god*, it can not be rendered in Hebrew or Greek by *elohim* or *el*, or by *θεος*. If so, then of course, *el* or *elohim*, and *θεος* can not be translated by *skin*, in translating from Hebrew or Greek into Chinese. Yet those who contend that *skin* never means *god*, propose to use it as the translation of those terms in the new version of the Scriptures, just as it has been used in every former version, when the words refer to false gods. They must be held chargeable with inconsistency until they abandon this use of the word, or admit that it is the generic term for *god* in Chinese.

The difficulties of this question are neither removed nor diminished, but rather increased, by transferring a foreign word as the designation of the true God. What is required is a word corresponding to the word *god*, applicable alike to the true God and to false gods. To speak of Jehovah, or Aloah, would be to speak in riddles, unless it be added that this is *the God* whom we are bound to worship and obey. What word shall be used in giving this information?

[*Note*.—The remarks of our Correspondent commend themselves to the candid inquirer into the merits of the terms proposed in former articles in this work. We beg his permission to append a few general remarks to his letter, in reference to the whole subject, and for the purpose of recording the various steps of the discussion. We refer here to a letter just issued by missionaries of the London Missionary Society, addressed "To the Protestant Missionaries laboring at Hongkong, and the Five Ports in China." It is dated Shánghái, Jan. 30th, 1850, and is signed by Messrs. Medhurst, Stronach, Milne, Lockhart, Muirhead, and Edkins.

Without remarking upon the circumstances under which this document is issued, or the position its writers assume, and their "determination not to adopt a version of the Scriptures in which the term (*shin*) is so employed," we here quote the eight objections they bring forward to the use of *shin* :

"1. *Shin* never has been employed by any Chinese writer to designate God by way of eminence, and would, if so used, in the version of the Scriptures, involve an *absurdity* in the estimation of every well-educated Chinese.

"2. The real meaning of *shin* is *invisible being or essence*, and as such is used and understood by the Chinese in the sense of *spirit*. It is applicable as well to the spirit of man, and the living principle in irrational animals and plants, as it is to the highest being of whom the Chinese have any conception. A term, therefore, which is common to all these, can not convey any idea of *Divine nature*.

"3. Although some of the spirits, who are called *shin* by the Chinese, are worshiped, *shin* does not necessarily mean a worshiped being, neither does the use of it convey in itself the notion of divine worship, nor imply that beings so designated ought to be worshiped. Worship with regard to the *shin* is an *accident*, not an *essential element*.

"4. The term *shin* being applied to the spirits of heaven, earth, and man, to invisible beings both good and bad, high and low, honored or derided, is, in its general acceptation, equivalent to the word *spirit* in western languages. To say, therefore, that there is but one *shin*, and no other, that Jehovah knows of no other, and that the devils believe this, is to utter what, according to the meaning of the term, as used and understood by the Chinese, amounts to a falsity.

"5. The word *shin*, when used in the possessive, as belonging to a person, must, according to the *usus loquendi* of the Chinese, be understood of the spirit possessed by that person, and not the god worshiped by him. Hence the phrase "my God," or the "God of Abraham," could not, if *shin* were employed, be intelligibly expressed in Chinese, without a circumlocution.

"6. The word *shin*, when used in connection with sacrificing to the god of a progenitor, must be understood as conveying the idea of sacrificing to the manes of ancestors.

"7. The word *shin* being the most expressive term in the Chinese language for *spirit*, whether concrete or abstract, we should, were it used for God by ourselves, or by others whom we might be unwilling to offend, be deprived of a most useful term in its proper and legitimate acceptation, compared with which no other term in the language is so definite.

"8. The word *shin* having been rendered *spirit* by the best European Sinologists, and used in the sense of *spirit* by the Roman Catholic writers in China, whose influence throughout the country is more extended than that of Protestants, there is little chance of the latter being able to establish a *usus loquendi* in favor of their own mode of employing the word, particularly when that mode is denounced by the Chinese themselves as wrong."

We have not time now to remark upon the character of these objections, and there is little in them which has not already been brought forward; but we are not willing that gentlemen standing in the position that Messrs. Medhurst, Stronach and Milne do as the delegates of their fellow-mission-

aries to revise the New Testament, should separate themselves from the Committee at large, and assert that the insertion of such a term as *shin* for the translation of *theos*, will "render the whole work unclassical and contemptible," without entering a protest against it. Some of those whom they represent, believe *shin* to be the best word, all things considered; and to designate the revision by such epithets is unnecessary and unseemly.

The writers then mention the discussions which have been held at Shàng-hái respecting the adoption of *Shing Shin* to mean the *High God*, and of *Pi shin* to denote *that God*, or God by way of eminence, in compliance with the recommendation of Mr. Mellor of the B. and F. Bible Society, and the rejection of both terms. They then quote the remarks of scholars and others in England and America, who have read the arguments used on both sides, and propose that *Aloah* be transferred. This word is found in the Syriac inscription (See Vol. XIV, pp. 202, 224, note 5) for the proper name of Jehovah, in the phrase *Chin Chù O-lo-o* 眞主阿羅阿. Dr. Medhurst and his collaborators in this letter, propose this word to be used as the appellative name of God, and that it be accompanied by the following explanation: "Wherever *Aloah* is used, it refers to the beings whom men sacrifice to and worship. They do not know, however, that the most honorable and without compare is only one Jehovah, besides whom no other ought to be worshiped. Jehovah is the proper name of *Aloah*." In support of this plan of transferring a word, the writers adduce four reasons:

"1. We can not go wrong in so doing. We can not be said to use an improper word. It is sanctioned by the Scriptures: we are therefore right in employing it, unmistakably and incontrovertibly right.

"2. We free ourselves thereby from all mixture with Chinese superstition. Those who employ the term *shin*, are ever in danger of having it coupled, at least in the minds of the heathen, with *kwei*, evil spirit. *Shin* and *kwei* are correlative terms, and are generally classed together by Chinese speakers and writers. In doing which, the *kwei* is put first. The term also includes an invariable reference to the Chinese system of the *yin* and the *yáng*, from association with which the native mind can not escape, if the term *shin* be used. The word *ti* also, even when referring to the Supreme, does not allude to a being of infinite perfections like Jehovah. But, by the use of the transferred term, we free ourselves at once from all these shackles, and are left at liberty to give our own views of the meaning we attach to *Eloah*, whether in the monadic or generic sense.

"3. We are violating no rules of language; no philological difficulties lie in our way, but those inseparably connected with a new term, which will be rapidly decreasing every day, from the first moment after we have employed it, until they have entirely disappeared."

"4. We are much more likely to succeed in creating for ourselves a *usus loquendi*, by adopting a new term and translating it, than we are by taking an old term, diverting it from its proper sense, and applying it to a use utterly revolting to the philological taste of the people."

They say in reference to the whole subject, "that the time has come when a stop ought to be put to this protracted controversy. The advocates of both terms have found that objections lie against both; the advocates of *ti* are willing, on account of the difficulties which lie in the way, to retire from the contest, and adopt the transferred term; the advocates of *shin* acknowledge their difficulties, but seem resolved to abide by their favorite word, with a definition."

No one will question the desirableness of settling the controversy, and no one wishes to throw any obstacles in the way of such a consummation. No term has been proposed for the generic name of God, against using which strong arguments might not be urged; *tí, sháng-tí, tien-tí, shín, chí, chín chú, chín shín, aloah*, all of them are open to objections; but which one shall be taken, as on the whole, the least objectionable? Uniformity among the whole body of Christian writers in Chinese on this vital point is a great object, and one for which every one will, we think, be willing to concede something. We would here add, that it is a subject worthy of consideration, by those missionaries who write in Chinese, whether they ought not to conform to one way of writing all proper names, and not use different characters to express them. For instance, we have seen *Jehovah* written *Yé-ho-huá* 耶火華, *Yé-ho-huá* 耶賀華, *Yé-ho-huá* 耶和華, *Yé-huá* 耶華, *Yé-huá* 爺華, and *Yáu-huá* 耀華. Dr. Medhurst writes *阿羅訶* for *Aloah* instead of *阿羅阿* as it is on the Syriac monument itself. The characters for other names are altered or abbreviated in a similar manner, tending to make great confusion in the minds of natives, unacquainted with the original languages. For the name *Jehovah*, we prefer 爺華 to every other way of writing it.—*Ed. Ch. Rep.*]

ART. III. *Topography of the province of Húpek; list of its departments and districts; description of its principal towns, notice of its rivers, lakes, productions, &c.*

THE province of Húpek 湖北 or Northern Lakes, formerly constituted part of the province of Húkwáng, and is still under the superintendence of a governor-general, styled *Liáng Hú tsungtuh*, who rules over the united province, and has his residence at Wúcháng fú. The area of Húpek is between 68,000 and 70,000 square miles, extending from lats. 29° to 33° N., and longs. 109° to 116° E.; it is nearly of a rectangular shape, and enjoys so many advantages of temperate climate, fertile soil, navigable rivers, and beautiful lake and mountain scenery, that it is called the Granary of the Empire. It is bounded north by Honán, east by Ngánhwui and Kiángsí, south by Húnán, and west by Sz'chuen and Shensi.

Húpek is celebrated for its lakes, and though the largest lake in China is found just across its southern frontier, still the entire lacus-

trine area in Húpeh is the greatest. The following list includes all of any importance. In Wúcháng fú, are found Liáng-tsá' hú 梁子湖; Fútau hú 斧頭湖 or Ax lake, Tsingning hú 清寧 or Clear-calm lake, and Wéiyuen 漳源 lakes. The first of these four lies east of the capital, and is connected with Ax lake by a conduit, forming a water communication across the bend of the Yángtsá' kiáng at this place. In Hányáng fú are eight lakes, none of them of any great size, viz. Mieu-yáng hú 沔陽湖, Peh-ní 白泥 or White Clay lake, and Chihyé 赤野 or Wild lake; these three are rather arms of one large lake inclosing an island, than separate sheets of water. Niú hú 牛湖 or Cow lake is an expansion of one of the mouths of the Hán R., which empties in just above Hányáng. Tá-peh 大白 Large White lake, Hungmá 紅馬 or Red-horse L.; and Sán hú 三湖 all join their waters, and empty into the Hán R. The Yáng-yeh 楊葉 or Willow-leaf lake, and the Sántái 三台 or Three Terrace lake, form one sheet of water, inclosing several islands, on one of which is the town of Tienmun. In Kingchau fú are found the Sánkáng hú 三岡湖, which unites with the Kiun 均 lake, and the Peh-liên 白蓮 or White-lily lake; their waters flow both north into the river, and south into Tungting lake. These comprise all the lakes of any note.

The rivers of Húpeh are numerous and large. The magnificent Yángtsá' kiáng flows through its entire breadth, and receives the waters of many tributaries, the largest of which are the Hán kiáng 漢江 on the north, and the Tsing kiáng 清江 which joins it near Í-cháng. Besides these two important streams, there are the Pá ho 巴河, the Po-ting ho 岐亭河, near Hwángchau fú, the Lung ho 龍河, and the Wú-hú 武湖 rivers, east of the Hán R. The Hán river (from which one of the famous Chinese dynasties took its name) rises in Shensí, and drains the southern declivities of the range of hills near the Yellow river, drawing its waters from most of the southern departments of Shensí and Honán, and the northern half of Húpeh, a region of upwards of eighty thousand square miles. Its entire length is not far from 300 miles. The Tsing kiáng, or clear river empties the drainage of the southwestern districts into the Great river.

The size of this important province differs but little from that of Kiángsí or Shántung, but the productions and manufactures are more varied. The states of Virginia and Missouri in the United States, are each of them nearly of the same size as Húpeh; it is also about

twice the area of Portugal, or three times that of Ceylon, a little more than that of the Bombay Presidency, or a little less than that of the island of Celebes. Its population in 1812 was 270,370,098, which gives an average of 389 persons to a square mile. Húpeh is divided into eleven departments, which are further subdivided into 7 *chau* and 60 *hien* districts, according to the following list.

I. *Wúcháng fú* 武昌府, or the

Department of Wúcháng, contains ten districts,

viz: one *chau* and nine *hien*.

- | | | | |
|------|------------|--------|------------------------|
| 1 江夏 | Kiánghíá, | 6 通城 | Tungching, |
| 2 咸寧 | Hán-ning, | 7 武昌 | Wúcháng, |
| 3 嘉魚 | Kiáyü, | 8 大冶 | Táyé, |
| 4 蒲圻 | Púkí, | 9 通山 | Tungshán, |
| 5 崇陽 | Tsungyáng, | 10 興國州 | Hingkwoh <i>chau</i> . |

II. *Hányáng fú* 漢陽府, or the

Department of Hányáng, contains five districts,

viz: one *chau* and four *hien*.

- | | | | |
|------|----------|-------|------------------------|
| 1 漢陽 | Hányáng, | 4 黃陂縣 | Hwángpí <i>hien</i> , |
| 2 漢川 | Hánchau, | 5 沔陽州 | Mienyáng <i>chau</i> . |
| 3 孝感 | Háuhán, | | |

III. *Ngánluh fú* 安陸府, or the

Department of Ngánluh, contains four *hien* districts.

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|------|-------------|
| 1 鍾祥 | Chungtsiáng, | 3 天門 | Tienmun, |
| 2 京山 | Kingshán, | 4 潛江 | Tsienkiáng. |

IV. *Siúngyáng fú* 襄陽府, or the

Department of Siángyáng, contains seven districts,

viz: two *chau* and five *hien*.

- | | | | |
|------|------------|-------|------------------------|
| 1 襄陽 | Siángyáng, | 5 光化縣 | Kwánghwá <i>hien</i> , |
| 2 宜城 | I'ching, | 6 穀成州 | Kuhching <i>chau</i> , |
| 3 南漳 | Náncháng, | 7 均州 | Kiun <i>chau</i> . |
| 4 棗陽 | Tsáuýáng, | | |

V. *Yunyáng fú* 鄖陽府, or the

Department of Yunyang, contains six hien districts.

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1 鄖縣 Yun hien, | 4 竹山 Chuhshán, |
| 2 房縣 Fáng hien, | 5 竹谿 Chuhki, |
| 3 保康 Fáakáng, | 6 鄖西 Yunsí. |

VI. *Tehngán fú* 德安府, or the

Department of Tehngán, contains five districts,

viz: one chau and four hien.

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1 安陸 Ngánluh, | 4 應山 Yingshán, |
| 2 雲夢 Yunmung, | 5 隨州 Sui chau. |
| 3 應城 Yingching, | |

VII. *Hwángchau fú* 黃州府, or the

Department of Hwángchau, contains eight districts,

viz. one chau and seven hien.

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1 黃岡 Hwángkáng, | 5 黃梅 Hwángmei, |
| 2 蘄水 Kishwui, | 6 羅田 Lotien, |
| 3 蘄州 Kí chau, | 7 麻城 Máching, |
| 4 廣濟 Kwángtsí, | 8 黃安 Hwángngán. |

VIII. *Kingchau fú* 荊州府, or the

Department of Kingchau, contains seven hien districts.

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1 江陵 Kiángling, | 5 公安 Kungngán, |
| 2 松滋 Sungsz', | 6 石首 Shihshau, |
| 3 枝江 Chíkiáng, | 7 監利 Lánlí. |
| 4 宜都 Í tú, | |

IX. *I'cháng fú* 宜昌府, or the

Department of I'cháng, contains seven districts,

viz: two chau and five hien.

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|----------------------|-----------------|
| 1 東湖 Tunghú, | 5 歸州 Kwei chau, |
| 2 長陽 Chángyáng, | 6 興山 Hingshán, |
| 3 長樂 Chángloh, | 7 巴東 Pátung. |
| 4 鶴峯州 Holifung chau, | |

X. *Shínán fú* 施南府, or the

Department of Shínán, contains six hien districts.

- | | |
|----------------|---------------|
| 1 恩施 Nganshi, | 4 來鳳 Láifung, |
| 2 宜恩 Siuennan, | 5 咸豐 Hánfung, |
| 3 利川 Lichuen, | 6 建始 Kienchi, |

XI. *Kingmun chau* 荆門州, or the

Department of Kingmun, contains two hien districts.

- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| 1 遠安 Yuenngán, | 2 當陽 Tángyáng. |
|----------------|----------------|

I. *The department of Wúcháng* includes much of the eastern part of the province; its surface is low and marshy; many lakes are found in its borders, and the proximity of the Yángtsz' kiáng offers great facilities for transporting its produce. The city of Wúcháng lies on the eastern bank of the Great river, at the junction of the Hán kiáng, and opposite to the city of Hányáng fū. All accounts concur in the great population congregated in this spot, the land and water both being covered with inhabitants; London and Yedo alone can compete with it, for no other place in China presents an equal number of human beings on the same area. A fire broke out in the suburb of Hánkau, 漢口 opposite Hányáng in 1833, which was reported to have burned seven days, destroying a great amount of merchandize with the wooden dwellings. The river, here five hundred miles from the ocean, is a league broad, and deep enough to carry the largest Chinese vessels.

A recent traveler thus speaks of the approach to this mart, which may be regarded as the centre of China in a commercial view. "The night had already closed in when we reached the place where the river is entirely covered with vessels of all sizes and forms, congregated here from all parts. I hardly think there is another port in the world so frequented as this, which passes, too, as among the most commercial in the empire. We entered one of the open ways, a sort of a street having each side defined by floating shops, and after four hours of toilsome navigation through this difficult labyrinth, arrived at the place of debarkation." He further remarks, that "for the space of five leagues, one can only see houses along the shore, and an infinitude of beautiful and strange looking vessels in the river, some at anchor and others passing up and down at all hours." The coup-d'œil of these three cities is beautiful, their environs being highly cultivated and interspersed with the mansions of the great; but he adds, "If

you draw near, you will find on the margin of the river only a shapeless bank worn away with freshes; and in the streets, stalls surmounted with palisades, and workshops undermined by the waters, or tumbling to pieces from age. The open spots between these ruins are filled with abominations which diffuse around a suffocating odor. No regulations respecting the location of the dwellings, no side-walks, no place to avoid the crowd which presses upon one, elbowing and disputing the passage, but all get along pell-mell in the midst of cattle, hogs, and other domestic animals, each protecting himself as he best can from the filth in his way, which the Chinese collect with care for agricultural uses, and carry along in open buckets through the crowd."

II. *The department of Hunyáng* lies west of the preceding, between the river Hán and the departments of Ngánluh and Kingchau; its chief town is a little north of the provincial capital. There is a large trade here in paper. The lakes in the department produce a great variety of wild fowl, and the orchards of fruit in this region are celebrated. Near the city itself lies the hill *Tá-pieh* 大別山, Great Dividing Mt.

III. *The department of Ngánluh* lies north-west of the preceding, in the bottom lands of the Hín R.; these fertile fields supply the inhabitants with most of their breadstuffs. The capital partakes of the same commercial advantages as Hányáng.

IV. *The department of Siángyáng* lies north of Ngánluh, bordering on Honan, and its chief town is on the banks of the Hán R. The surface of the country is mountainous, except near the river; gold is washed out of the rivulets in some places in this department; and within the precincts of Kien chau is a very high mountain, consisting of twenty-seven summits, and inclosing twenty-four lakes in its circuit. Other mineral substances are drawn from these mountains. Siángyáng fú was known in the days of Confucius as the capital of the Tang state; it afterwards belonged to the Tsú state.

V. *The department of Yunyáng* lies in the northwest of the province, between Honán and Shensí, and having Siángyáng and Ícháng on south. The mountains are said to produce tin. A high peak, called Tieh-kiuh ling 鐵鷓嶺 lies in the extreme west of the department.

VI. *The department of Teh-ngán* lies east of Siángyáng, and north of Hányáng, along the borders of Honín; the region is rough, like the districts further west. Among the productions of this department is the singular substance called *peh lah*, an excretion produced by an insect, whose larva envelops itself in wax; the inhabitants collect the wax, and use it for the same purposes as that of bees.

VII. *The department of Hoángchau* occupies all the southeastern corner of the province north of the Great river, having Wúcháng fú on its north, and Ngánhwui on its east. The situation of the chief town is highly favorable for trade, and much of the traffic of this fertile region find its way to it. In the district of Lotien is a famous fountain, whose waters are highly prized for making good tea. Opposite the city itself, in the river, rises the island of Peh-kwei, or White Tortoise I., noted for the number of large tortoises found on it, which are often kept by persons about their houses; a species of very small size is also common, which are domesticated, and even carried about the person. The Chinese fable that a soldier was once pursued by his enemies on this island, and to escape them leaped into the river, when one of the huge tortoises lying near the shore took him, as the dolphin took Arion, upon his spacious back, and safely carried him to the opposite bank. The grateful soldier fed the reptile for a while, and then set him at liberty.

VIII. *The department of Kingchau fú* is situated on the southern borders of the province, between Hányáng and Íching fú, and south of Siángyáng, forming one of the richest and largest departments in the province. Its quarries are noted for the fine quality of inkstones they furnish—an article the Chinese literati are very curious in. A Manchú garrison is maintained at this city, which is regarded as one of the keys of China.

IX. *The department of Ícháng* was made up from portions of those around it, Yunyáng and Siíngyíng on the north, and Kingchau on the east. Its natural features are like those departments, and its chief town and most of the others, lie near, or on the Great river. All this region is famous for the contests here waged in the declining days of the Hán dynasty.

X. *The department of Shínán* occupies the southwest corner of the province, west of Ícháng and Kingchau; it formerly all belonged to the latter.

XI. *The inferior department of Kingmun* is a small section of country partitioned off from Kingchau fú; the chief town lies on a branch of the Hán kiáng, a little southwest of Ngánluh. It extends westerly from the river, and in its products does not vary much from the surrounding regions.—It may be remarked, that the capitals of fú in this province are situate deither on the Yángtsh' or the Hán rivers; consequently they are all of them very eligibly placed for trade.

The productions and manufactures of Húpeh are varied and abundant. Gold, silver, tin, iron, mica, copperas, crystal, marble, argillite, and other minerals, are found in its mountains; fruits, tea, cotton,

herbs, and grains, with building and cabinet woods, are taken from its fields and forests; while great numbers of fowls and fish are obtained from its lakes and rivers. The manufactures of insect wax, bamboo paper, crystal and stone ornaments, and ardent spirits, are famed throughout the empire.

Still, notwithstanding these resources, its inhabitants suffer at times from famine. The following letter, written by a Chinese, contains an account of the calamities which befell this region some years since. "In the month of May, 1831, our river swelled and burst its banks with so much violence in all the plain, that a vast number of dwellings, large and small, were torn from their foundations, and carried away by the waves; their fragments collected together would hardly have served to cook a meal. The bodies of the persons swept off by this deluge were as numerous as the plants which showed themselves above the surface of the waters; while many of those who escaped, perished in the highways from famine, and found their graves in the maws of birds and dogs. Young men fled to other provinces; parents lost their children, and husbands were separated from their wives. Mothers, overcome by hunger and fatigue, abandoned their sobbing infants in the road, or died leaving their little ones still clinging to their dresses. How sad were these sights, and no one able to afford relief. Most of the old men perished in the valleys, but some, who escaped, stretched themselves groaning in the paths, while others, a little stronger, sought the nearest caverns, where they reared huts of straw, and lengthened out their days with herbs or carrion. Others drifted about in boats, seeking fish and worms to save themselves from starvation; but, naked and unprotected, exposed to the wind and snow, they lost their strength, and their emaciated bodies became dry as the hay in the field. In these unhappy times, they were unable to raise any money; nobody would buy their fields, nor let them have food; even those who offered their wives for sale found no purchasers; and destitute of resources, many of them perished miserably. The living moved about among the unburied dead, few of whom received the rites of sepulture. This year (1835) we have suffered from drought and locusts, so that our fields are baked and eaten up." Another observer remarks that the great plain through which the Yángtsz' flows, at this time appeared like a vast sea, and scores of villages were entirely swept away.

The greatest portion of this province is level, and some of it is lower than the great river which flows through it. The northern part is higher, and a low chain of mountains beyond the line of Honán forms the watershed between the valleys of the Yellow and Yángtsz' rivers.

ART. IV. *Men and things in Shánghái: number and character of its population; tything system; taxation; sickness, and pauperism; distribution of food; use of opium and prospect of the traffic being legalized; increase of the general commerce; the number of foreign residents; new churches dedicated; converts to Christianity; committee of Delegates for revision of the Old and New Testaments in Chinese.*—From a Correspondent.

DEAR SIR, With your permission, I propose to notice briefly, some topics and events, which perhaps may not be without interest to your readers. For aught I know, all the inhabitants of this great empire are at this moment enjoying the most profound peace, and all its millions are free from the scourge of war. Indeed the people of this land are not prepared for, are not in a condition to experience, such revolutions as have shaken all Europe during the last year. Intelligence here moves slowly. Weeks and months are required for what on the other side of the globe, would need but hours or minutes. Repeatedly, during the last year, forty days and more have elapsed without one line reaching us from Hongkong or Canton, a distance of only about a thousand miles. Information comes equally slow from Peking, and other parts of the empire. At present, stagnation—"rest," if his majesty please so to call it, prevails in all the provinces. While European states have been dashed one against another, in a manner ill-befitting Christian people, the peaceful sons of Hán have had rest—*rest*, however, which it is feared, by many, not without reason, will prove, like the sullen calm that precedes the typhoon, the precursor of dreadful conflicts. We know what former civil and revolutionary wars have been in China; we know how they have swept over the land like the besom of destruction. Many intelligent Chinese think their country is on the eve of change, and they fear for the consequences. And well they may. However, they may be wrong in their predictions. Time will show. Come what will—what God ordains—and for one, I can console myself in the belief that it will all be for good, and for China's good. Better be torn in pieces by the hurricane, than to die by inches in a calm, expiring for want of air to breathe!

The more foreigners become acquainted with the Chinese, the more extensively does the opinion obtain that the population of the empire, as given in modern statistics, has not been overrated. Recently, and on the best authority, I have heard it said that the population of Shánghái is *half a million of souls!* From others, equally well informed,

I hear it affirmed that it can not exceed *two hundred thousand!* Others, again, take a middle course, and say with the utmost confidence, that it can not vary far, one way or the other, from *three hundred and fifty thousand*. Who is right? And how do these several parties arrive at their various conclusions? One would make out the number of inhabitants by ascertaining the catties of rice daily consumed; another would do it by counting the number of coffins sold during a given period, and from this go on to find out the number of the living—men, women, and children; a third would seek to gain the same end by estimations based on the rate of taxes; a fourth would get it by counting the barbers, and then the number each could shave in one day, and thence deduce the whole sum total. Many other schemes I have heard discussed; but being unable to solve this grand question myself, I wish you, Mr. Editor, would put the inquiry to your correspondents, at the five ports—*What is the population in each of these five cities?* And request them, in giving their answers, to give the authority on which they are based.

The *tything system* is known to be universal in China; and I have been told that each local magistrate throughout the empire is required to make an annual return of the number of families and individuals in his jurisdiction. If it be so, and these returns are faithfully made, they must afford the best, and the only sure *data* for an estimate of the sum total of population. Gentlemen who daily pass through the streets of Shánghái, tell me that they have seen numerous copies of the *mun-pái*, 門牌 “door-schedule;” and of the *shih kiá mun-pái*, 十家門牌 “ten families door-schedule,” in the houses and shops of this city. I have myself seen some, and have now before me a proclamation from Ping, the chief magistrate, urging the constables and tything men to press their examination for the 戶口人丁 *hú kau jin ting*, [ascertainment of the number of] families and individuals, so that a full census may be made out for government. This proclamation is dated January 25th. It is the sequel of some that have preceded it; and the parties concerned are charged with delinquencies, and threatened with punishment in case such are repeated.

The collection of the *taxes on houses* is causing the local government some trouble; and proclamations, accordingly, are issued. In one of these, the magistrate asks, “*How is it that, while the houses are very many, the taxable deeds are very few?*” And then remarks, pertinently enough, that “either the landlords must have a mind to defraud the revenue (by keeping back their deeds), or the police must be guilty of receiving bribes (for not duly reporting them).” Both

suppositions, I fancy, are correct. Here again, as in the case above of the census, delinquencies are pointed out and punishments threatened. How far these delinquencies extend, I am unable to determine.

This city is increasing, both in the extent of its business and number of its inhabitants. A more heterogeneous mass, however, it would be difficult to find. All the extremes of character in the empire are here brought together, so that it is difficult sometimes to tell which is, and which is not the indigenous part.

Among the worst, as most believe, are the Canton men—not those from the provincial city, but rather those from the more eastern and southern districts. Next in badness, and next, if not first in enterprise are the Fuhkien men. There are different clans of these men, and they have their respective public halls. In this thing, they are about to be imitated by the Cantonese, who have purchased land in the city, and are preparing to build for themselves a *Kung-so*. These “Southrons” are a terror to the quiet people of the north, and the officers dread coming into collision with them, since when this happens the authorities are usually resisted, and often set at naught and maltreated. The chief magistrate, the *chihien*, has recently issued a proclamation requiring that all these people, the Canton and the Fuhkien, be registered by the managers of their respective public halls. More numerous, and far more tractable, are the Ningpo men. The “Green tea-men” are of a similar caste, more sober-minded, and perhaps less cunning. A full account of all the varieties of Chinese to be met with here would form a very interesting chapter in your journal.

The last year, the 29th of Táukwáng, it is said will be written down in Chinese history *a year of famine*. The number of distressed people has been, and is still very great. The long and heavy rains in spring and summer covered with a deluge of water almost the whole of the immense plains of Kiángnán. The consequences have been, a failure of the crops, especially that of cotton, and great mortality among the people. Few, very few families, have escaped the scourge of disease in some shape. New cases of fever and ague, dysentery, and such like are now infrequent. But in the city and suburbs, multitudes are still famishing.

Distribution of food among the poor people of Shánghái, is being carried on to a limited extent by order of the local officers. The plan is this: contributions are solicited and obtained from the rich and benevolent; and these, at a given rate and by order of the magistrate, are portioned out to those families and individuals, who have been registered as 貧民 *pin min*, “poor people.” It would seem that a

regular return of these poor people is required by the government; for in a proclamation now before me, of recent date, the magistrate takes occasion to complain, that there are great differences in the numbers returned, when the present are compared with those in former years. The numbers of the poor people for the current year, the 29th of Táukwáng, if I correctly understand the case, are much augmented. This is no doubt correct; and it is easily accounted for by the single fact, that the present year is one of famine. Distribution of food by private individuals is also giving relief to a few. Multitudes, however, are perishing in the streets of the great cities of Kíángnán. Tens on tens, every week, during this cold winter, have been found dead in the streets and temples of this rich city. Want of food, want of clothing, want of shelter, coupled with debauchery and disease, are the combined causes of this misery.

Remission of taxes due from the distressed people in a large number of the departments of this province, and in the adjoining one of Ngánhwui, has just been commenced by the emperor's orders, gladdening the hearts of many. These departments are those which were so dreadfully inundated last summer. More than fifty places are enumerated.

The rise in the price of grain has been considerable of late, caused partly by the distresses above enumerated, but more I believe in consequence of an order from Peking, directing purchases to be made by his majesty's officers to supply the demand of the capital. It is said the *Yellow River*, that most troublesome of all the emperor's subjects, is showing such symptoms of rebellion, that the officers in charge thereof dare not draw from it the full quantity of water requisite to feed the Grand Canal, lest in doing this the whole surrounding country should be deluged. Your readers, I suppose, are aware that not a little of the surface of the country, adjacent the banks of this great river, is somewhat below that of the mighty waters which roll along its bed to the ocean. It is said, further, that this state of things, the threatening attitude of the Yellow River and the consequent want of water in the Canal, will require another fleet of junks to venture out to sea and brave the dangers of the promontory of Shántung, and what is worse, large fleets of pirates. How fortunate it would be, not for the inhabitants of Peking alone, but for all China, if the new navigation laws,—based on the just principle of reciprocity,—could be extended to the Middle Kingdom.

The use of opium among the Chinese, was never more rapidly increasing than now, and its evil effects never more evident. Eighty

thousand chests, report says, are coming to China this year, one half of which it is supposed will reach this northern market. In this city, both the traffic and the use of opium are in no way concealed. Whole chests are carried through the streets in broad day. The legalization of the traffic is talked of everywhere, not only by those who are engaged in the trade, but the officers of government. Hū Náitsi and his friends, who brought forward their proposition in 1835, only wait an opportunity to renew their suit. But whether legalized or not, there seems no immediate prospect of arresting the evil,—an evil that is taking away the vital energies of the nation.

How the general commerce at Shánghái and at the other ports will ultimately be affected by this drug, affords matter for curious speculation. Its bearing at present is such as "to drive every merchant from the port who will not deal in it." This I suppose is true, with one or two exceptions. Be this as it may, no one can doubt that the general commerce here is steadily increasing, and is likely to increase.

The number of foreign residents, too, is increasing, if the purchase of new sites and the erection of new houses can be received as evidence of that fact. Four or five very substantial houses are now being built within the boundaries of what is called the "English Consular grounds." Besides these new foreign residences, and within the aforesaid limits, a new Chinese custom-house is very conspicuous and now nearly completed. The roads throughout Yángking Páng have of late been considerably improved; and several substantial stone piers built to facilitate the shipment and landing of goods. All these things betoken an increase of the general commerce at Shánghái.

Three new churches have been erected within the walls of this city during the last twelve months. One of these, called *Yésú Táng*, i. e. "Jesus' Church," and the property of the English Church Missionary Society, was dedicated on Friday, the 4th instant, to the service of Almighty God—the Rev. T. McClatchie of that Society, and the Rt. Rev. Bp. Boone and the Rev. Mr. Syle of the American Episcopal church, officiating on the occasion. Another, called *Kituh Táng*, "Christ's Church," was dedicated in like manner and by the same reverend gentlemen, on Sunday, the 6th. The second is the property of the Episcopal Church in the United States, and the money for its erection was given by a gentleman in Boston, U. S. A. The other is called *Shinghwai Táng*, "Sacred Assembly's Church," and the property of the Bap. Southern Convention, U. S. A. This is so far completed that it is expected to be dedicated on the coming Chinese new year's day. At Christ's Church, on the day it was opened, and on the

following Sabbath, the number of Chinese within the walls could hardly have been less than six hundred men, women, and children. In addition to these houses for Christian worship, a site for a fourth has recently been purchased by the agents of the London Missionary Society.

As the means for making known the truths of Revelation are thus multiplied, some first-fruits begin to appear. I have heard mentioned the names of at least eleven Chinese, who have been baptized and admitted to church fellowship here since the commencement of 1849. During the year just closed, only one missionary family,—the Rev. John Hobson and wife—has joined those laboring here, while their number has been decreased by the death of the Rev. Mr. Southwell, the Rev. Mr. Spaulding, and Mrs. Wylie, and by the return to their native lands of Mrs. Southwell, the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Tobey, and Miss Morse.

The Committee of Delegates, engaged on the Chinese version of the New Testament, have advanced in their work to the end of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and expect to complete the whole in May or June next. In the meantime propositions have been brought forward, having reference to a Version of the *Old Testament*. It is proposed, if I correctly understand the case, that the missionaries at each of the stations—Canton, Hongkong, Amoy, Fuhchau, Niungpo, and Shinghai, form themselves into local Committees, and each of these local Committees to be entitled to have, at their option, one or more Delegates, who shall assemble at such time and place as the aforesaid Committees shall determine.

Wishing the missionaries all good success in their most laudable work, believe me,

Dear Sir,

Your's very truly,

SPECTATOR.

Shánghai, Jan. 1850.

ART. V. *Journal of Occurrences: death of the Empress Dowager; decease of Mrs. Whilden at Canton; attack on Mr. Reynvaan.*

THE news of Her Majesty's decease reached Canton on the 19th inst., having been about three weeks in its passage across the provinces, and we suppose the tidings have not yet reached the confines of his Majesty's dominions on the west. The following paper was soon after hawked about the streets, though the newyear's holidays were not shortened by the provincial authorities. Their excellencies, the governor-general, the governor, the three commissioners, and all other officers stationed in Canton, went together, on

the 20th of the 1st moon, to the Examination Hall, and there put on mourning, offered sacrifices, and performed the rites usual on such occasions. The common people have not received orders to mourn, but expect soon to see the public announcement, until which there will be no general manifestation of sorrow. The signs of official mourning are to wear coarse white dresses, remove all signs of rank, as the button, peacock's feather, fringe, &c., sign the seal in blue ink, go without shaving the head, use ash colored cards, suspend all music, and beating of gongs or drums, firing of cannon, crying of lictors, and contract no matrimonial engagements for twenty-seven days. The commencement of this mourning dates from the day of death, so that it will not be more than sixty days' duration in Canton. The imperial proclamation is as follows:

On the 11th of the 12th month (January 23d) the Board of Rites memorialized the Throne as follows: "At noon of this day, the officers of state assembled." They further memorialized, "That they had put on mourning, that for a hundred days they should not shave the head, and should wear dark robes and vests." The master of ceremonies also memorialized, requesting his Majesty at noon to enter and see the golden coffin; the emperor next day went at 6¼ o'clock P. M., and sacrificed to her tablet.

On the 24th January, the Supreme Will was received: "We have attended her Majesty, since we received the throne, and have nurtured her twenty-nine years; we had seen that in her declining days she had every comfort, and that she had passed the age of eighty, for which our heart was happy and calm, and we encouraged ourselves that she would happily add one year to another, until she enjoyed the felicity of seeing a century. Lately, the 19th inst. she took an airing in the garden and returned to her palace; we daily went to inquire respecting her health, and then unexpectedly became aware that our beloved relative was not in usual vigor. We thought that if she was nursed a few days with care, she would then recover her health; but contrary to all our anticipations, her ailments daily increased in strength, and on the 24th at 3¼ o'clock P. M. she drove the fairy chariot and went the long journey. Our grief broke out in loud lamentations, for we were greatly afflicted. We humbly brought to mind, that since the Holy Empress Filial-Pure-Bright (i. e. H. I. M.'s own mother) left this to take the upward journey, we have been deeply indebted to Her Imperial Majesty Tâ-hing, for her abounding kindness and overshadowing favor. We have been made happy while attending to her behests, as men are rejoiced by the sun which prolongs their lives; but now never can we again look upon her affectionate countenance; our grief can not be easily relieved.

"We received her last orders that mourning should be worn only twenty-seven days; but we can not be satisfied with this, and therefore, as is right, we ourselves shall put on this filial garb for a hundred days, twenty-seven of which we shall mourn our loss in deep mourning. As to her requisition, that since we were nearly seventy years old, we ought not to give way to deep grief, for the cases of government are heavy, we can not presume to disobey it, and must constrain ourselves to repress these feelings. This day, the princes and high officers again assembled and forced themselves to beseech us to restrain our grief; and also memorialized us to respectfully follow the excellent rules of our Imperial ancestor Kienlung, which we thereupon felt necessitated to do. Let daily libations be poured out before her in the palace of Contentment.

"In all that appertains to the full ritual of mourning, we hereby order Mien-yü and Tsaitsein, princes of the imperial clan, K'ying, a cabinet minister, and Wanking, president of the Board of Civil Office, carefully to manage and prepare them. For all that propriety requires on this occasion, let them examine the old rituals, and deliberate upon the various points, reporting to us by memorial as occasion requires. Let these orders be published throughout the empire for general information. Respect this."

On the 2d February, an imperial order was issued: "Let the bier of Her Imperial Majesty be respectfully carried to the Ichun garden, and laid in state. We will ourself remain there also for a season, in order that we may conveniently morning and evening pour out libations, and give vent to our grief. Respect this."

Death of Mrs. Whilden. This lady died at her residence in Canton, after a painful and protracted illness, which she bore with Christian resignation. She was buried on French I. at Whampoa, near Mrs. Devan and Rev. Mr. Clopton, who also belonged to the Baptist mission. Her bereaved husband, we understand, intends to return to the United States with his three motherless children. We have been furnished with the following notice of Mrs. Whilden.

"Died in Canton on the 20th inst., Mrs. ELIZA JANE WHILDEN, wife of the Rev. B. W. Whilden, missionary of the Board of Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention. Mrs. Whilden was the daughter of Mr. Robert and Mrs. Jane Martin of Union District, South Carolina. She was born on the 13th February, 1821. and made a profession of religion in 1840.

"In the year 1843, she was united in marriage to him who now mourns her loss. Shortly after her marriage she went with her husband to Camden, S. C., where they resided four years—during which time Mr. W. was pastor of the Baptist Church in that place. Previous to her residence in Camden, Mrs. Whilden had felt a very strong desire to become a missionary to the heathen—excited chiefly by reading the life of the first Mrs. Judson.

In the spring of 1848, while residing at Healing Springs, Barnwell Dist., S. C. her husband was induced to offer himself as a missionary to the Chinese. An article from the pen of the lamented Pohlman which Mrs. Whilden had put into the hands of her husband, was chiefly instrumental in bringing him to this decision—a decision for which he has reason to believe she had been praying for years. Mrs. W. with her husband sailed from New York in Oct. 1848, in the ship "Valparaiso,"—and arrived at Hongkong on the 13th of February following,—the anniversary of her birth. She has alluded to this coincidence with peculiar pleasure. On the 23d of the same month, she reached Canton. Thus in about a year after her arrival in Canton she is called away. Her discharge from the labors and sufferings of missionary life came as she was just entering upon them. We mourn, but not without hope. Her end was peace. She hath done what she could."

An attack on H. G. I. Reynvaan Esq., the French consul at Canton, was made on the evening of the 19th inst., by one of his domestics, who approached him from behind while he was reading alone, and struck him on the head with a chopping-knife; the blow was not strong enough to fracture the skull, and on Mr. R. rising instantly to seize him, the fellow fled down stairs and out of the house. Information was immediately given to the Chinese authorities of the attack, with all the particulars, but they have shown themselves most culpably negligent, for the man has not yet been arrested. In fact, so secure did he feel, that he went three days after to one of the silk dealers with whom Mr. R. did business, and presented a forged order for two pieces of silk in the comprador's name, and obtained them. It was a Providential mercy that Mr. R. was not killed on the spot; but whether the indolence of the magistrates is owing to the fact that life was not taken, and they do not feel it so important to arrest the offender, can not be said. They are greatly to blame for their negligence.

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. XIX.—MARCH, 1850.—NO. 3.

ART. I. *Notice of the years of famine and distress which have occurred at Shánghái, recorded in the Statistics of Shánghái.*

DURING the third year of the emperor Yenyú 延祐 (A. D. 1316), the district of Shánghái was flooded, and the land taxes were reduced; a famine followed in the next year, and grain was distributed amongst the people. In the 2d year of Shuntí 順帝 (1336), there was a dearth, and the granaries were ordered to be opened, and their contents, together with the donations of the wealthy, distributed amongst the starving people. During the eighth year of Hungwú 洪武 (A. D. 1375), froshes occurred and famine followed; at the end of the year, the distressed were assisted, and in the following year, the land taxes in four departments of this region were remitted, and in the next year, one *shik* (about 170 lbs. av.) of grain was supplied to each household which had suffered. In the first year of Yungloh 永樂 (1404), famine prevailed; and the next year the Board of Revenue memorialized that as Shánghái and Hwating districts were flooded, the taxes on the low lands might be taken in pieces of manufactured silk in lieu of grain.—During the following spring, grain was again furnished, and the excise on salt was not collected, and in the autumn, the taxes on all the flooded lands were remitted. Aid was also granted the next year.

In the seventh year of Siuenteh 宣德 (1432), an inspector-general named Wáng Lái 王來 memorialized that he had inspected the damages by floods, upon which the land taxes and imposts were dispensed with.

In the fifth year of Chingtung 正統 (1440) in consequence of

damage by freshes, it was ordered that in Sungkiáng fú a composition should be made for the taxes in grain, by reckoning each piece of middling three threaded cottons as equivalent to two peculs of grain, the wide three threaded cottons not being demanded; and fractional parts (i. e. taxes under two peculs) were to be paid by pieces of broad white cotton cloth.

In the fifth year of Kingtái 景泰 (1454), Cháng Fung, the president of the Board of Revenue, reported that distress prevailed in the departments of Súchau and Sungkiáng. Wáng Wan was thereupon ordered to inspect them, and decide how much of the taxes it was best to remit, and what amount of composition should be taken for the kinds of articles which were usually sent to the capital, or retained in the province, or supplied as food to the cavalry. The inhabitants received relief in 1455.

During the fifth year of Tienshun 天順 (1461), the sea overflowed this district, and in consequence of the damage the autumnal duties were remitted; dearth prevailed till 1466. In the tenth year of Chinghwá (1474), the autumnal dues were again remitted in consequence of floods; and in 1495, an epidemic and dearth were experienced. In 1509 a flood came, and famine ensued the next year, when there was another inundation; in consequence of the dearth in 1513, the second harvest duties were remitted. In 1519, famine was again experienced.

In consequence of the drought in 1540, the customs and taxes were remitted. In the 35th year of Kiátsing, in consequence of a petition by the censor Chau Jütau, the land tax was remitted in the districts of Hwátíng, Shánghái, Tsingpú and Kiátung. In 1561, because of the floods, food was given out, and the district magistrate Kuh Kwángsien ordered Wáng Chau, one of the people, to distribute congee; and the sub-director of the Banqueting Office, Kú Tsungfí, gave out millet for the food of the starving people. In 1567, a severe famine was felt, and the next year, because of the floods, orders were received from court to waive the collection of the fixed duties, and send up for that year only the rice used as official rations. In 1573, famine again afflicted this region; and in 1575, the 3d year of Wánlih, great floods brought a dearth the next year, so that the emperor released the district from arrearages, and ordered that only three tenths of the autumnal taxes should be collected in the ensuing year. In 1579, floods covered the country, so that the censor Lin Yingkiun, sent to inspect the province, memorialized the emperor to remit a portion of the usual taxes of every kind. All those who had distributed alms to the distressed were also promoted.

In 1582, the sea rose, and Wáng Tán, a native of the place, collected many hundred corpses of those drowned, and buried them at his own cost; the taxes were remitted for the next year. In 1587, the drought and destitution were so great that the people devoured each other, and the officers issued orders and regulations to afford relief. The next year, the money used to buy horses for H. M. stud, and three lacs of taels (£90,000) were sent from the treasury at Nanking, and the high officer Yáng Wankü was ordered to distribute them in the departments of Súchau and Sungkiáng; but this man was covetous and despised by all, a deceitful hypocrite, so that Táng Hientsú caused him to be dismissed from office. There was a flood that year, so that the inhabitants were destitute, and the emperor listened to the governor and judge, and disbursed the customs of Kiángsú, and the fines levied on the borders of Shántung, to relieve the wants of the poor.

The year 1589 was a bad year, so that the governor Yü Lih memorialized the Throne, and part of the income from the land and from the duties, and part of the arrears of former years and dues of that year, were remitted. The prefect Yü Kiun also exhorted the rich to give millet to make soup to feed the starving. In 1591, relief was given out, in consequence of the freshes. In 1608, the water rose so that governor Chau Kungkiáu laid the case before his majesty, and fifty thousand taels were distributed among the destitute, taken from the revenue of the two departments of Hwái-ngán and Yángchau. The next year there was a dearth, and the same governor ordered the prefect Cháng Kiúteh to direct the district magistrates to see that vegetable soups were given to the starving inhabitants of the villages and hamlets, placing the management of the distribution in the hands of the gentry and elders, and "lovers of righteousness."

In 1624 (4th of Tienki), there was a great flood and a year of want; Wú Hing, the sub-director of H. M. stud, a native of Hwá-ting, distributed three thousand peculs of millet to the destitute of his native district. In 1629, a dearth occurred, and the prefect Fáng Yoh-kung took more than seven thousand peculs of rice from the storehouses of one Kú, which he gave away to the poor or sold at a cheap rate. In 1640, there was a severe famine, and a drought the next year, so that the price of grain was high; the küjin graduates Ho Káng and others furnished millet to the poor, and the magistrate Cháng Kwángyoh found on inquiry that many of the people had died in the winter by starvation. The prefect of Sungkiáng received orders to change the tax of rice for three tenths as much wheat as an equivalent.

In the 9th year of Shüchí (1652), rice rose very high by reason of the drought; the graduate Tung laid the matter before the magistrate Yáu, requesting him to release the people from paying the autumnal taxes, but through his delay few of the people benefited by the government bounty. In 1671, there was a famine, and the magistrate Chü disbursed from the granaries. The year 1679 was one of drought and distress; the magistrate Jin delayed collecting the taxes, and reduced the cases in his office; so that, though the taxes were not remitted, the feelings and discontent of the people were quieted.

In 1680 (10th of Kánghí), rice was dear in the spring, and the starving filled the streets; the magistrate Jin himself furnished two hundred peculs of grain and 130 taels in money to the sufferers. In 1696, the sea rose during the summer, drowning many of the people, and carrying both corpses and coffins to distant places; the prefect Kung raised a high tumulus and buried them all in it. He had already distributed relief among the people. In 1706, the magistrate Hü Sz'ching, in consequence of the scarcity, called together the literati and the common people, and sold them food out of the governmental granaries at a cheap rate. In 1707, there was a drought and dearth, so that during three months the magistrates distributed the grain laid up in the place according to the law, and also the rice, paddy and wheat levied as tax in the districts of Hwángán. In 1708, there was a great flood, and the grain collected in Kiángsí and Húkwáng, to the extent of more than three hundred thousand peculs, was sold at a cheap rate, and congee was distributed to the starving for three months. In 1715 and 1721, the people also received aid from government.

In 1723 (1st of Yungching), the emperor graciously ordered that the money due from fines, and the grain then in store, should be carefully distributed among the poor; and as the winter was bitter cold, the local officers were ordered to give out food according to the exigencies of the people. The district magistrate, Fú Chítsüen reported that there were upwards of 600 names, and that he had disbursed food for a month. In 1724, aid was afforded in consequence of the flood and distress. The provincial treasurer Yurtai obtained permission, and had three thousand peculs of the tribute rice in store brought from Kiángning fú, and distributed in the districts, and given out as congee; he also disbursed fifty thousand taels from the provincial treasury to buy food for distribution in the districts which had been submerged. Relief was also afforded in 1726; and in 1732, in consequence of an inundation and dearth, a rescript was received, or-

dering the authorities to distribute one *tau* of rice (about a peck) to every adult, and half as much to every child living in the maritime districts which had been submerged; more than 3600 peculs were disbursed. During six months, over 25,800 peculs were distributed among the poor. The grain junks were also detained, and rice sold from them at a cheap rate. The governor Kíáu Shíchín made a donation of 400 taels to be laid out in alms.

In 1743, the price of rice rose very high, and the prefect Yarha had the tact to get the rich families to act generously and sell grain cheap to those who were suffering. In 1747, the waters rose and caused great distress; congee was given out to the starving, and food supplied to the people for a month. Money was furnished to bury those who had been drowned, and to assist in rebuilding those dwellings which had been destroyed. The district magistrate Wáng Ting subscribed his own salary, and exhorted the benevolent among the gentry and people in the city and villages to assist in carrying these intentions into effect. The next year there was a storm of hail which did great damage, so that his majesty sent orders to lend out seed as might be needed, about one fifth of a peck to an eighth of an acre; and to those persons who had been the greatest sufferers the preceding year, a month's provision was lent. Food being very dear at the time, Wáng exhorted the gentry and tradesmen to sell food cheap as they had done the previous year.

In the next year, there was an epidemic, and the district magistrate Lí Wanyáu gave all his salary to buy medicines for the sick. In 1765, the dearth was very severe, and seed was lent to the farmers. The intendant Shin, and the magistrate Lí, both gave up their salaries to induce others to contribute. In the next spring, the dearth was still more severe, and the pestilence again appeared; rice was sold cheap as formerly. For those who had died in the waste places boxes were furnished to the extent of a thousand to bury them. The villagers themselves, at the Yoh-wáng temple and monastery of Extended Happiness, dealt out cash and congee, or ginger soup; and even old garments, and thus saved many lives.

In 1794, there were many bad omens, and the famine waxed sore in the spring of the next year, so that the gentry of the city generally subscribed millet to be made into soups for distribution; and for the time, they employed Wáng Tingfáng, to superintend the business. The dead were so numerous that they lay in the highways, (*lit.* "used each other for pillows.")

In 1804, the price of grain being high, it was sold out cheap, and many of the literary persons and people distributed millet to the poor-

ART. II. *Paul Sü's Apology, addressed to the emperor Wánliè of the Ming dynasty, in behalf of the Jesuit missionaries, Pantoya and others, who had been impeached by the Board of Rites in a Report dated the 44th year, 7th month of his reign, (A. D. 1617.)*

[For the Chinese copy of this memorial, we are indebted to Wm. Leckhart Esq, medical missionary at Shànghái. It is, we believe, an exact transcript from one engraved on a marble slab, erected at the Jesuit's Church outside of the southern gate of that city, comprising the "Inscription" mentioned by Bishop Smith in his narrative. Ricci reached the capital of China early in the 17th century, and died there in 1610, aged 80. Pantoya was one of the ablest of his immediate successors, and Paul Sü his most illustrious pupil. "Like priest, like people." Sü's memorial shall speak for itself; and those who are interested in it can compare it with the copy of the original. How much of the principle and spirit of a Christian, was possessed by this illustrious disciple, we will not venture to say; some of his family still adhere to the faith of their ancient fathers, while others, it is said, are "Christians." Of Paul Sü himself, there are many mementoes in and about Shànghái; and in a temple half way between the magistrate's office and the south gate of the city, there is an image of him large as life, and where, by imperial appointment, he receives divine honors! For further particulars respecting Sü and his renowned daughter Cardida, we refer our readers to Du Halde, Semedo, &c.]

Duke Sü Wanting's Apology.

Sü Kwángkí, guardian and tutor of the sons of the Imperial house, and Chancellor of the National Institute, respectfully presents this memorial:

Knowing full well that the arts and sciences of the foreigners are in a high degree correct, your majesty's humble servant earnestly begs of his sacred Intelligence, the illustrious honor of issuing a manifesto in their behalf, so as to render his own felicity eternal, and give great tranquillity to ten thousand generations. Your majesty's servant has seen, in the Governmental Gazette, the report of the Board of Rites, impeaching Pantoya and others, your majesty's European courtiers. In that Report it is said, "Their doctrines are penetrating deep, and spreading wide, so that even men of eminence are believing in them;" and, "although their discourses about astronomy are absurd, yet even scholars are falling into their cloudy visions." By thus specifying "men of eminence" and "scholars," ministers of the Board seem to fear that trunk and branches are being alike involved. Still they have failed to give the names of individuals. Now your servant is one of the ministers of the Imperial Court, who has been accustomed to discourse with your majesty's courtiers on religious subjects; and he is one who believes in the many books they have published. With them also he has been accustomed to investigate the laws of mathematics; his earlier and later reports thereon have all been laid before the Im-

perial presence; and thus also your servant is among those who have "discoursed about astronomy." If, therefore, your majesty's courtiers are to be found guilty, how can your servant hope to be so fortunate as to escape uncondemned by the ministers of the Board?

As your servant for years past has been thus accustomed to engage in discussions and investigations with these courtiers, he has become well acquainted with them, and knows that they are not only in deportment and in heart wholly free from aught which can excite suspicion, but that they are indeed worthies and sages; that their doctrines are most correct; their regimen most strict; their learning most extensive; their knowledge most refined; their hearts most true; their views most steady; and that among the people of their own nations, there is not one in a thousand so accomplished, or one in ten thousand so talented as these men. Now the reason of their coming thousands of miles eastward, is because hearing that the teachers, the sages and worthies of China, served Heaven by the cultivation of personal virtue, just as the teachers in their respective nations by the cultivation of personal virtue, served the Lord of Heaven, and knowing that there was this correspondence in principles, they desired, notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers by land and by sea, to give their seal to the truth, in order that men might become good, and so realize high Heaven's love to man.

According to their sayings, the service of the High Ruler is a prime duty; the protection of the body and the salvation of the soul are grand essentials; fidelity, filial piety, compassion, and love are to be universally exercised; the reformation of errors and the practice of virtue are initiatory steps; repentance and purification are the requisites for personal improvement; the true felicity of life celestial is the glorious reward of doing good; and the eternal misery of earth's prison is the bitter recompense of doing evil. All their commands and injunctions are in the highest degree compatible with the principles of Heaven and the feelings of men. Their laws can cause men to do good most truly, and to depart from evil most completely, for that which they say of the favor of the Lord of heaven's producing, nourishing and saving, and of his principles of rewarding the good and punishing the evil, is perfectly plain and most strictly true; sufficient to move the hearts of men and to excite in them the love and confidence, the fear and dread, which naturally spring from internal rectitude.

Your majesty's servant has always been accustomed to consider the rewards and punishments ordained by the ancient rulers and kings, and the distinctions between right and wrong laid down by our sages and worthies, as most luminous and most perfectly adapted to guide

men to what is good, and deter them from evil. All these, however, can reach only his external conduct, and can not touch his inward feelings. An example in point are the words of Sz'-má Tsien, "Yen-hwui's untimely death, and Tauchih's long life," which have led men to suspect that there is no future recompense of good and evil. Hence deceit and guile have increased in proportion as the restraints laid thereon have been multiplied. Where one law has been enacted, a hundred evil practices have sprung up, disappointing the heart's desire for stable government, and exciting deep regret on account of the inadequacy of means to secure that end. With a view of supplying this deficiency, recourse was had to the sayings of the Budhists, which declare that there will be a recompense of good and evil after the body dies; and that for their conduct and feelings both Yenhwui and Tauchih might seem to have had a recompense, which, it was supposed, would cause other men without delay to depart from evil and do good. Why then is it that during the eighteen hundred years since the Budhistic religion came to the East, the ways of the world and the hearts of men have not been reformed, except it be because, though seeming to be true, that religion is false? The doctrine of Láu and Chwáng, as they are set forth by the Contemplatists, are dark, far-fetched, and unreliable. All the schemes and legerdemain practiced by the doctors of the black art, are strangely deceptive and unreasonable. Moreover, they (his followers) wish to elevate Budha above the high Ruler, and thus do they act in opposition to the doctrines of the rulers and kings, the sages and worthies of antiquity. When all this is done, on whom then shall men depend? Whom shall they follow?

If there be an absolute desire to have men do good in perfection, then the knowledge of serving Heaven, communicated by your majesty's courtiers, is truly competent to repair and augment the royal Institutes, to strengthen and maintain the arts of the literati, and to restore and correct the laws of Budha. The proof of this is, that the nations of Europe which are contiguous to each other, and more than thirty in number, receiving and practicing this religion, during a thousand and some hundreds of years up to the present time, whether great or small, have alike been kind to each other; whether high or low, have alike enjoyed repose; their prescribed boundaries have required no guard; nor has their sovereignty been hereditary; throughout their whole domain, there have been no deceivers nor liars; the vices of lewdness and theft from of old have never existed: no one would venture to take up an article dropped upon the highway; and even gates and doors of cities and houses it was not necessary to have closed by night. As to revolt and anarchy, rebels and insurgents, not only

were there no such things and no such persons, but even such terms and such names had no existence. Thus for a long time, have these nations enjoyed tranquillity, and their governments have been well regulated. All their inhabitants have been thus intensely watchful only lest they should, by falling into error, become guilty of sinning against the Lord of Heaven. Accordingly it is most clear and most manifest that their laws assuredly can cause men to do well.

Such is the religion and such are the manners and customs set forth by your majesty's courtiers; and having repeatedly, and in the most thorough manner, examined their discourses and investigated their books, your majesty's servant knows that they are all perfectly free from error.

Your majesty's servant has heard of Yú Yu, the ancient minister of Sijung, who gave support to the Tsin dynasty in its rise to greatness; and of Kinjihahin, the heir of Síyih, who became an illustrious statesman of the Hán dynasty. If these men could be of essential service to the state, it was of no moment whether they came from far or not.

Moreover the temples and pagodas of the Budhists are to be seen in all parts of the empire, and the lama priests are continually coming to China. The Mohammedans also, whose sacred books have never yet been translated, so as to be adduced as testimonies of their faith, dynasty after dynasty have been freely tolerated with all their errors, and everywhere they have been allowed to build their own places of worship. Our high Emperor commanded two of his ministers Lf Chung and Wú Pehtsung, members of the Imperial Academy, with two of the principal leaders of the Mohammedans, to translate their astronomical books. The result was that they prepared the work called *Kien Yuen Sien Shing*. The doing of all this brings out to view the sacred purposes of the first monarch of our dynasty, their profound desire to renovate the people and perfect their customs. Hence we see why it was that they sought out and commended [worthy men], not excepting those of countries far remote.

Now with regard to all the writers of these two sects, the Budhist and Rationalists, so imperfect are their doctrines and so incomplete their laws of instruction, that, during this long period of two hundred and fifty years (since the rise of our dynasty), they have not been able to realize the designs of our august sovereign in giving them his special countenance. Were the High Ruler worshiped as reverently as Budha and Láutsz', and were your majesty's courtiers received as indulgently as the priests of those two sects, their royal instruction would rise and flourish, and the principles of rectitude be carried to

such a degree of perfection, as to transcend all that was witnessed in the times of Yáu and Shun and their immediate successors.

During the seventeen years these courtiers have enjoyed your majesty's support, no course has been opened by which they could requite the favors so generously bestowed upon them. Though they have earnestly and heartily desired it, yet they have found no means by which they could display before your majesty the virtues they cherish, and the constancy they have maintained. But knowing these, as your majesty's servant has done, should he keep silence, he would be indeed guilty of an act of criminal concealment. Hence he has been so rash and so presumptuous as to come forward as their intercessor.

If his sacred Intelligence would deign graciously to receive our apology, grant a manifesto, and for a short space of time, and on perfect equality with the disciples of Budha and doctors of the Táu sect, allow these courtiers to remain [in the empire] to promulgate their doctrines and urge on their reformation, it is humbly conceived that, ere many years have elapsed, the hearts of men and the ways of the world, will be seen to have undergone a steady and gradual change, progressing till at length there shall be one grand reformation, and perfect virtue become universal. Then every law enacted shall go into effect, and no command given shall be opposed. No unfaithful minister will then be in the capital or in the provinces. The manners of all the people without exception will be such as to render them worthy of being employed in the imperial service. The glorious felicity enjoyed by your majesty's sacred person will be infinite, and the peace of your blessed empire perpetuated to a myriad generations!

Now since it might be difficult to secure full confidence were your majesty's servant allowed a hearing, or suspicions might be entertained by those who are spectators, and thus cause much debate, your majesty's servant, therefore, would respectfully suggest three modes of examination to ascertain the truth regarding said these courtiers, and also three modes of surveillance, all which herewith he begs to submit for your majesty's consideration. The three modes of examination are :

1st. Let all the courtiers, whose names have been included in the memorials, be called to the capital ; and let a selection be made of your majesty's ministers both in and out of the capital ; let all these jointly translate the standard works that have been brought from the West ; let subjects be taken up in detail—what is said on serving Heaven and loving man, what relates to natural and moral philosophy, to the systems of civil government, to astronomy, to mathematics, to physic and medicine, to agriculture and irrigation, to political economy, &c.;

and let a distinct treatise be prepared on each of these ; and then let his majesty command the ministers of his own palace, in general assembly, to decide whether they are correct or erroneous. And if indeed they be subversive of the cardinal virtues and opposed to the classics, involving wicked doctrines and sinister means, then let the said courtiers be immediately dismissed and expelled ; and your majesty's servant will willingly abide the punishment appointed for those who aid and abet the deceivers of his majesty.

2d. The words of the courtiers agreeing with those of the literati, but being at variance with those of the Budhists and Táuists ; therefore all who are of those two sects, hate and detest them, and spread abroad slanderous reports, greatly to their injury. Needful it is, then, to decide which is right and which is wrong ; and to beg your majesty will please command that these courtiers and the most notable of the Budhists and Táuists write in discussion, make the most thorough investigation, and strive and seek to come to an agreement. Then, as before, let his majesty direct that statesmen from among the literati, in general council, decide on the merits of the case ; and if the courtiers are not preferred for what they have said, or if they have reasoned fallaciously, or have been nonplused ; then let them be immediately dismissed and expelled, and let your majesty's servant be punished with them.

3d. As it would be difficult in the translation of their books to know where to stop, and as the Budhists and Táuists may perhaps not have the men [competent to take part in this], let your majesty's courtiers be instructed to draw up a compendium of their religion, in detail, stating its prohibitions and injunctions, with its requisitions and rewards. Let this, with some thirty of the volumes that have been already translated, and ten or more of the original volumes, be together submitted for your majesty's inspection, and if these be found contradictory, and opposed to the principles of reason, incompetent to urge men to do good, and to guard them from evil, to change and improve their manners and customs ; then immediately let these courtiers be dismissed and expelled, and let your majesty's servant be punished with them.

These are the three modes of examination [which are here suggested in order] to ascertain the truth concerning said courtiers. The three modes of surveillance are these :

1st. Regarding the item of expenditure—which has specially subjected your majesty's courtiers to suspicion—both those who suspect they make silver and gold, and those who suspect they are supported

by the barbarian merchants [at Canton], are in error. Having voluntarily left their homes, and not engaging in any lucrative occupation, they are of course the recipients of what has been contributed. At present, however, their entire provision for food and clothing comes from contributors in Europe; and in its transmission, by exposure to winds and waves, to robbers and pirates, much fails to reach its destination, thus causing them great distress. Yet during these twenty years [since their arrival], they have not received from the people a single thing, a single cash; and yet they fear that some, not being observant, will suspect they received it for nought, or had obtained it by deceit or fraud, thus adding iniquity to transgression, especially as large demands were made on them by their extensive and varied intercourse. By the present scheme, besides allowing to them a stipend as heretofore, from your majesty's Court of Banquets, let orders be given that these courtiers may receive a measured amount of contributions [from the Chinese] for food and clothing, and let them be allowed to follow their own convenience, since, in their disinterestedness, they will never consent to receive aught beyond what is sufficient for their personal use. A sufficient support being thus provided, orders may be given that the barbarian merchants at Canton forward no more presents, and that the money, which is sent on from Europe, on its reaching the custom-house, may be intercepted and remanded. In this way all communication [with Europe] will be cut off, and every suspicion removed.

2d. As your majesty's courtiers, in whatever place they may reside, are competent in the most faithful manner to instruct both the scholars and the people, whether they be poor and mean, or rich and honorable; henceforth, therefore, in whatever place they choose to reside, let them be allowed the exercise of their appropriate functions; and let the magistrate treat them with becoming courtesy, allowing them to influence and guide whomsoever they please. Should the magistrate, in any case, be unable to repose confidence in them, then let them command the scholars and people—selecting such as have character and property,—to unite in companies of ten or twenty families, and give bonds of security to the magistrate for them. Should it indeed happen that any of the teachers, losing their virtue, conduct themselves in an irregular manner, harboring vain purposes, uttering wicked words, and displaying a want of principle, then let them, according to what has been proposed, be expelled and banished; and let those who gave bonds for them, share in their guilt. Such as are without any bonds for their security, must not be allowed to re-

main in the country. Should any of the people, bearing rumors of their behaving in an irregular manner, bring accusations against them, then let the magistrates be required to investigate the facts, and search out the true circumstances of the case. Thus the practice of deceit will be impossible; and those who are true, and those who are hypocritical, will be brought out to view in their own characters.

3d. If the native securities unite to conceal and hide offenders so as to make it difficult to repose confidence, then again, let the magistrates be instructed at any time they please to make careful investigation. After having former offenders at once exposed, then let all such native scholars and people, as have maintained a pure and elevated course of conduct, be allowed to choose their own teachers; and let these teachers, each being furnished from the magistracy with a stamped and duly authenticated register in duplicate, be required, by means of these to make, at the magistrate's office, a continued report. At the year's end, let each magistrate carefully examine all those who have followed these teachers, and afterwards transfer into a separate register, the names of all such as either have not been accused, or if accused have not been found guilty. Once in three years let there be a general examination; and let the magistrates and teachers freely commend all those who, having followed this religion, are not only free from all error and crime, but have made many and commendable advances in well doing; let them also ascertain the number, and determine the degree of criminality of such as are guilty of wicked conduct; and let those who gave bonds for the same, in like manner receive due punishment. If there be those who have purposely offended, and who after having been warned and admonished by their associates and teachers, will not reform, then let these be reported to the magistrates that their names may be removed from the register. Should any be informed against by their own associates before their names are removed from the registers; or should the offenses of any one, committed before entering this religion be subsequently discovered; in all such cases, let the criminality be restricted to the offenders themselves, and let their associates be in no way implicated. By this means, officers of government will have reliable registers for reference, and all the people can clearly see that due examination has been made; and though the number of disciples be small, each in his own sphere will be useful. Moreover, if the Budhists and Täuists should ever succeed in raising religious discussions, there will be no further necessity for any scheme that can produce excitement; since it will only be needful, carefully distinguishing between the people and the teachers, to have all cases

examined, and rewards and punishments meted out by the methods now proposed: in no very long lapse of time it will be abundantly evident who is right and who wrong, which is useful and which injurious.

Your majesty's servant, with profoundest reverence, begs to lay the foregoing clauses before his sacred Intelligence, to scan and to select, and to cause to be carried into effect such as shall be deemed desirable. Being younger than the ministers of the Board of Rites, he would not presume to place himself in collision with them nor oppose their words. This only he does: after the most thorough and careful investigation he clearly sees, [and testifies] that for perfecting the administration of the empire, and securing peace and good government, nothing can surpass this that is taught by your majesty's courtiers. If now the recommendation of the Board be granted, these men must at once return to their own countries. Knowing so much and having said so little in their behalf, your majesty's servant is filled with the deepest regret, and therefore, after having fasted and performed the requisite ablutions, he does not shrink from the responsibility of laying their case before the Throne.

As to the things which ministers of the Board say they have heard, they are only such as your servant himself heard in former days, and which then filled him with suspicion. But after years of careful examination and inquiry,—when he had a sincere mind to see the truth in them, and was able to understand them most thoroughly, then his confidence became strong and undoubting. Were there indeed the smallest reason for entertaining suspicion regarding these men, then there might be some shadow of doubt in your servant's mind; and although free from the smallest fault, yet if these men were not truly sages and worthies, then too, they might not be of great advantage; and it would be to your servant of little moment, whether they were sent away or were retained.

As it regards the improvement of the imperial Calendar, that is also a matter of little importance. Being as he is, however, one of those ministers who are appointed to attend on his majesty, how can your servant dare rashly to plead in their behalf, insult and deceive his princely Father, and expose himself to condign punishment! If ministers of the Board would but examine and inquire thoroughly, as your servant has done, then he apprehends that they would not be behind him in advocating their cause.

Your servant in rashly presuming to approach the Heavenly Majesty, is overwhelmed with infinite fear and dread, while he earnestly awaits the imperial mandate in reply to this memorial.

徐文定公辨學章疏
 左春坊左贊善兼翰林院檢討徐光啟謹奏爲遠人學術
 最正愚臣知見甚真懇乞

聖明表章隆重以永萬年福祉以貽萬世乂安事臣見邸報
 南京禮部叅西洋陪臣龐迪我等內言其說浸淫卽士君
 子亦有信向之者一云妄爲星官之言士人亦墮其雲霧
 曰士君子曰士人部臣恐根株連及略不指名然廷臣之
 中臣嘗與諸陪臣講究道理書多刊刻則信向之者臣也
 亦嘗與之考求曆法前後章疏具在御前則與言星官者
 亦臣也諸陪臣果應得罪臣豈敢幸部臣之不言以苟免
 乎然臣累年以來因與講究考求知此諸臣最真最確不
 止踪跡心事一無可疑寔皆聖賢之徒也其道甚正其守
 甚嚴其學甚博其識甚精其心甚真其見甚定在彼國中
 亦皆千人之英萬人之傑所以數萬里東來者蓋彼國教
 人皆務修身以事

天主。聞中國聖賢之教。亦修身事天。理相符合。是以辛苦艱難。履危蹈險。來相印正。欲使人人

爲善。以稱

上天愛人之意。其說以昭事

上帝爲宗本。以保救身靈爲切要。以忠孝慈愛爲工夫。以遷

善改過爲入門。以懺悔滌除爲進修。以生天真福爲作善

之榮賞。以地獄永殃爲作惡之苦報。一切戒訓規條。悉天

理人情之至。其法能令人爲善必真。去惡必盡。蓋所言

天主生育拯救之恩。賞善罰惡之理。明白真切。足以贊勸人

心。使其愛信畏懼。發於絲衷故也。臣嘗論古來帝王之賞

罰。聖賢之是非。皆範人於善。禁人於惡。至詳極備。然賞罰

是非。能及人之外行。不能及人之中情。又如司馬遷所云。

顏回之夭。盜跖之壽。使人疑於善惡之無報。是以防範愈

嚴。欺詐愈甚。一法立。百弊生。空有願治之心。恨無必治之

術。於是假釋氏之說以輔之。其言善惡之報。在於身後。則

外行中情。頗回盜跖。似乎皆得其報。謂宜使人爲善去惡。不旋踵矣。奈何佛教東來。千八百年。而世道人心。未能改易。則其言似是而非也。說禪宗者。衍老莊之旨。幽渺而無當。行瑜珈者。雜符籙之法。乖謬而無理。且欲抗佛而加於上帝之上。則既與古帝王聖賢之旨悖矣。使人何所適從。何所依據乎。必欲使人盡爲善。則請陪臣所傳事。

天之學。真可以補益王化。左右儒術。救正佛法者也。蓋彼西洋。鄰近三十餘國。奉行此教。千數百年。以至於今。大小相恤。上下相安。封疆無守。邦君無姓。通國無欺。謊之人。終古無淫盜之俗。路不拾遺。夜不閉關。至於悖逆叛亂。非獨無其事。無其人。亦并其語言文字而無之。其久安長治如此。然猶舉國之人。兢兢業業。惟恐失墜。獲罪。天主。則其法定能使人爲善。亦既彰明較著矣。此等教化風俗。雖諸臣所自言。然臣審其議論。察其圖書。參互考稽。悉

皆不妄。臣聞由余西戎之舊臣。佐秦興霸。金日磾。西域之
 世子。爲漢名卿。苟利於國。遠近何論焉。又伏見梵刹琳宮。
 遍布海內。番僧喇嘛。時至中國。卽如回回一教。並無傳譯
 經典。可爲証據。累朝以來。包荒容納。禮拜之寺。所在有之。
 高皇帝。命翰林臣李紳。吳伯宗。與回回大司馬沙赤黑馬哈
 麻等。翻譯曆法。至稱爲乾元先聖之書。此見先朝聖意深
 願化民成俗。是以褒表搜揚。不遺遠外。而釋道諸家。道術
 未純。教法未備。二百五十年來。猶未能仰稱
 皇朝表章之盛心。若以崇奉佛老者。崇奉
 上帝。以容納僧道者。容納諸陪臣。則興化致理。必出唐虞三
 代之上矣。

皇上養養諸陪臣。一十七載。恩施深厚。諸陪臣報答無階。所
 抱之道德。所懷之忠蓋。延頸企衷。無繇上達。臣旣知之。默
 而不言。則有隱蔽之罪。是以冒昧陳請。倘蒙
 聖明採納。特賜表章。目今暫與僧徒道士。一體容留。使敷宣

勸化竊意數年之後。人心世道。必漸次改觀。乃至一德同風。翕然丕變。法立而必行。令出而不犯。中外皆勿欺之臣。比戶成可封之俗。

聖躬延無疆之遐福。

國祚永萬世之太平矣。倘以臣一時陳說。難以遽信。或恐旁觀猜忖。尙有煩言。臣謹設爲試驗之法有三。處置之法有三。並以上請。試驗之法。其一。盡召疏中有名陪臣。使主烹師。乃擇內外臣僚數人。同譯西來經傳。凡事

天愛人之說。格物窮理之論。治國平天下之術。下及歷算醫藥農田水利等。興利除害之事。一一成書。

欽命廷臣。共定其是非。果係叛常拂經。邪術左道。即行斥逐。臣甘受扶同欺罔之罪。其二。諸陪臣之言。與儒家相合。釋老相左。僧道之流。咸共憤嫉。是以謗害中傷。風聞流播。必須定其是非。乞

命諸陪臣。與有名僧道。互相辨駁。推勘窮盡。務求歸一。仍令

儒學之臣。共論定之。如言無可採。理屈詞窮。即行斥逐。臣與受其罪。其三。譯書若難就緒。僧道或無其人。即令諸陪臣。將教中大意。誠勸規條。與其事蹟功效。畧述一書。並已經翻譯書籍三十餘卷。原來本文經典一十餘部。一併進呈。

御覽。如其踳駁悖理。不足勸善。誠惡。易俗移風。卽行斥逐。臣與受其罪。此三者。試驗之法也。處置之法。其一。諸臣所以動見猜疑者。止爲盤費一節。或疑燒煉金銀。或疑夷商接濟。皆非也。諸臣旣已出家。不營生產。自然取給於捐施。凡今衣食。皆西國捐施之人。展轉託寄。間遇風波盜賊。多不獲至。諸臣亦甚苦之。然二十年來。不受人一錢一物者。蓋恐人不見察。受之無名。或更以設騙科歛等項。罪過相加。且交際往來。反多煩費。故耳。爲今之計。除光祿寺恩賜錢糧。照舊給發外。其餘。明令諸臣量受捐助。以給衣食。足用之外。義不肯受者。聽從其便。廣海夷商。諭以用度旣足。不

得多送。西來之金錢。仍行開津。嚴查阻回。如此音耗斷絕。盡釋猜嫌矣。其二諸陪臣所居地方。不擇士民。不論富貴貧賤。皆能寒心勸化。自今宜令隨其所在。依止焚修。官司以禮相待。使隨人引掖。或官司未能相信。令本地士民擇有身家行止者。或十家。或二十家。同具一甘結在官。如司教之人。果有失德猥行。邪言妄念。表率不端者。依今部議。放流遊逐。甘結諸人一體科坐。其無人保結者。不得容留。若他人有以違犯事理。傳聞告言者。官司亦要體訪的。確務求定跡。則掩飾難容。真僞自見矣。其三。地方保舉。倘有扶同隱匿。難以遽信。再令所在官司。不時備細體察。除有前項違犯。登時糾舉外。其道行高潔。地方士民願從受教者。有司給與印信文簿二扇。令司教者。循環報數在官。年終正印官備查。從教人衆。曾否犯有過惡。問有罪名。另籍登記。三年總行考察。如從教人衆。一無過犯。兼多善行。可指印官與司教之人。優行嘉獎。如從教者作奸犯科。記其人之眾寡。罪之輕重。甘結士民量行罰

治若從教之人。故犯罪惡。司教同教。戒勅不悛。因而報明官
 司。除其教籍者。或教籍未除而全教之人。自行出首者。或過
 犯在從教以前。事發在後者。罪止本身。同教之人。並不與坐
 如此。官府有籍可稽。諸人互相覺察。不惟人徒寡少。仍於事
 體有益。其他釋道諸人。或爭論教法更。不必設計造言。希圖
 聳聽。只須分士民司教。亦同此法。考察賞罰。誰是誰非。孰損
 孰益。久自明矣。此三者處置之法也。以上諸條。伏惟
 聖明裁擇。如在可采。乞賜施行。臣於部臣爲衙門後輩。非敢抗
 言與之相左。特以臣考究既詳。灼見國家致盛治保太平之
 策。無以過此。倘

欽 允部議。一時歸國。臣有懷不吐。私悔無窮。是以不避罪戾。齋
 沐陳請。至於部臣所言風聞之說。臣在昔日亦曾聞之。亦曾
 疑之矣。伺察數歲。臣實有心窺其情實。後來洞悉底裡。乃始
 深信不疑。使其人果有纖芥可疑。臣心有一毫未信。又使其
 人雖非細作奸徒。而未是聖賢流輩。不能大有裨益。則其去

萬 歷 四 十 四 年 七 月	命	天	君									
	之	威	臣	敷	盡	恐	父	爲	又	臣	歷	其
	至	不	矣	獎	亦	部	自	之	安	身	一	留
		勝	臣	許	復	臣	干	游	敢	爲	節	何
		惶	干	亦	如	而	罪	說	妄	侍	關	與
		恐	胃	不	臣	伺	罰	欺	加	從	係	臣
	待		後	其	察	裁	罔	稱	之	亦	事	
			於	推	詳	竊		許	臣	輕	修	

ART. III. *Japan: A Translation of the 12th Chapter of the Hái-kwoh Tù Chí, 海國圖志 or Notices of Foreign Countries, illustrated with Maps and Engravings. Published at the city of Yáng-chau fu in Kíáng-sú, in the summer of 1847.*

[This work now consists of sixty chapters, ten having been added to the first edition, which appeared in 1842. The compiler Wei-yuen, a native of Shán-yáng in Hónán, and a subordinate officer of the Council, tells us in the preface, that it is based upon Commissioner Lin's *Sz'-chew Chí*, or *Notices of the Islands in the Four Seas*, which was translated from the writings of foreigners, or drew its information from them: it divides the whole into eighteen parts, which are set forth in classical and somewhat obscure language. The 1st section enjoins the necessity of taking advantage of barbarian power and inventions, to resist the barbarians, and to be on a proper footing with them. This may be said to be the grand object of the book, which then proceeds to give a geographical and historical account of all the nations in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. The closing chapters direct attention to the superiority of barbarians in their method of circulating news, ship-building, and gunnery; and are filled with woodcuts representing things and processes, &c. Amongst barbarians, the English occupy a prominent place.

The translator was induced to undertake a version of the 12th Chapter by a remark in the Chinese Repository of September 1847, where the *Hái-kwoh Tù Chí* is reviewed, and its authorship ascribed to Lin: "The 12th book on Japan," says the reviewer, "is an original collection, little known to our book-makers." This is doubtless true; but it is feared that the amount of useful matter contained in it is scarce sufficient to repay the trouble of clothing it in an English dress. It serves as an instance of the extreme unfitness of a Chinese to accomplish such a task as the compiler of the work proposed to himself. He adds no comment or information of his own, but is content with giving extracts from *The Chronicles of the Ming Dynasty*; *The Art of War*; *History arranged in Chapters*, by Yu Ching-sieh; *Notes of particulars of Foreign States*, by Chin Lun-tung; *Geography of the whole world*, by Nán Hwái-chá; *Comparative Inquiry concerning the four Barbarian Races*, published under the present dynasty, or by Imperial Authority; *Annals of Macan*; *Universal Geography*; and the *Postscript of Shun king*.

A Notice of Foreign Countries, illustrated with Maps and Designs. Chapter XII.

The Book of the Southeastern Ocean; in which the insular states omitted in the original work are supplied.

Here follows an abstract of history, regarding the Japanese Islands. Nothing has been transcribed from the annalists of the dynasties preceding the Ming, as they have no reference to the maritime defenses.

Chronicles of the Ming.

Jih-pun (Japan) was in ancient times the dependent state of Wo 倭; in the period Hánhang* 咸亨 of the Táng dynasty, A. D. 670, its name was changed to *Jih-pun* (the Day-spring), from its proximity to the rising of the sun in the Eastern Ocean. It is a land surrounded by water; and only in its north-eastern extremity are there high mountains. It contains five *ki* 畿 or principalities,† seven circuits or departments, and three islands, which are subdivided into 115 prefectures, comprising 587 districts. The smaller states [adjoining it] are all subject to its rule: the lesser of these are 100 *ki* in extent, the larger not above 500; the least populous have 1000, the most, 10,000 or 20,000 inhabitants. The sovereignty is hereditary,‡ and the ministry also hold place by virtue of descent.

Until the time of the Sung dynasty (950—1280), there had been communication under every dynasty between the Central Kingdom and Japan, which had paid tribute regularly, without any interruption; but after this, although the founder of the Yuen (Kublai khan) sent envoys several times to require it, it did not arrive, and he accordingly gave orders to Fán Wan-hú and others to take a fleet with a hundred thousand men, and reduce Japan to subjection; these got as far as Wú-lung shan, where they encountered a gale in which the whole force was lost, and there was then no more intercourse between the two countries, until the close of the Yuen (1366).

At the commencement of the Ming, the Japanese availed themselves of the circumstance of the troops of the Central Kingdom being otherwise engaged, to make frequent piratical descents upon the maritime districts. In the 2d year of Hungwú (1368), an envoy was dispatched with an imperial letter [of greeting], who was withal to inform

* *Hánhang*. In the reign of Káutsung, during which the name of the period was changed thirteen times. Christianity is supposed to have been introduced into China by the Nestorians under this monarch, A. D. 654—678.

† *Ki* is classically the domain of the Emperor, 1000 *ki* in extent.—See Book of Odes.

‡ *Lit.* the sovereign is hereditarily surnamed so, *ag.* the king.

himself of the cause of these incursions. The Japanese showed no respect for the Emperor's commands, but continued their raids as before. Tribute was frequently tendered, but as the proper document never came with it, it was always rejected.

In the 20th year of this monarch (1386), Kú 'Teh-hing, the Marquis of Kiánghíá,* was directed to proceed to Fuhkien, and Tangho, Duke of Sinkwoh, to Chehkiáng, to put in order the defenses of the coast. The former province was called upon to furnish a hundred vessels, and Kwángtung a double contingent. It fell at this time that Hú Wei-yung† was projecting his rebellion, and he applied to Japan to aid him therein. The king commissioned Jü-yáu, a Buddhist priest, to put himself at the head of some four hundred troops, who, he was to give out, were bearers of tribute; and the present he sent was a large mass of wax, in which were concealed arms and gunpowder: but by the time these reached China, Hú Wei-yung was overthrown, and on the affair coming to light, it was determined to break off all intercourse with Japan, and to devote especial attention to the protection of the coast [against its hostility]. Subsequently, when the memoranda of the founder of the dynasty were drawn up, Japan was added to the number of unconquered states, fifteen in all.

At the beginning of the reign Yungloh (1401), tribute was sent, and the proper address with it; and the pirates of Tui-ma and Tai-chí having just then been plundering the inhabitants of the coast, the Emperor wrote to command the king of Japan to seize them. The latter thereupon sent forth his troops, captured them all, bound fast their leaders, twenty in number, and delivered them up. From this time whenever tribute was transmitted to China, such pirates as had been

* *Hsu* of Kiánghíá, i. e. Marquis of Kiánghíá; *kuang* of Sinkwoh, i. e. Duke of Sinkwoh. The five titles of Chinese nobilities, *kuang*, *hsu*, *pek*, *tsz'* *nén*, are explained to be indicative of certain qualities in those to whom they were given; *kuang* had regard to the public good; *hsu*, expelled for their virtues sought for better times; *pek* were bright men of intelligence; *tsz'* were capable of training others: and *nén* of sustaining important and responsible duties. Bridgman's Chrestomathy, page 592. The first three, *kuang*, *hsu*, and *pek*, existed under the Híá and Shíng dynasties, some two thousand years before the Christian era. In the time of the latter, there were four *pek* *hsu* over the East, West, North, and South. Wan-wáng, for instance, the father of Wú-wáng, who founded the succeeding dynasty of Chau, was *pek* *hsu* of the west; under the control of each of these were 200 *chs* *hsu*. The titles *tsz'* and *nén* do not appear to have been granted till the accession of Wú-wáng; he made a fresh partition of the Empire, dividing it into 800 small states, B. C. 1100. Kiánghíá was in Hópeh, Sinkwoh in Klángá. Under the Ming, the revenues of these *hsu* reverted in part to the holders of the titles.

† Hú Wei-yung, an intriguing minister of high rank under the founder of the Ming, was convicted of sedition, overthrown and beheaded about 1379

taken were forwarded with it; and the address to the Emperor, accompanying the tribute, ran as follows: "If, on the islands of your Majesty's servant there be persons without regular calling, who engage in piracy, it is indeed without the knowledge of your servant, and he prays your indulgence (or that their fault be not laid to his charge)." The pirates however were not exterminated until the 17th year (1416), when Liú-kiáng, the general commanding in Liáutung put them to great rout at Wáng-hái-wo, after which their irruptions were less frequent; but neither did envoys come with tribute from Japan. Between the fourth and eighth years of the reign Chingtung (1459-63), the Japanese, with forty sail, made a series of descents upon the department of Tái-chau and the district of Táiming. To this they were instigated by two men of Hwáng-yen and Lung-yen who had been oppressed by bond-service,* and had, accordingly, deserted to Japan as far back as the period Hungí (1424).

The Japanese were naturally cunning: they would always put on board some of the produce of their own country, and at the same time weapons of war; with these they would stand off and on until an opportunity offered, when they would display their arms and make a wild inroad on the coast; should none occur, they would parade their produce, styling it "tribute to the crown." The southeast coast was much afflicted by them. Their envoys too often put people to death, and otherwise transgressed the laws; the object of all of them in coming with tribute was to benefit by trade, and to connect themselves with the more daring and crafty of the inhabitants of the coast: thus they were either bearers of tribute or freebooters, as it suited them.

In the 27th year of Kiátsing (1547), the *sianfú* † Chú Hwan strictly prohibited this intercourse, and beheaded those who carried it on: he was for this cause very unpopular with a large portion of the inhabitants of Chehkiáng and Fuhkien, who having been up to this time the chief patrons of the Japanese in China, now lost the profit of their trade, and as, in several memorials to the Throne, he farther accused the majority, in plain terms, of correspondence with the Japanese, the

* Forced to render the bond-service once exacted from all vassals of the empire, or having been over-pressed in the levies. In ancient times the personal service was very distressing, two out of three being called on to serve in time of war before the establishment of a regular army; after which the land appears to have been taxed for the pay and support of troops. The levies were formerly called *yau* 徭, the subsidies *yau* 役; the term *yau-yau* in the text applies to the former requisition.—See Meadows on Land Tenure; Trans. of Asiatic Society in China, 1847. Also Chi. Rep. Vol. XVIII. page 569.

† A *sianfú* is now the governor of a province.

population of these provinces detested him so much that the Censor * Chau Liáng, a native of Fuhkien, impeached him, and applied to have the office of *siun-fú* changed to that of *siun-shí*, so that his power might be destroyed. His prayer was supported by his party at court, and in the end complied with; Ch'ú Hwán was afterwards stripped of office in consequence, and being implicated in a charge contrived against him of inflicting capital punishment upon his own responsibility, destroyed himself.† After this there were no other *siun-fú* appointed for four years. The prohibitions regarding foreign intercourse fell once more into desuetude, and disorder multiplied exceedingly.

When the founders of this dynasty, the Ming, settled the establishment of Chehkiáng, they made regulations for the trading vessels, to the superintendence of which there was appointed a eunuch, who resided at Ningpo, and, when the merchantmen came in, fixed the price of their cargoes; the control and management of their crews were in the hands of the authorities.

In the time of Shí-tsung (1522-65), eunuchs were dismissed throughout the empire from posts of command, and these commissioners of customs were also abolished. The cunning inhabitants of the coast therefore possessed themselves of the profit of the trade, which continued in the hands of mercantile people, until communication with foreigners was strictly prohibited; it then passed into those of persons of birth or station, who repudiated their debts to the Japanese to a worse degree than the others had done. When they were pressing in their demands for money, these men so scared the officials by their alarming language, that the latter would have exterminated the Japanese; but as soon as the troops were about to take the field, they

* A censor, as his title implies, charged with a certain circuit of inspection, or representing certain provinces, as far as their surveillance is concerned. See Morrison's *View of China*, p. 90. What was the difference between a *siun-shí* and a *siun-fú*, does not appear.

† The *Feng Hái Pi-lon* 防海備覽 shows that he was accused of straining the law, for putting to death some ninety persons as pirates who had been made prisoners, and forced to act as such. This was not until the power of the malcontents and others who had complete command of the seas, had compelled government to prohibit positively all maritime intercourse with foreigners. The rovers appear to have been chiefly Fuhkien men: their families and property on shore were left untouched while they scoured the coast, assuming the titles and state of *monarchs*. Ch'ú Hwán's memorial repelled the charge brought against him, by showing that with the existing interdict in force, these people alleged to have been captured, had no business to put themselves in the way of the pirates, who could not have got at them had they obeyed the laws: and he insisted upon the guilt of those whom he had beheaded. He fell, however, the victim of an intrigue as the text relates.

wheedled them into moving off, telling them, " We do not mean not to pay * you the full amount sometime or other." The Japanese lost the produce of their own country, and being unable to return home, were very indignant. Meanwhile, the leading bad characters (of China) such as Wáng Chih, Sù Hái, Chin Tung and Mayeh, who had always been lying *perdu* amongst them, discontented with the Inner Land, escaped to the islands, and became the chief advisers of the Japanese, whom they induced to make descents upon China, which was accordingly ravaged by large bodies of pirates in separate squadrons, who wore the dress and counterfeited the flags and signals of Japan. So that the troubles [supposed to be] wrought by the natives of that country daily increased.

The Emperor now decided upon re-appointing a *sinxfú*, and Wáng Sù, a Censor; was appointed accordingly in the 7th moon of the 31st year (1551); but the pirates had become so formidable that it was impossible to exterminate them. At the commencement of the dynasty, fortified posts had been erected along the coast at all places of importance, and vessels of war had been stationed at those of which the command had been given to *tú-sz'†*. The *sin-sái* and *tú-sz' ‡* had by these means kept them in check at all points, and a long peace had ensued, during which the ships of war became un-serviceable, vacancies occurred in the ranks, and when an alarm was given, fishing-boats had to be taken up to act as cruisers; but as the troops put on board these had not been used to their exercise, and fighting was not the particular vocation of the crews of such vessels, as soon as those of the pirates were known to be coming, they fled on the first report of their approach; and as there were not either any commanders fit to put themselves at the head of the Chinese, wherever they came they did terrible mischief.

In the 3d moon of the 32d year (1552), Wáng Chih and the Japanese made a descent with a large force: their united ships, some hundreds in number, covered the sea as they went. The alarm was given simultaneously both east and west of the Cheh river, and north and south of the Yángtsh' kiáng, for several thousand lí. They stormed the

* *Produce*; the word *tsz'* may mean wealth, money, &c., but a reference to the *Fáng Hái Pí Lán* quoted above will show that it here signifies the cargo they were to have disposed of for the state, of which they could render no account, and so being unable to return to Japan, quartered themselves on the islands, and took to piracy out of revenge, as well as with a view of making up what they had lost by the dishonesty of the Chinese.

† *Tú-sz'*, ranking as a major of the British army, or commander of the navy.

‡ Civilians of rank.

fort of Cháng-kwoh, and in the 4th moon, invaded T'ai-tsáng chau, stormed the town of Shánghái, sacked Kiáng-yin, and attacked Chápú. In the 8th moon, they plundered the station of Kin-shán, and broke into the districts of Tsungming, Cháng-shuh and Kiátíng.

In the 1st moon of the 33d year (1553), they moved out of Tai-tsáng upon Súchau, which they pillaged; attacked Sungkiáng, and re-passing the river rapidly, made a stand to the north of it in Tung-chau and T'ai-chau. In the 4th moon, they razed Kiáshen to the ground, stormed the town of Tsungming, ravaged Súchau fú a second time, and made their way into the district town of Tsungteh. In the 6th moon, they proceeded by way of Wú-kiáng to Kiá-hing, after pillaging which they returned to Cheh-lin (the wood of Cheh), where they took up a position, and went to and fro in every direction just as if they were in an uninhabited country. Wáng Sü not being able to do anything, was in a short time removed to T4-tung (in Shánsi) to be *siangfú* there; his place being supplied by Lí Tien-chung. By the Emperor's desire Cháng King, president of the Board of War assumed the general control of military operations, raised troops on all sides, and advanced to exterminate the enemy with his united forces. At this time their haunts were at Chuenshá marsh, and in the wood of Cheh, from which they made forays in all directions.

In the 7th moon of the following year (1554), the pirates seized some [government] vessels, with which they made an irruption into Chápú and Hái-ning. They razed Tsungteh to the ground, and proceeding thence to Tangtsai, ravaged it, with Sin-shí, Hángtang, and Shwánglin; and assaulted the district town of Teh-tsing. In the 5th moon, again uniting themselves with some freshly arrived Japanese, they made a sudden descent upon Kiá-hing, but on reaching the stream of Wáng-king, they were attacked with success by Cháng King, who beheaded upwards of 1900 of them; the rest escaped to Cheh-lin. The new comers once more laid waste the region about Súchau, their ravages extending to Kiángyin and Wú-sih; and they crossed and landed from the Tai Hú, or Great Lake, without opposition from any one.

There were on an average three native Japanese in every ten, the remaining seven [were Chinese, who] followed the others. In action they used to drive their prisoners on in front, and their discipline was such that all these fought till they died. The government troops, on the other hand, always weak and cowardly, fled before them in great confusion wherever they came. The Emperor accordingly dispatched Cháu Wan-hwá, a vice-president of the Board of Works, to take

the chief command, and to look into the state of the army. He was a covetous man, who promoted the undeserving and left merit unrewarded; so that the troops became more and more disorganized. Cháng King and Lí Tienchung were both put in chains, and superseded by Chau Chung and Hú Tsunghien. A month elapsed, and the former ended his career, being relieved by Yáng Í-shí. The robbers meanwhile extended their power gradually on the north and south of the Yángtsz' kiáng, and the east and west of the river Cheh, until there was no place in which traces of them were not to be met with.

Every new Japanese reinforcement fired its own vessels. From Hángchau sú they passed west, and pillaging Shun-ngán, fell suddenly on the district town of Hih in Hwuichau; thence they came to Tsih-kí and Sing-teh, and marched rapidly through Kinghien to Nánling. From this they passed on to Wú-hú, burned Nán-ngán, burst upon the prefecture of Tái-ping, attacked the market-town of Kiángning, and moved directly upon Nanking. Dressed in red, with yellow caps, they attempted the great gate Nganteh of that city, and Kiáh-kang, in good order, but [unable to make an impression] they retired quickly upon Moh-ling-kwán, passed through Lih-shui to Lih-yáng and Í-hing, which they plundered; then, hearing that the government troops were advancing from the Great Lake, they crossed Wú-tsin, and on reaching Wúsih halted at Hwui-shán, after flying in one day and night some 180 lí. At Hú-yé, they were surrounded by the troops, and pursued to Yanglin Bridge, where they were entirely cut to pieces.

In this affair, the robbers were never above 60 or 70 in number, and yet they marched several tens of lí, massacred and wounded perhaps 4000 people; and this during some eighty days before they were exterminated. These things came to pass in the 9th moon of the 34th year (1554), and Tsáu Páng-fú, *sin-fú* of Yingtien reported a victory. Cháu Wan-hwá, envious of his fame, assembled the forces of Chehkiáng and Chihlí, and accompanied by Tsung Hien, came with them in person, engaging Tsáu-Páng-fú to coöperate with him in exterminating the Japanese in their haunt at Tau-taih. They pushed forward simultaneously by different routes, and pitched their camp by the brick bridge of Sungkiáng. The enemy, all tried men, came on to the assault, and put them to great rout. Cháu Wan-hwá's courage failed him, while that of the banditti increased. In the 10th moon, some Japanese landed in Lohtsing, and made a foray into Hwáng-yen, Sien-kii, Funghwá, Yüyáu, and Sháng-yü. The multitude killed or captured by them was incalculable, and though the whole number in Ching-hien, where they were all destroyed, did not amount

to quite 200, they had managed to find their way a considerable distance into three prefectures, ravaging the country for fifty days consecutively before they were put down.

At an earlier period, a band of them had spread through Shántung from Jib-cháu to the garrison town of Tung-ngán, after plundering which they had gone on to Hwái-ngán, Kien-yü, Muh-yáng, and Tau-yuen, until they were stopped at Tsingho by the rains. All that the troops of Sü-chau, and Pei-chau destroyed did not after all amount to more than a few score of men, while the region which had suffered from their outrages was upwards of a thousand *li* in extent, and such was their ferocity they had massacred above a thousand people. Chau Wan-hwá was aware that ever since his defeat at the Brick bridge, the power of the Japanese had gone on increasing; that those at Cheh-lin, who had moved over to Chau-pó, and joined the others who lay off their old haunt at Chuen-shá, and the High bridge of Kiá-ting, were perfectly independent; and that not a day passed without fresh incursions being made, and outrages committed by them; notwithstanding he reported that piracy was put down, and solicited his recall.

In the 2d moon of the following year (1555), Yáng-í was succeeded by Tsung Hien, and Yuen Ngo was made *sianfú* of Chehkiáng. Tsung Hien prayed the Emperor to send an envoy with written instructions to the king of Japan to prohibit, and put an end to the piracy of the islanders, and he endeavored to induce the traitorous merchants who had been guilty of foreign intercourse to return to China, by promises of reward and exemption from punishment. His proposal being approved by his Majesty, upon the receipt of a reply to that effect, he sent off Tsiáng Chau, and Chin Ko-yuen, graduates of Ningpo, on the above errand. In process of time the latter came back, and represented that at the Wútau (Five Islands), he had fallen in with Wán Chih and Máu Hái-fung, who told him that there had been a revolution in Japan, that its king and his ministers were all dead; that its islands were no longer under one head of government; and that, to put a stop to piracy, the emperor's manifesto must have general circulation throughout the Archipelago. He farther said that the people at Sa-mo-chau, although they had gone to sea as if for that purpose, had no desire to commit piracy, and were now begging to be allowed to bring tribute and to trade, in which case they were ready to show their zeal by destroying the pirates: Tsi ng Chau had been left to promulge the Imperial commands throughout the different islands, and he, Chin Ko-yuen, had been sent back. Upon Tsung Hien's memorial being referred to them, the Board of War rejoined

ed: "Wáng Chih and the rest are registered subjects of China. When they talked of exerting themselves thus in evidence of their submission, they should have forthwith disbanded their troops: but without saying aught upon this subject, they have simply requested leave to bring tribute, and open a trade, in covert imitation of dependent states. Their craftiness is beyond the reach of speculation, and it is therefore the duty of the Board to direct the governor-general (whose memorial they were considering), to make the power of the state to be feared, to push forward its defenses with energy, and to write to Wáng Chih and the rest, and desire them to prove that they are in earnest by extirpating the pirates, and destroying their haunts in Chusan. Should perfect tranquillity be restored to the maritime districts, favor and recompense will of course follow thereon."

At this time Chehkiáng, on both sides of the river, was harassed by the Japanese. In the district of Tsz'-kí, they burned and massacred with great ferocity, and also in that of Yüiau, though to a less extent. In the west of the province, Cheh-lin, Chápu, Wú-chiu, and Tsau-lin, were all haunts of these marauders, of whom, from first to last, upwards of twenty thousand had come. In the 7th moon, Tsung Hien, who had received the Imperial commands to devise some feasible policy without delay, reported that the pirate chief Máu Hái-fung, after Chin Koyuen's return, had defeated the Japanese once in Chusan, and again at Lih-piáu; and had sent some of his band to call upon the several islands in the Emperor's name to unite their troops (or subjects) in the common cause, and to exert themselves in token of their allegiance; for all which service he requested that he might be handsomely rewarded. The Board desired Tsung Hien to do what might seem to him good.

At this time Sü Hái, Chin Tung, and Máyeh were besieging Tung-hiáng with their combined forces. Tsung Hien found means to set them against one another, and Sü Hai consequently seized Chin Tung and Máyeh to testify his own submission, and cut off all their followers at Chápú. Not long after this, the army came upon Sü Hái himself at Liáng-chwáng: he was beheaded, and his band utterly annihilated.

The south of Kiángnán and the west of Chéhkiáng were now tolerably free from pirates; but in the north of the former province, after overrunning Tán-yáng, and pillaging Kwá-chau, where they burned the grain-junks, the Japanese renewed their inroads in the spring of the following year (1556). They invaded Jü-káu and Hái-mun, assaulted the town of Tung-chau, and after plundering Yáng-

ohau and Káu-yü came into Páu-ying. They then made their way into the department of Hwái-ngán, and assembled at Miáu-wán (Temple Bay), where after a year had elapsed they were suppressed. Those in the east of Chehkiáng retreated to Chusan, where they were surprised at different times by the troops of government.

Tsiáng Chau, who had been left behind at Fung-hau to make known the Emperor's commands to the islands, had dispatched a Buddhist priest to Shán-k'au and other islands to declare to them his Majesty's prohibitions against piracy. Yuen I-cháng, the military officer commanding at Shán-k'au, now forwarded certain persons who had been in captivity, with a letter, which, however he sealed with the stamp of the king. Yuen Í-chin, the protector or civil governor of Fung-hau, went over Teh-yáng, a Buddhist priest, and others, with some of the produce of the island, and a memorial, wherein he returned thanks for his pardon, acknowledged his transgressions, and requested a passport for the deputation in charge of this tribute; under whose escort Tsiáng Chau returned.

Some time before this, Ching Shun-kung, whom Yáng-í had detached to cruise and make observations, having gone into Fung-hau, the lord of that island in like manner sent Tsing-shau, a Buddhist priest, on board his vessel [to proceed to China], and return thanks for his pardon, and to state that the piracies from first to last had been caused by the traitorous merchants of China secretly instigating the barbarians of the islands to such acts; of which neither Yuen Í-chin nor Yuen Í-cháng had any cognizance. Upon this, Tsung Hien represented the facts in a memorial, in which he showed that Fung-hau and Shánk'au, the only islands visited by Tsiáng Chau in the two years that he had been absent on his mission, had presented tribute, but either without the proper stamped document or certificate, or with a document stamped, but without the title of the king therein appearing; both of which things were opposed to the laws of the realm: still as [the governor of Fung-hau], in sending tribute and returning people who had been captured, had certainly shown a sense of his past errors, and an anxiety to be forgiven, it would be but right to dismiss his envoy politely, and he might be told to instruct Yuen Í-cháng and Yuen Í-chin to transmit orders to the king of Japan to seize all the leading insurgents there, and all traitorous Chinese; after which permission would be given them to send tribute. This was approved by the Emperor.

In the meantime, Wáng Chih had taken up his abode in one of the islands, where he and his comrades Wáng Ngáu, Yeh Sung-mwán, Sié Ho and Wáng Tsing-kí collected a large number of followers, and

persuaded the Japanese pirates to join them that they might employ them as their men of valor. The Emperor went so far as to tempt him with an offer of the hereditary rank of earl, and a thousand pieces of money; but without effect. The government forces at this period were in fair order, and the Japanese, although fierce antagonists, were destroyed in large numbers; so that of the population of a whole island not a man would return; and as this was a constant occurrence, the people murmured against Wáng Chih, who himself began to be uneasy thereat. Tsung Hien, who was from the same district, and had housed his mother and family at Hángchau, now sent Tsíang Chau to him with a letter from his relations, and Wáng Chih being thus assured that his family had suffered no harm, was somewhat moved. Yuen Í-chin and the rest were likewise gratified at the permission given them to trade with China, and they sent their kinsfolk Shen Yáu and others, forty in number, in a large vessel which they had built, and with them Wáng Chih and his party who came to offer tribute and to trade.

In the 10th moon of the 36th year (1556), these all arrived at Shán-káng, in Chusan, where the authorities supposing them to have come on a piratical expedition, turned out the garrison. Wáng Chih however dispatched Wáng Ngáu to present himself to Tsung Hien, who immediately dismissed him, and as Wáng Chih had expressed a wish that an officer of rank should be sent to his friends as a hostage, Hiá Ching, a *chí-awxi*,* was ordered to go to him as a pledge of good faith, which done, Wáng Chih, Tsing Mmán, and Tsingki presented themselves to the great satisfaction of Tsung Hien, who received them with the utmost politeness, and desired them to go and pay their respects to Wáng Pun-kú, the Commissioner of Inquiry.† He treated them as if they were subordinate officers, at which when informed of it, Wáng Ngáu and the rest were so enraged that they cut Hiá Ching to pieces, burned their ship, landed on the island, seized Shán-káng, and resolutely defended it for more than a year. New-comers from Japan arrived in large numbers, and made frequent descents upon the three districts in the east of Chehkiáng. Those at Shán-káng removed to Ho-mei, built fresh vessels, and made voyages. Tsung Hien did not go in pursuit of them.

In the 11th moon, the pirates directed their course southward, and anchored at Wúyü in the department of Tsuen-chau; they ravaged

* A military officer of the rank of colonel or brigadier, under the Ming. The present dynasty has no such title in its army list.

† *Sin-agán*, a censor sent to make a circuit of inquiry into particular abuses.

the districts of Tung-ngán, Hwui-ngán, and Nán-ngán, assaulted Fuhning chau, and after storming Fuh-ngán and Ningteh, in the fourth moon of the following year (1557), they blockaded Fuhchau, and did not raise the siege for a month. The towns of Fuhsing and Yung-fuh were also attacked and destroyed by them; they spread down as far as Hinghwí, and thence made a sudden irruption into Chángchau. The scene of their troubles had been entirely shifted into Fuhkien, and in Cháu chau and Kwángchau (Canton) much alarm was caused by the report.

In the 40th year (1560), the pirates were successively put down to the northeast of the river Cheh and the north of the Yáng-tsz', but Tsung Hien was convicted not long after of some offense, and superseded. In the 11th moon of the following year they leveled the city of Hinghwá to the ground, putting a large number to the sword, and making many prisoners, with whom they took possession of the garrison town of Pingháí, where they remained without stirring.

Since they first began their incursions into Chehkiáng, they stormed both large and small district and garrison towns, a hundred or more, but never until now the chief city of a department; and their doing so, in this instance, created so serious an alarm, far and near, that the generals Yü Tá-yü, Tsih Kí-kwáng, and Liú Hien, were moved up with all speed. These officers attacked them conjointly, and routed them; and as those who were making raids into other districts were likewise overcome by them, peace was quite restored to Fuhkien.

Kwángtung was after this extensively ravaged by Tsang Yih-pun, Hwáng Cháu-t'ái, and others, all of whom brought with them Japanese allies. In the period Lung-king (1565-71), they stormed the garrison towns of Kieh-sheh and Kiáhtsz'. They attacked Sheh-ching in Hwá-chau, razed to the ground the station of Kinnáng and the fort of Shihlui; and the towns of Wú-chuen, Yáng-kiáng, Máu-ming, Háifung, Sin-ning, and Hwuilái were all fired, and their inhabitants made prisoners. They then turned [southward] towards Luichau fú, Lienchau fú, and Kiungchau fú (Háinán I.), which three prefectures also suffered from their outrages.

In the 2d year of Wánli (1573), they invaded the departments of Ningpo, Sháu-shing, Taichau, and Wanchau, in the east of Chehkiáng, and destroyed the fort of Tungkú and the station of Shwáng-yü in Kwángtung. In the 3d year (1574), they attacked T'ien-peh (Tín-pák); in the 4th (1575), Tingháí (Chusan); in the 8th (1579), Kiu-shán, in Chehkiáng, and Pang-hú (the Pescadores) and Tungyung in Fuhkien. In the 10th year (1587), they invaded the depart-

ment of Wanchau, and made a second descent upon Kwángtung. In the 10th year (1587), they returned upon Chehkiáng; but the provincial government, warned by the disasters of the period Kiátung (already detailed), had strengthened the sea defenses no little, so that wherever the pirates came they were constantly worsted. Kwángtung meanwhile was invaded by some whom the *Tánkiá** pirate, Liáng Punháu, had leagued with and brought in. The disorder wrought by them increased to such a pitch that the governor-general Chin Sui assembled a force, attacked them, sank upwards of a hundred of their vessels, and beheaded 1600, Liáng Punháu being amongst the number. The Emperor ordained a thanksgiving, himself sacrificing at the high altars and in the Imperial temples;† he proclaimed a victory throughout the empire, and received the congratulations of his Court.

The government of Japan had been from ancient days monarchical; the minister next in importance and dignity to the sovereign being styled the *kwán-pih*. At the time of which we are speaking, this post was filled by Kú Sin-cháng of Shán-chí; chau. When hunting, he came upon a man who was sleeping under a tree, and who started up in alarm to flee, but being seized and interrogated, declared his name to be Ping Siú-kih, the slave of a native of Shamo-chau. Robust, active, and ready of speech, his appearance so pleased Kú Sin-cháng that he put him in charge of his horses. He was called the *Muh-hiú* (i. e. Hypodendrius, Under the Tree) man; in course of time he was employed in the public service, and by the aid of his counsels Kú Sin-chóng possessed himself of upwards of twenty departments. He was subsequently made governor, or protector, of Sheh-tsin, when the *Tsán-mau* (counselor) Ah-kí-chí gave offense to Kú Sin-cháng, who

* The *Tán-há*, boating race, considered a distinct people, in the 4th century (the time of the Tsin dynasties), had upwards of 50,000 boats. In 1370, these were placed under the charge of an inspector, entitled the *Ho-po-so*, and taxed in fish. They are still one of four classes who are not allowed to enter themselves as candidates for degrees, and the people consider intermarriage with them a *mésalliance*. About 1730, they were allowed to live on shore and cultivate land.

† Altars 郊廟 *kiáu mi tsu*. *Kiáu* is properly 'waste land outside a city, &c.' Morrison's Syllabic Dict. 5587. At Peking without the South Gate, is an altar to Heaven in a circular brick inclosure of considerable extent: this is the Nan *kiáu*. Beyond the North gate is another similarly inclosed by a square wall to Earth; this is the Peh-*kiáu*. At the latter the Emperor sacrifices at the summer solstice; at the southern, at the winter solstice, and also on extraordinary occasions. The temples are chapels dedicated to his ancestors within the precincts sacred to his Majesty: they are nine in number.

accordingly desired Ping Siú-kih to put himself at the head of a force, and call him to account, shortly after which he was himself killed by Ming-chí, another of his subordinates. Ping Siú-kih, who had just attacked and destroyed Ah-kí-chí, as soon as he heard of these rebellious doings, joined with him his lieutenant and the officers of his battalions, seized the moment of his advantage [over Ahkíchi] to march back his troops, and by the death of Mingchí whom he slew, greatly extended the terror of his name. He now soon set aside the three sons of Kú Sin-cháng, and usurped the title of *Kwánpíh*, holding in his hands the control of all the troops under the command of that officer.

In the 4th year of Wán-lih (1585), he increased his army and subjugated sixty-six departments, and so awed the states of Lewchew, Luzon, Siam, and the Franks, that he made them all send tribute to him. He changed the sovereign's place of residence from Shán ching, (the Hill-city) to T'á-koh (the Great Pavilion), inclosing within walls a considerable space outside the city; and he built a palace there, of which the apartments rose in nine stories one above another, and two he filled with women, and with pearls and precious stones. The discipline of his army was very severe; once advanced it never retired [before a foe]; the disobedient were sure to be beheaded, were they [even as] sons or sons-in-law; the consequence of which was that none whom they marched against could stand before them.

He changed the name of the period to Wán-luh, and in the same year, the first [of the new reckoning] resolved to invade China, and at the same time annihilate the power of Corea and possess himself of it. To this end he called in and interrogated the remnant of the band of Wáng Chih of former times, and on learning from these that the Chinese feared those of Japan as they did the tiger, his self-confidence increased, and he augmented his land forces yet more, and prepared a fleet. By the advice of his officers, it was resolved that if he moved on the northern capital of China he should employ Coreans as guides, and that for the invasion of the districts of Chehkiáng and Fuhkien, he should make use of Chinese. In his anxiety to prevent the disclosure of this matter by the Lewchewans, he put a stop to their bringing tribute, but Chin Kiá, a native of Tungngán (near Amoy), who traded to Lewchew, [heard of it] and apprehensive lest calamity should come upon China, he arranged with Chinghwui, a high officer of Lewchew that an envoy should be sent to the Emperor with tribute, and a memorial praying that he would invest [the sovereign of Lewchew with royalty]; that he (the envoy) might

give the information.* Chin Kiá himself, on his return home, represented the affair to the *siangfú* Cháu Tsán-lú, who addressed the Throne upon the subject. His memorial being sent to the Board of War, that office forwarded a dispatch to the king of Corea, who confined himself to rebutting as an utter fabrication what had been said of the [Corean] guides, and declared that he was uninformed of any designs [on the part of Japan] against himself †

Ping Siú-kih's first step had been to enroll the population of the towns, far and wide, as troops, and he had collected three years' provisions for his army, intending to lead it against China in person; but his son happened to die, and he had brothers to stand by him; on a former occasion too, he had carried off the wife of the lord of Fung-han, and made a concubine of her, which caused him to fear that this man would do him a mischief in his absence; the towns withal were much incensed [at his system of levies], and went to say that "the expedition was not to invade China, but was a trap for their own destruction;" and so universal was the disaffection, that he did not venture to march himself, but dispatched his lieutenant Tsing-ching, with a military officer named Í-chi, the Buddhist priest Yuen, and Sü Tsung-yih, with a force and fleet of several hundred sail. They crossed from the island of Tuima, destroyed Kin-shán in Corea, and following up their success, pushed on to Lintsin, to which they came over in the 5th moon, when they plundered K'ái-ching, and attacking Fung-teh and other towns, in separate bodies, leveled them to the ground.

The Coreans, on the rumor of their approach, fled in confusion, and Tsing-ching and the rest pressed sore upon the royal city Li-sung, king of Corea, abandoned it, flying first to Ping-yáng, and thence to Í-chau, from which place he sent couriers incessantly [to China] to give intelligence of his emergency. The Japanese now entered the royal city, captured the king's wife and children, and pursued him as far as Ping-yáng, where they gave up the town to pillage, and the women to violation. In the 7th moon, the imperial commands having been issued to the Lieut-general Tsü Ching-hiun, he went to the rescue, and fought an action with the Japanese without the walls of Ping-ngin, in which he sustained a serious defeat, barely escaping with his own life. In the 8th moon Sung Ying-ch'áng, a vice-president of the Board of War, was appointed to the chief superintendence of

* Or grant an investiture to the successor of the deceased sovereign.

† The text may mean that he was uninformed, which would be borne out by the sequel; but had this been intended by the author, I think this clause would have preceded the other.—*Trans*

the campaign, and Lí Yü-sung to the command of the troops, which were to be led on to bring the enemy to account. At the time that these disturbances in Corea began, those in Ninghiá (in Kánsuh) were still in continuance.

Sheh Sing, president of the Board of War, unable to devise any other cheme, called upon all who could speak Japanese to come forward to act as spies, and to Shin Wei-king on responding to his call, he gave the nominal rank of a *Yá-kiá tsiáng-kian*, and placed his services at the disposal of Lí Yü-sung, whose forces the following year (1586) gained an important victory at Ping-yáng, by which the four circuits that Corea had lost were all recovered. Following up this advantage Lí Yü-sung moved rapidly upon Pehti-kwán, but there he was routed and so drew off his army. It was now proposed to invest [the enemy] with [regal] rank, and to admit tribute [from Japan]. The ministers of China garbled the representation of Shin Wei king, [so as to incline the Emperor] to a pacific policy. These details are recorded in the Chronicles of Corea.

At last Ping Siú-kih died, and the Japanese all sailed home, so that Corea [as well as China] had rest from their troubles. The invasion of the nation to the East, (*sc.* Corea) by the *hoampik* had lasted full seven years, during which time the soldiers who perished numbered several tens of myriads, and several hundred myriad taels' worth of provisions were expended; and neither China nor Corea had been able all the time to obtain the upper hand. With the death of the *kwán-pik*, ended the horrors of war. The Japanese withdrew to their island fastnesses, and the south and east had some days of repose. All Ping Siú-kih's issue by his second marriage died.

Towards the close of the Ming dynasty the prohibitions against intercourse with Japan were strictly enforced, and the poor people of the villages came to use the word *Wo* (Japanese) as a term of abuse and even employed it to terrify their infant children into silence.

Extract from the Wá Pí Chá, or Annals of the Art of War.

[There is said to be an historical work of this title in 300 and odd volumes, containing an account of the Art of War during a long succession of generations. The translator is in possession of a small work published in 1643, which is apparently an abridgment of some larger compilation, and in which the following extract does not appear. It would seem to be from the pen of a contemporaneous historian.]

It was the custom of the barbarians of Japan to draw up their troops in the form of a butterfly. When they went into action, the signal was

given by the flourishing of a fan. One them did this, and the body then rose (or sprang) up brandishing their swords. As they tossed the points of their weapons toward the sky, our soldiers threw their heads back in astonishment, and the enemy thereupon cut at them below. Another of their formations was a long, snake-like column, in which they advanced waving a hundred-tailed banner, and marching one after the other like fish in a file. The van was composed of their stoutest men, and the rearguard of the like; in the centre, the brave and cowardly were mingled together. They rose every morning at cockcrow, and ate their meal squatting on the ground; when this was ended, their chief would take a seat in a high place (or above them); the rest listening to his orders (or in obedience to his commands), brought each one his book, upon opening which it was seen what place was to be foraged on such and such a day, who were to command the parties, and who to serve in the ranks of the companies. These did not consist of more than thirty men, and moved independently each at a distance of one or two *li* from each other. At the blast of a conch, which is their call, the company immediately closed up to support that which it had heard give the signal. Sections of two or three also skirmished about irregularly, brandishing their swords. Towards evening they returned, and every one gave in whatever booty he may have seized, keeping nothing back. The chief made a partition of the spoil in proportion to the amount contributed by each. Whenever they captured women, they were sure to pass the night in drinking and wantonness, until at last they fell asleep intoxicated. When they had nearly completed the pillage of a place they set it on fire; the smoke and the fire filled and illumined the skies, and while the population were in a state of alarm at its fierceness, the pirates decamped. They practiced this *ruse* upon our people for the especial purpose of diverting them from lying in wait to attack them. When these pirates came upon wine or food amongst the inhabitants, they made them taste before they ate or drank of themselves, for fear that they should contain poison. In their marches, they kept to the thoroughfares and highways, never entering the lanes or byways lest they should fall into ambuscade; neither did they move under the walls of a city lest bricks or stones should be thrown at them by the people thereon. When they marched, it was always in a single file of great length, at a slow pace and in good order; by which means they occupied some miles of ground, and there was no approaching them. They could move rapidly for several tens of days together, and by opening out their body into four or five divisions, they would manage

to surround their enemy. When their forces were encamped opposite ours, they used to send one or two men who, by alternately leaping up and crouching down, contrived to exhaust our fire of stones and arrows. In an action with artillery, they waited until their antagonists had fired; then they broke in on them impetuously, and following up their advantage, would drive them to a distance. In the heat of an engagement they would suddenly come forth from ambush on all sides, and surround their enemy's flanks, by which manœuvre they forced our army to disperse in great consternation. They constantly resorted to strange stratagems, such as tying sheep together, or driving women on in front so as to perplex the beholder; the eyes of our people were dazzled by this, and the arms of the Japanese were thus enabled to take effect. They used the double sword exercise; with one sword they made feints above, and struck with the other below, which rendered defense difficult. They hid the shafts or but-ends of their halberds and lances, and then all of a sudden they would hurl them forth so that it was impossible to anticipate [the blow]; their bows were long, their arrows large, and as they discharged them close, their shot was deadly. If they lay *parade*, they had a marauding expedition in contemplation; if they spread a report abroad (so as to keep people on the alert), they were moving off. Thus they drew up their injured vessels across the stream to make a show of lying by, and straightway they sallied forth and invested Kinshán. At Shingshán they made ladders of bamboo to signify that they were about to storm it, and then they raised the siege. When they were going to take to the country, they pressed upon a city; if they had a march to make by land, they would provide themselves with oars. Sometimes they dug holes as pitfalls for their enemy, sometimes they plaited stubble to entangle him as he fled, or they stuck slips of bamboo in the ground to run into the feet of the fugitives. They used, too, to make a decoy of precious stones, cloth, gold, silver, or women, by which they were enabled to inveigle our troops into ambuscades, and they were pleased when these lay in wait for them or pursued them.* They gashed the

* *Yáu chui* 邀追 *Yáu* as above in *yáu k'ih* 邀擊 not in its more ordinary signification of "to invite," but "to lie in wait for." Gonçalves has 將邀而殺之 *esperou-o e matou-o*. In the *Sháng-Mang*, "[His disciple] sent several persons to wait for him by the way;" but the *Pei Wan Yun-fú*, Cap. 17., states that it is a synonym of 要 in this, as also in three other passages quoted from the *Tao Chuen*, *Hán-shú* and *Ping-shú*, in which it is either linked with *k'ih*, or divided simply by an 'rh 而, the power of which particle to mean *at* as

faces of their prisoners of war, and tied their tongues to prevent it being detected by their answers that they were not Japanese; thus their return home was cut off. They showed great kindness to the people in the vicinity of their resorts, and were thus kept fully informed of the truth and falsehood of every report. They made handsome presents to such artisans as fell into their hands, and they were in consequence easily provided with arms; as they employed our people as spies, it is difficult on our side to ascertain [whence they got their information], and by using them as their guides, they became perfectly familiar with all the paths by which to advance or retreat. For their eating or sleeping they would stay in some place where they could break open the wall, and which was high enough for them to keep a lookout; so that there was no chance of taking them by surprise. Should they be closely beleaguered, they would leave some heads* as a pretense and retire; some of them, wrapping themselves in cloaks of the bamboo leaf and putting on bamboo hats, would play the part of laborers in the fields;† some in flowered silk handkerchiefs and shoes of cloth would swagger through the public places of the cities, thus placing our officials in the dilemma of killing the [wrong] robbers by mistake, or honest men on suspicion.

Although fighting on the water was not at first their *forte*, they had the ingenuity to fasten empty vessels together, and to spread light screens over them by which [the fire, or assault of] our forces advancing on them was expended; and they would abandon the women, and leave money in the way to check us in the pursuit. The bulwarks and spars of their ships were all covered with cloths, quilts, and cushions, which they damped to render them proof against fire. In an action, as soon as they came to close quarters,‡ they boarded with rapidity; [their onset was] terrible as the thunder, and [those on board] were scattered like the wind.

well as *et*, is worthy of notice, as well as the transition from *hope* to *expectation* of which the Portuguese *esperar* is likewise capable. From the latter meaning of the word is of course derived that employed in the text.

* Heads, i. e. of prisoners massacred to show that a greater number of Japanese had fallen than was really the case.

† Laborers. *Tsu niá* 沮溺 *Hia Lun*, Cap. ix., Section 6 *Ching-toá* and *Kieh-niá* were two men of virtue and ability, who, disgusted with the misrule of their time, retired into the country. They were *ploughing* on a particular occasion when Confucius was passing by, and gave him an uncivil answer, when he sent to inquire about a certain ford. Their rudeness thus becoming historical, their names were formed into the dissyllable in the text, which has come to mean simply to *plough, to attend to agricultural pursuits*.

‡ 附篷 *fu pung*; *fu* near to, closing upon, and *pung* the mat awning of a vessel; according to the teachers, *pars pro toto* (?)

These pirates kidnapped our people to show them the road, and to procure water for them, and as the latter went out in the morning and came home at night, they called the roll of their names. At (or for) every place, a register was kept in which they inserted their names and surnames, and they divided them into classes, according to which they told them off and inspected them.

There were but few native Japanese amongst them; not above some tens, of whom they formed the van. When the pirates returned to the island to which they belonged, they used to give out that they had come home from trading, and they never divulged aught concerning their comrades whom our troops had captured or slain, so that their neighbors knew nothing of it, but on the contrary offered them their congratulations.

Another Extract from the Art of War, not published in the first Edition of the Hái-kwoh Tú Chi.

The Japanese do not construct their vessels in the same manner as the Chinese. They require beams of a large size and square, in fitting the seams of which they use no nails, but band them together with iron plates. Neither do they make use of hempen rope or wood oil in closing the crevices, but stop the leaks with sedge grass. Their ships cost much pains and money, and without a large capital it is not easy to build them. The pirates who attacked China were every one of them poor people from the islands, and what has been said in times past about the hundreds and thousands of ships built by Japan is an idle tradition. Their largest craft may carry three hundred men; the middle class, one or two hundred; and the smallest from fifty to eighty. They are of a low and narrow build, and find it difficult to hold their own with such large vessels as they fall in with, and they are poorly off when they ground in the mud. For this cause, our vessels from Kwángtung and Fuhkien are much feared by them; and particularly those of the former province, as their sides are perpendicular like a wall. Their ship's bottoms are flat, and can not easily cut the waves. Their canvas sails are set with the mast right in the middle, and not one side of it as in China, and both their masts and sails shift about, and are not made fast like those of the Chinese; hence they can only carry on with a fair breeze, and if they meet with a calm or a contrary wind, they unship the mast and work the long stern scull; they can not handle the oar. Their vessels could not [formerly] cross from Japan in less than a month, and if they now perform the voyage with greater ease it is because of the treachery of certain of the inhabitants of the coast of Fuhkien who bought ships in the outer waters, and when they

had added a false bottom to them, brought over the Japanese in them. They had a sharp keel, and were able to beat against the sea; in these they feared neither a head wind nor one on the quarter, and their sailing was so much improved, that they could now make the passage in a few days.

(To be continued.)

ART. IV. *Topography of the province of Húnán; its area, population, lakes, rivers, mountains, productions, &c., with a list of its departments and districts.*

THE southern of the Two Lake provinces is called Húnán 湖南 and though larger in extent, is less fertile and populous than Húpeh. It lies between lats. 25° and 30° N., and longs. 109° to 114° E. of Greenwich; and is bounded north by Húpeh; east by Kiángsi; south by Kwángtung and Kwángsi, from which it is divided by the Nán-ling; and west by Kweichau and Sz'chuen. The area is estimated at 74,320 square miles, being a little smaller than Kwángtung, and rather larger than Kiángsi. The population was reckoned in 1812 at 18,652,507 inhabitants, which gives an average of 251 persons to a square mile; according to these data, Húnán is the eleventh province in respect of population, and the seventh in point of size, of the eighteen.

The surface of the country in the northern departments is level, and many hundreds of square miles are covered with water, or are below the level of the Yángtsz' kiáng; this, while it affords great facilities for irrigation, is also a source of great danger when the banks of the rivers are overflowed. The southern part of the province is rough, rising on the frontier to lofty peaks, in whose intervals hardy mountaineers have long maintained a partial independence of the Chinese authorities. The Chinese population of these regions is mostly found along or near the bottoms of the rivers.

The rivers of Húnán are all of them tributaries of the Yángtsz' kiáng, and most of them are so large as to afford facilities of transportation to the inhabitants of towns lying even in the southern districts. The Great river itself only touches the province in the northeastern corner, where it receives the waters of the Tungting lake, and then flows northeasterly into Húpeh. The largest stream is the Siáng kiáng 湘江, which rises on the northern declivities of the Nán-ling, and as it flows northward, collects the drainage of the eastern half of the province, and empties into Tungting lake at Siáng-yin hien 湘陰

receiving the Tsz' kiáng as an affluent just before it unites with the lake. Its largest branch is the Kwei shwui 歸水, which joins it above Hangchau fú, and just opposite that city the Lái shwui 來水 flows in, the junction forming a centre for trade from the southern districts. Twenty miles below Hangchau fú, the Mí kiáng 洙江 flows in on the east, and fifty miles further down, the waters of the Luh kiáng 濂江 join themselves to the main stream. About fifteen miles above Chángshá, the Lien-ki 連溪 comes in from the west, and just opposite to it the Liúyáng kiáng 瀏陽江 from the east. The Tsz' kiáng 資江 drains the central districts, but its rapid current and confined banks afford few facilities to the boatman or farmer.

The other large river is the Yuen kiáng 沅江; it rises in the southwestern part of the province, and receives the contributions of a large number of streams, some of them from Kweichau, and falls into the Tungting L. at its western end near Cháng-teh fú, after flowing upwards of four hundred miles. The Chuhchau 竹舟, the Wú shwui 澧水, the Máng 麻陽, and Peh ho 北河, are the largest tributaries. In the northern districts, the Lí shwui 澧水 drags its sluggish length through the level region of the lake country.

The lakes of Húnán are not as numerous as in the northern province, but among them is the Tungting hú 洞庭湖, the largest lake in China, about 250 miles in circumference, which contains in its circuit several islands, and maintains large fleets of fishermen from its waters; its area is about 300 square miles. The Chinese mention a floating island on this lake, formed of trees and drift, like those occurring in the bayous of the Mississippi. The other lakes in Húnán are the Hwáng-yib 黃益, Peh-ní 白坭 or White Clay L., both in the northeast; the Tsáu-tien hú 曹田, the Tsch-lí 七里 or Seven Mile L., and the Mǎ-ní 馬坭 or Horse Clay L., are all small sheets of water, connected with the River, Lí. By means of these lakes and rivers, water communication is kept up through all parts of a region exceeding Great Britain in size.

The mountains of Húnán form part of the great chain of the Nán-ling, which defines the southern limits of the basin of the Yángtz'. and though they do not rise to the stupendous peaks seen in Yunnan, they render nearly one half of the province too rough for the plough. The Hang shán is the longest range within the province which bears a single name; the Kí-tien ling 騎田, and Kiú-í ling 九疑 are two names given to the southern ridges.

There are sixteen departments in Húnán, subdivided into sixty-seven districts, whose names are given in the following list.

I. *Chángshá fú* 長沙府, or the Department of Chángshá, contains twelve districts, viz., one chau and seven hien.

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|
| 1 長沙 Chángshá, | 7 安化 Ngánhwá, |
| 2 善化 Shenhwá, | 8 湘潭 Siángtán, |
| 3 瀏陽 Liúyáng, | 9 湘鄉 Siánghiáng, |
| 4 湘陰 Siángyin, | 10 醴陵 Líling, |
| 5 寧鄉 Ninghiáng, | 11 攸縣 Yá hien, |
| 6 益陽 Yihyáng, | 12 茶陵州 Cháling chau. |

II. *Yohchau fú* 岳州府, or the Department of Yohchau, contains four hien districts.

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 1 巴陵 Páling, | 3 臨湘 Linsíang, |
| 2 華容 Hwáyung, | 4 平江 Pingkiáng. |

III. *Páuking fú* 寶慶府, or the Department of Páuking, contains five districts, viz., one chau and four hien.

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------|
| 1 邵陽 Sháuyáng, | 4 新寧 Sinning, |
| 2 新化 Sinhwá, | 5 城步 Chingpá. |
| 3 武岡州 Wúkáng chau, | |

IV. *Hangchau fú* 衡州府, or the Department of Hangchau, comprises seven hien districts.

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1 衡陽 Hangyáng, | 5 衡山 Hangsháa, |
| 2 清泉 Tsingtsiuen, | 6 耒陽 Luyáng, |
| 3 常寧 Chángning, | 7 鄧縣 Ying hien. |
| 4 安仁 Ngánjin, | |

V. *Chángteh fú* 常德府, or the Department of Chángteh, contains four hien districts.

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| 1 武陵 Wáling, | 3 沅江 Yuenkiáng, |
| 2 龍陽 Lungyáng, | 4 桃源 Tanyuen. |

VI. *Shinchau fú* 辰州府 or the Department of Shinchau, comprises four hien districts.

- | | |
|----------------|--------------|
| 1 沅陵 Yuenling, | 3 瀘溪 Lúki, |
| 2 溆浦 Súpú, | 4 辰谿 Shinki. |

VII. *Yuenchau fú* 沅州府, or the Department of Yuenchau, contains three hien districts.

- | | |
|----------------|---------------------------|
| 1 芷江 Chikiáng, | 3 麻陽 M ^á yáng. |
| 2 黔陽 Kienyáng, | |

VIII. *Yungchau fú* 永州府, or the Department of Yungchau, contains eight districts, viz., one chau and seven hien.

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|----------------|----------------|
| 1 零陵 Lingling, | 5 寧遠 Ningyuen, |
| 2 東安 Tungngán, | 6 道州 Táu chau, |
| 3 祁陽 Kiyáng, | 7 江華 Kiánghwá, |
| 4 新田 Sintien, | 8 永明 Yungming. |

IX. *Yungshun fú* 永順府, or the Department of Yungshun, comprises four hien districts.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 永順 Yungshun, | 3 龍山 Lungshán, |
| 2 桑植 S ^{áng} chih, | 4 保靖 P ^á utsing. |

X. *Kienchau ting* 乾州廳 or the inferior Department of Kienchau, has no subdivisions.

XI. *Funghwáng ting* 鳳凰廳 or the inferior Department of Funghwáng, has no subdivisions.

XII. *Yungsui ting* 永綏廳 or the inferior Department of Yungsui, has no subdivisions.

XIII. *Lí chau* 澧州 or the inferior Department of Lí, comprises five hien districts.

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1 安鄉 Ngánbiáng, | 4 安福 Ngánfuh, |
| 2 石門 Shihmun, | 5 永定 Yungting. |
| 3 慈利 Tsz lí, | |

XIV. *Kweiyáng chau* 桂陽州 or the inferior Department of Kweiyáng, comprises three hien districts.

- | | |
|--------------|---------------|
| 1 臨武 Linwú, | 3 藍山 Lánshán. |
| 2 嘉禾 Kiá'io, | |

XV. *Tsing chau* 靖州 or the inferior Department of Tsing, comprises three hien districts.

- | | |
|----------------|---------------|
| 1 會同 Hwuitung, | 3 綏寧 Suining. |
| 2 通道 Tungtá, | |

XVI. *Chin chau* 彬州 or the inferior Department of Chin, contains five hien districts.

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1 興寧 Hingning, | 4 桂陽 Kweiyáng, |
| 2 永興 Yungching, | 5 宜章 Ícháng. |
| 3 桂東 K'weitung, | |

I. *The department of Chángshá* occupies the country south of the Tungting lake, its capital being the residence of the governor, and of other provincial officers; it lies in lat. 23° 12' N., and long. 112° 47' E., in a most advantageous position for trade, at the junction of the Siáng and Liúyáng rivers. The city is famous for the institution of the festival of the Dragon Boats, in commemoration of the death of Kieh Yuen (see Vol XI, page 436). It is now held in all parts of the empire. The surface of this department is level, and its fertile soil is irrigated by many streams, which also furnish abundance of fish, eels, mollusks, &c. Mines of cinabar and talc occur in the hills.

II. *The department of Yokchau* lies in a more favorable position for trade and agriculture than even Chángshá, its capital commanding the outlet from the lake into the Yángtsz', and its districts occupying the eastern shores, between it and Húpeh. Most of the smacks covering the lake resort to Yokchau with their fish, and the external commerce of the whole province passes through it into the Great river; it is called the Gate of Three Rivers, and its possession controls the trade of the whole province.

III. *The department of Páuking* lies in the southern part, between Hangchau fú on the east, Yungchau fú on the south, Yuenchau on the west, and Chángten fú on the Tsz' kíáng, near the junction of the Tsz'yáng and Túyü rivers; one of the district towns, Wúkáng chau, is situated on the former of these two streams, and above it is a well-known rapid, the passage of which demands great care.

IV. *The department of Hangchau* lies east of the preceding, between Chángshá fú on the north and Kweiyáng chau on the south. The surface of the country is rather mountainous, and covered with forests; the Hang shán 衡山 extend eighty leagues in a southwest direction towards Páuking; the land is fertile, and the water privileges for irrigation and transportation superior to those in Páuking fú.

V. *The department of Chángteh* lies west of the 'Tungting lake, and east of Yungshun fú; it is one of the most fertile and level portions of the province. The town is built near the embouchure of the River Yuen. Its orchards are celebrated for a variety of the orange, which ripens after other sorts are out of season, and forms a common article of export.

VI. *The department of Shinchau* lies west of Páuking and Chángteh, and north of Yuenchau; its chief town is situated at the junction of the Yuen and Shin rivers, where most of the trade of the region centres. The department contains many towns along the rivers, but the inhabitants of the mountains, probably descendants of the 'Midutz', are regarded by the lowlanders as no better than savages.

VII. *The department of Yuenchau* was taken off from the southwestern part of the preceding, partly in order to exercise a stronger supervision over the aborigines, and guard the frontier of Keiwchau.

VIII. *The department of Yungchau* is one of the largest in the province, occupying most of its southern portion; the chief town is pleasantly situated on the River Siáng, not far from the borders of Kwángsi, but most of the population dwells farther south at the extremity of the province. The mountains within its circuit are covered with forests of valuable timber, much of which finds its way to Canton.

IX. *The department of Yungshun* occupies the northwest corner of the province, and was set off as a prefecture from Chángteh fú. The country is generally level, and its production similar to those of Chángteh, rice being the principal staple.

X, XI, XII. *The three inferior departments of Kienshau, Fungshóng and Yungshui*, all lie along the western frontier; they were partitioned off from Shinchau fú, and each of the towns is the headquarters of a garrison. Fungshui is the northernmost, and Funghwáng the southern of the three, the latter lying a few leagues north of Yuenchau.

XIII. *The inferior department of Li* was taken off from the western part of Yohchau, and includes all that part lying north of lake Tungting, and west of the Lienhú shwui 蓮湖水 or Lily-lake river. It is one the most fertile parts of the province.

XIV. *The inferior department of Kweiyáng* is a small prefecture in the extreme south of the province, set off from Yungchau along the banks of the River Kwei 歸 between it and Chin chau. It contains but few inhabitants.

XV. *The inferior department of Tsing* was in like manner partitioned off from the south of Yuenchau fú in the southwestern corner of the province, along the valley of the Kú ho 渠河, a branch of the River Yuen. The region is very mountainous, and the aborigines numerous.

XVI. *The inferior department of Chin* occupies the extreme south-east of the province, and is by no means one of the least of its divisions. The chief town is "a great and populous city," and a thriving trade is carried on with Kwángtung, the mountains here being less elevated than further west, repaying the labors of the husbandman, and affording facilities for travel.

The productions of Húnán are varied, though the revenue by no means corresponds to her resources. Gold, silver, cinnabar, and quicksilver are produced from the mines; mica, armenian stone, marble, and a few other minerals, are also found. A great variety of wild game and waterfowl is taken on the mountains and waters in various parts, which also furnish a few medicinal preparations highly esteemed. Rice, wheat, varnish, cassia, fruits, nuts, and vegetables are raised for the supply of the inhabitants, and measurably for exportation, but the external traffic of Húnán is trifling. Nor do the inhabitants take a high standing among their countrymen in respect of literary acquirements or excellence of manufactures.

ART. V. *Journal of Occurrences: attack on pirates in Mir's bay, and correspondence relating to it; edict in reference to a change in newyear's day; death of the emperor of China; position of Kiating; dedication of the Seamen's Bethel at Whampoa.*

THE suppression of piracy has engaged the attention of the Chinese officers along this coast for many years—we had almost said for ages, and the pirates have played a game of fast and loose with them, just as they were paid or attacked. At last the rulers have called in the assistance of western power and skill to help them, and accepted the offers made by the English authorities to assist in abating the nuisance. The following note from Gov. Bonham to Gov. Sú details the particulars of this novel and commendable breach of old custom.

From H. E. Mr. Bonham to Sd, Imperial High Commissioner

Victoria, Hongkong, 8th March, 1850.

I beg to acquaint your excellency that, on the 3d instant, Wan the commandant of Ti-p'ang (residing at Cowlung) sent over Fan, a sergeant, with a note to the chief magistrate of this Colony, stating that certain pirates were reported to be lying some distance east of this, but that the monsoon was too strong to allow his own vessels to move up to the spot with sufficient rapidity; and, as he much feared that, unless apprehended at once, they might take alarm, and retreat to a hiding-place elsewhere, he requested that a British steamer might be sent to cut them off; and he declared his willingness to reimburse the expense of the fuel which she might consume.

A steamer was thereupon dispatched as he desired. She called at Cowlung for such men and officers as the commandant chose to put on board, and then proceeded to Kat-ò (Kih-ngán), where she found 13 piratical craft at anchor. She immediately opened fire upon these vessels, the crews of which jumping overboard, were destroyed in large numbers by her musketry. As it became dark, her officers took possession of the junks. One of them blew up during the night, eight more were burned by our people on the following morning, and the remaining four were duly restored to their owners, who were pointed out by Fán, the sergeant.

The steamer having accomplished her purpose—happily without sustaining any loss—returned hither with sundry prisoners. These being pirates, and as such the common enemies of mankind, might have been tried in our courts; but as the authorities of your excellency's country had applied to those of this Colony to assist in capturing these men, I have thought it best to deliver them up to be tried and disposed of according to their own laws.

With reference to the coal expended by the steamer on this occasion, I could not in anywise entertain the proposal of the commandant Wan, that he should refund the value of it; such a proceeding would be contrary to the principle of my nation. But I may here remark, that coal is an article of which we are in constant need, and is brought to this with much trouble and expense, from a great distance; while at Kílung (Quilon) on Formosa, not very far hence, good coal is procurable. If your excellency's government would recommend the people of Formosa to bring some to Hongkong, our merchants would take some cargoes off their hands; or if they chose to dig it out themselves, some of our ships might be sent for it. It is evident that this would be a source of advantage to both parties, and would insure to us the means of giving our assistance to the Chinese government, at any time that its officers might call upon us, as they have now done, to co-operate with them in the suppression of piracy in these seas. This aid, I have several times informed your excellency, and now repeat, we shall at all times be happy to afford.

—China Mail.

Accept the assurances, &c., S. G. BONHAM.

The further details of this cruise are given in the official report of Commander Lockyer.

H. M. Steam-vessel Medea, at Hongkong, 5th March, 1850.

Sir,—I have the honor to report to you that on my arrival at Kat-o, at 5h. 15m. yesterday evening, I found thirteen piratical junks and four cargo junks at anchor. On the appearance of her Majesty's steam vessel under my command, twelve of the piratical vessels swept in-shore, one of the largest remaining at anchor, without offering the slightest resistance. The crews jumped overboard, endeavoring to make for the shore, but upwards of 150 of them were destroyed by our shell and musketry. It soon became so dark, that I was compelled to dispatch the paddle-box boats of this steam vessel, under the command of Mr William Brodie, acting master, with orders to take possession of the junks which had swept in-shore, but finding that he was resisted, I proceeded to his assistance in the gig, accompanied by the pinnace of H. M. ship Hastings, commanded by Lieutenant Webber, the Royal Marines under Lieutenant Holland, with the Medea's cutter under the command of Lieutenant Gibbons, and found Mr Brodie closely pressed by a very great number, who made strong endeavors to recapture the junks. We soon repulsed these pirates with a considerable loss on their part, and capture of five prisoners; but owing to the darkness, and the very heavy rain which unfortunately came on, we were unable to follow up our pursuit of them on shore. I therefore brought the junks to the ship, and this morn'g destroyed eight, one having during the night

caught fire and blown up, and the remaining four having been given up to their former owners who were pointed out by the mandarin.

During my absence, the ship was placed in a position of considerable danger, from the close approach of the burning junk; but by the able exertions of Lieut. Wood, who was left in charge, she was cleared. Early this morning, I sent the boats under the command of Lieut. Gibbons, with the Royal Marines under Lieut. Holland, accompanied by Mr Caldwell, the assistant police magistrate, and the mandarin who came on board from Cowlung, to scour the island, and they succeeded in capturing 15 prisoners. The greater part of the crews who reached the shore, took advantage of the darkness of the night to seize boats and leave the island. Fortunately, from the water being so deep in the small bay in which these piratical junks were anchored, enabling this steamer to approach within five yards of the shore, we succeeded in destroying a much greater number than we could have hoped for, with little or no damage to the town, one fisherman only having been killed by our shot. Four of these junks were very large, of upwards of 250 tons, mounting ten or more guns of various calibre, and resembling those formerly destroyed on the West coast; the remainder were evidently recent captures, hastily fitted up for piratical purposes. Having completed this service, I am happy to say, without any casualties or loss on our side, and receiving no further information, I have returned to this port. I think it my duty to express my entire satisfaction with the conduct of the officers, seamen, and marines employed upon this occasion: the precision of their fire, great steadiness, and prompt obedience, tending greatly to the expeditious termination of this successful operation. Commander Wainwright, a supernumerary on board, volunteered his services, and rendered me great assistance. I can not conclude without also expressing my great obligations to Mr Caldwell for the valuable assistance which he rendered; to his perfect knowledge of the Chinese language, and his acquaintance with the habits of these pirates, the success of this enterprise is in a great measure to be attributed. I beg leave to inclose a list of the piratical junks, their description, crews, with the numbers killed, escaped, and made prisoners; and have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

W. N. L. LOCKYER, *Commander.*

TO JAMES W MORGAN, Esq., *Captain of H. M. Ship Hastings, &c.—Mail.*

Among the 13 junks taken were nine from 150 to 180 tons, each carrying about 8 guns and 60 men; the other four were larger; the number of men in all the fleet is reckoned at 900, of whom about 220 were killed, 20 taken prisoners, and 650 escaped.

The Imperial Commissioner in his reply to Gov. Bonham seems inclined to make the best of the dilemma in which he was placed by the zeal of his subordinates, and tenders his thanks for the service done, but is careful not to express any opinion about further co-operation, through the precedent having now been set, it will doubtless be followed.

From Su, Imperial High Commissioner, to His Excellency Mr. Bonham.

Su, Imperial Commissioner, governor-general of the Two Kwang, &c., in reply — On the 27th of the 1st moon (10th instant). I received your communication informing me that the commandant of Ta-p'ang, being prevented by a foul wind from pursuing the junks of certain pirates, had obtained from your excellency's government a steamer, which proceeded with all speed to the proper place to make prisoners of these persons; that eight junks were destroyed by her; that one blew up spontaneously, and that four others had been restored to their owners; and the criminals captured, handed over to their own authorities to be dealt with. On the same day I received a note from the admiral corroborating the above in every particular. Evidence so satisfactory of the sincere desire of your excellency's government for a good understanding with my own, has given me the highest gratification. [As regards Formosa], when your excellency has shown your friendship by lending your aid in time of need, could I be without the impulse natural to friends, to supply each other's want out of their own abundance? But the island pertains to an adjoining province, and as it is not within my jurisdiction, I could not well write officially concerning it. Coal is an article of daily consumption, and as such, procurable at every one of the five ports, where there is of course nothing to prevent your excellency's government buying it whenever it is wanted.

The terms in which the commandant proposed to reimburse the expense of the coal to be consumed, were certainly not such as he ought to have employed. Your Excellency is doubtless far too liberal to condescend to accept [his offer]: still the crew of the steamer should by all means be recompensed for their trouble, and I have accordingly addressed a letter to the Admiral to make ready some trifling presents, of which I subjoin a list. I trust that your excellency, on receiving the articles therein specified, will distribute them on my behalf. I mean nothing more than to show by due politeness

ness that I am sensible of the obligation conferred upon me. To this end, I reply, availing myself of the opportunity to wish your excellency luxuriant increase of the blessings of spring.

A necessary communication, to which is annexed a list of the trifles to be presented—8 oxen; 8 sheep; 8 boxes of the best tea of 10 catties each; 8 barrels each of sugar candy and of white flour of 30 catties each; 8 barrels of dried lung-agan from Kweilin (in Kwángsi) of 20 catties each. 8 barrels of dried lei-chi from Kweilin (in Kwángsi) of 20 catties each; 8 baskets of dried oranges containing 1000 each.

The above is addressed to his excellency Mr. Bonham *H. B. M. Plenipotentiary*, &c., &c., &c.

Táukwang, 30th year, 2d moon, 1st day. (14th March, 1850).

—China mail. True Translation. T. F. WADE, *Assistant Chinese Secretary*.

The Emperor of China has consulted his own superstitious fears and those of his subjects in an unusual manner, by the promulgation of the following Order in Council. It should be headed "*The Emperor of China vs. Luna.*" The edict was torn down in the streets of Shanghai by the people, who expressed no little discontent at it; no public notice was made in Canton.

"His Majesty's commands have been received. The next year, the 30th of Táukwang, is the 47th of the cycle; on the first day of that year there will be an eclipse, commencing at three o'clock p. m., and ending at 5 o'clock, the obscuration will be a little over three tenths. Now, this day is the great one of the sun, when he like a prince rules; and it is also the commencement of mornings when affairs are begun—the chief day of the year. Wherefore, let the 30th day of the 12th month (Feb. 11th) of this year be regarded as new year's day, and let this order be promulgated throughout the empire, every governor-general and governor circulating it and carrying it into effect by issuing a plain edict for general observance. Respect this."

The death of the emperor Táukwang following in less than a fortnight after the preceding order will be regarded by his subjects as having some connection with it. We have only room at present for the official notice of his death. His majesty was born not far from Sept. 12th, 1781, and was aged 69 years, and 7 months at the time of his death.

Feb. 25th 1850. There were on this day, called into an audience, to a General Council, [Táitsiuen] the chief controller of the kindred, Wanking (President of the Board of Rites), and other high ministers who wait before the throne, when a Vermilion Edict was communicated: "Let Yihohu, the Imperial fourth son, be set forth as the imperial heir apparent. You princes and high officers, why wait for our words? Assist and support him with united hearts, and do you all regard whatever pertains to the concerns of the country and the people as of high importance, without sympathy for aught else. A special command."

An Imperial order. We have received from our late imperial Father, his Majesty who has just taken the great journey, our being and support, enjoying a nourishing anxious care as high and boundless as heaven. His sacred age had just attained to threescore and ten, and his force was still vigorous, so that it might have been calculated that he would have reached the period of a hundred years, and our days of joy [in each other] thus be prolonged. Last year, after the summer had commenced, he suddenly felt himself indisposed, though his bodily strength had been somewhat impaired, and the important duties connected with [the demise of] the Empress Dowager, and his grief and anxiety, aggravated his weakness and disease, so that his vigor and constitution were greatly enfeebled. To-day, at six o'clock a. m., he called in the Chief Controller of the Imperial Kindred, the great ministers of the Presence, the members of the General Council, and high officers of the Palace, and taking the vermilion pencil in his hand ordained who should be regarded as the Imperial heir apparent. His sacred instructions were very minute, urging upon them in the most impressive manner to regard the interests of the country.

We received this decree in anguish and tears, lamenting it in fear and dread, for we still hoped that by the utmost and constant care of his affectionate person, and a temporary cessation from his burdensome cares, that he would longer

preserve his vigor and health. How unwished for! We had barely received his last commands and regards, when his malady increased in force and violence, even to the utmost limit, and he drove the dragon and became a guest on high. Beating the ground and invoking heaven, I vainly assayed to reach after and recall him.

I reverently reflect that my august Father ruled the world for thirty years; day and night with careful diligence he attended to his duties, not allowing himself the least leisure. In all things he revered heaven, and imitated his predecessors; and his sedulous attention to the affairs of government, his love for his people, his literary attainments and his military prowess, are not easily described. And in respect to his diffusing happiness and his anxious care lest there should be pestilence or other distress, no sooner had any province met with a slight calamity than he disbursed his treasures, and remitted the taxes, his gracious benevolence being instantly shown. So too, he constantly was laying up the revenue in store for use, and devising means to prevent damage from the [Yellow] river, and planning so that no living thing should lack for protection.

His boundless humanity drew all within its influence, so that everything that has breath can not fail to express their heartfelt laments [at his departure]: We, weeping tears of blood and beating our breast, how can We yet refrain our words! But remembering that the position I succeed to is of the greatest responsibility, in order that I may diligently obey the Holy who has gone before, I reverently accept my predecessor's commands. As we consider the duties imposed upon our unworthy self, We are troubled with painful apprehensions, and our fears daily deepen; yet forbearing grief, and lessening lamentations, we tremblingly mount the throne. We still rely upon the constant loyalty of our civil and military officers of every grade throughout the empire to assist us to rule with glory.

In regard to the regulations for mourning, we have received our Imperial Father's will ordering it to be worn for twenty-seven days according to the old rules [of the Manchús]; but our feelings can not admit of this, and in accordance with the ancient custom [of China], let mourning be reverently worn for three years; thus in some degree relieving our affectionate regrets.

In regard to the important ceremonies of sacrificing to heaven and earth, and in the hall of ancestors, there evidently should be no diminution in any of the rites on account of mourning. How the proper officers shall be ordered, and Ourselves proceed to the several places, let the several departments examine into the former regulations, and deliberate for the purpose of reporting to us; and let officers and people throughout the empire observe the fixed regulations for mourning. Let this public command be proclaimed throughout the empire and in other countries for general information. Respect this.

Kiyng's position and influence seem to be at present as high as ever, and his appointment to superintend the funeral rites of the Empress Dowager, in conjunction with the princes of the blood, shows the high station he occupied in his late majesty's confidence. It is to be hoped that in the acts of the new government, his influence may have its due weight, especially in preserving peace with foreign countries. The following notice of his official life since 1848, we extract from the China Mail of the 28th ult.

"Kiyng arrived at the capital from Canton in June 1848, and paid his respects to the emperor on the 11th of that month, returning thanks for the doubled-eyed peacock's feather conferred upon him, as stated in the Gazette of the 5th, for the improved tranquillity of the government he had just quitted, during the time it had been in his charge. Between this date and the 26th August 1849, he had no fewer than forty-nine audiences of his majesty. The Gazette is however evidently at fault, for upon some of the days mentioned, he must have been absent on particular service in Shānsi and Shántung.

"On the 25th of July 1848, it is stated that he returned thanks for his appointment to the supervision of the affairs of the Board of Rites; on the 5th of August, to that of the Board of War—a decree of this day directing that he should remain in the city as an assistant-minister of the Cabinet. On the 3d

September, he was made chief commissioner of metropolitan customs; and on the 18th, returned thanks for the promotion of his eldest son, Kingsih, who had been given the command, as a general officer, of the Manchus of the plain red banner, and is now in charge of the imperial mausoleum. Kíying was also chosen to hear the cases referred in autumn, by the Board of Punishment, according to annual custom, to the personal decision of the Emperor, who in modern times delegates a certain number of officers to perform this duty in his stead. On the 21st, he was deputed to make a selection from the magistrates of purchased rank, chosen by the Board of Civil Office from a large number of names submitted to them; and on the 25th, from a list of those eligible for employment in Manchuria.

"On the 12th November, having been specially commissioned to inquire into a charge brought by an inferior general officer against the general-in-chief of the Toumet Mongols at Sui-yuen, beyond the Great Wall, he requested instructions. His return to Peking is announced in the Gazette of the 23d Dec., but in the interim certain audiences are recorded, as also the presentation of a memorial by him on the 17th November, in his capacity of chief commissioner of customs, complaining of the practice of making dépôts of imports without the walls of Peking, to the evasion of the metropolitan duties. On the 9th December, he became cabinet minister, and was desired to retain his superintendence of the Board of War. On the 10th, he returned thanks for the acting appointment of General of the Mongols of the bordered yellow banner; and on the 26th, was made treasurer of the Imperial Clan. His memorial regarding the Sui-yuen affair was sent in on the 6th January 1849; the complainant was degraded, and the general accused summoned to Court. On the 19th, Kíying received the title of President of the Imperial Library. On the 22d, permission to ride in a chair within the precincts of the palace was given him by his sovereign.

"He was now associated with Chü Fung-píu, a vice-president of the Board of Revenue, in a special commission of inquiry into the abuses of the salt department in Shántung, and substitutes were gazetted to act for him in his different offices; but, after mentioning that on the 18th February he had returned thanks for a recommendation, in which certain high officers appear to be annually included, the next issue informs us that he had requested instructions before proceeding to Chehkiáng to inspect the garrisons of that province. On the 3d March, he addressed the Throne upon financial reform; on the 14th, his memorial is referred to the consideration of the Council, who reported upon it on 4th April. He did however go to Shantung, and upon the 8th of March, requested that four officers might be sent to assist him in the prosecution of his inquiries. Upon the 12th March, a decree was published, announcing that the arrear incurred by successive collectors of the salt gabelle, was declared by him to amount to 73,930 taels; and another, directing the degradation of several ex-collectors accused by him of receiving bribes from the salt monopolists. On the 14th, he reports that 300,000 taels are lying in the provincial treasury, returned as expended, which may be forwarded to Peking: on the 16th, that there is an arrear of 11,900 taels in the taxes of a single department, the prefect of which is therefore degraded; that the arrears of the districts of the department of Tsinán fú amount to 414,700 taels; and he prays that an inquiry be instituted into the financial state of all the other departments of the province. On the 17th, he returned to the capital.

"His departure for Chehkiáng is dated the 2d of April, since which time, except as having an audience on the 3d, no more is heard of him until the 28th of June; when he was presented with four taels' weight of ginseng. Ki Chicháng, who was gazetted as his associate on his tour of military inspection, did proceed to Chehkiáng as high commissioner; and after examining the accounts of the province with the governor, returned to the metropolis a short time ago. Upon the 26th of August, Ngan-hwá, vice-president of the Board of Works, was sent by his majesty to inquire after his health, which had compelled him to apply for a few days' leave of absence. His third son, Kinghien, of the imperial guards, was given, by an act of grace, a button of the fifth grade, and named expectant of high metropolitan office. Upon the 30th November, Kíying reappears to pay his respects."

The *Seamen's Bethel at Whampoa* was dedicated to the public worship of God on the 19th inst., the dedicatory services being attended by about eighty persons, among whom we noticed H. E. Mr. Davis, the American Commissioner, Mr. Forbes the American Vice-consul, and many of the merchants of Canton. The number of ships at Whampoa at the time was very few, and only a portion of them had European crews, which accounts in a measure for the absence of sailors from the audience. The services were opened by reading the Scriptures, and singing the following hymn composed by Dr. Bowring for the occasion.

Hear, O Thou benignant Father !
Praise for mercies—prayers for grace !
While with grateful hearts we gather,
Sanctify the gathering place ;
Many a thousand leagues divide us
From the lands and homes we love ;—
But Thy Gospel is beside us,
Heaven around, and Thou above.

Humbly here an altar building
To Thy glory,—may Thy rays
Beam upon it, gladdening, gilding,
As in Israel's honor'd days,
When their desert path benighted,
Saw the flaming pillar reared ;
So may our dark way be lighted,
By Thy Spirit bless'd and cheer'd !

In the deep we see Thy wonders,
And before those wonders bow ;
From the clouds we hear Thy thunders ;
Speak, O Lord ! in mercy now !
When the darkest storm is low'ring,
When the fiercest whirlwinds rage ;
O'er them let the Cross be tow'ring,
Brighter still from age to age.

Father ! if Thou deign to bless us,
All our labors will be blest,
Naught shall daunt us—naught distress us ;
Thou our righteousness—our rest !
All must yield where Thou presideest ;
Thou who rulest sea and land ;
All must follow when Thou guidest ;
Lord ! stretch out Thine helping hand.

The dedicatory prayer was offered by Rev. P. Parker, M. D., and the sermon preached by Rev. Dr. Legge of Hongkong. His discourse was based on Mark vi. 34 : " And Jesus, when he came out, saw much people, and was moved with compassion toward them, because they were as sheep not having a shepherd : and he began to teach them many things." From this text, he deduced the Christian obligation of compassionating the ignorant of our race, and as a consequence the need and propriety of providing means and facilities for instructing them. The services were concluded by Rev. Mr. Cleland giving the benediction.

The floating Bethel which has now been opened for public worship at Whampoa is a commodious structure, 120 feet in length, and 34 feet beam, with a walk four feet wide extending around it. The interior is divided, by a cross passage-way 6 feet wide, into two parts, the chapel and the chaplain's apartments. The former is 50 feet long, and 13 feet high, lighted by six gothic windows on each side, and has accommodations for seating 300 auditors ; it is a spacious and elegant room. The other and smaller end of the Bethel is divided by a passage lengthwise, and contains six rooms, one of which is a reading-room, soon to be provided with a library and periodicals, a subscription having already been opened for this purpose. The entire expense of the Bethel, including anchors and cable, will not vary far from \$6,000, all of which has been collected from foreigners in China, about half of it from the residents, and the remainder from the shipping.

The chaplain of the American Seamen's Friend Society, Rev. George Loomis, having drew up a plan in relation to the Bethel, began to collect subscriptions in December 1848, and a meeting of subscribers was called in Canton May 8th, 1849, at which it was resolved to vest the management of the funds collected for the erection of a Bethel in the hands of trustees. P. S. Forbes Esq., was chosen chairman, and John Dent, G. H. Lamson, Joseph Jardine, R. P. Dana, and T. W. L. Mackean, Esqs., with the Seamen's chaplain, members of the Board of Trustees. W. O. Bokee, Esq. was appointed secretary to the Board, and N. de St. Croix, Esq. requested to cooperate with Mr. Loomis in carrying out the details. The keel was laid in August 1849, and the vessel floated out of dock Feb. 7th, 1850. We congratulate the foreign community in Canton on the completion of this praiseworthy undertaking, and in noticing it, we can not else without mentioning the untiring exertions of Mr. Loomis and Capt. St. Croix in daily overseeing the thorough execution of the work, and collecting funds from the community and shipping for its completion.

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

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VOL. XIX.—APRIL, 1850.—No. 4.

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ART. I. *Shook Wan Kí-tsz', Sù shí Hí-chuen, Sz'-shíh kiuen ;*
說文解字徐氏繫傳四十卷 or *The Etymologicon*
[of Hú Shin] with a Supplementary Commentary by Sù, in forty
sections. BY PHILO.

[To the Editor.—Sir, before troubling you with any more Diversions, allow me to introduce to the notice of your Readers, the ETYMOLOGICON of HÚ SHIN, the ablest lexicographer that has ever written on the Chinese language. The edition before me, in eight handsome octavos, was printed in 1839 at the Golden Tomb, or Kíníng—as the old Southern Capital is called in classic style; it comes recommended by one of the most erudite members of his Imperial Majesty's present Cabinet; and may therefore, I presume, be accepted as one of the best now extant. As a vade-mecum for the native student, it is valuable indeed; and when translated, as it ought to be, it will be a most acceptable addition to our present apparatus for acquiring a knowledge of the Chinese language. I send you a short notice of this book arranged in a series of numbers, which will give your readers a general idea of its plan and contents. Your's, &c.—Philo.]

No. 1. *Philo's Synopsis of the Work.*

PERHAPS it may save the reader some trouble, if by way of preface, I give a summary view of the eight volumes. The first opens with an Introduction by the principal editor, Chin Lwán, and a recommendatory Preface by Kí Tsiuentaú, the then literary chancellor of Kíngséú, now assistant chief minister of the Cabinet, president of the Board of Revenue, &c. We have next what forms the body of the book, a list of 13,296 characters, of which 1762 are duplicated in either an ancient or altered form, thus giving a total of 14,054: all these, as they are explained and illustrated, fill up twenty-eight sections, and are arranged under five hundred and forty-one radicals, thus:

<i>Number of the Kisen 卷 or Section.</i>	<i>Number of the P'ü 部 or Radicals.</i>	<i>Number of the Wan 文 or Characters.</i>	<i>Number of the Chung 重 or duplicated characters.</i>
Sect. 1	10	274	77
" 2	4	465	22
" 3	16	672	79
" 4	14	326	50
" 5	22	633	138
" 6	31	360	78
" 7	23	640	112
" 8	22	336	59
" 9	31	816	108
" 10	32	223	67
" 11	3	733	59
" 12	22	394	21
" 13	32	703	101
" 14	23	412	57
" 15	13	630	61
" 16	24	325	39
" 17	28	523	63
" 18	20	299	33
" 19	19	820	93
" 20	21	368	34
" 21	3	632	64
" 22	18	214	37
" 23	12	788	80
" 24	24	394	41
" 25	12	468	70
" 26	11	226	48
" 27	9	341	24
" 28	42	241	48
<i>Totals.</i>	<u>641</u>	<u>13,216</u>	<u>1762</u>

These twenty-eight sections are the work of Hii Shin, and the commentary thereon is by the younger Sü, excepting that on the 25th section, which is by the elder brother; the sounds of the characters, excepting in the 25th section, are given on the authority of Chü Káu, who was a fellow-officer of the younger Sü and of the same rank.

Section 29th contains Hii Shiu's own preface,—a translation of which is given in the sequel; following that preface, and completing the sixth of the eight volumes, we have a complete list of the five hundred and forty-one radicals, arranged in the same order as they are treated of in the body of the book by Hii Shin.

Section 30th is a short one, consisting of only a memorial written by Hii Chung, the author's son, and presented to the emperor Ngantí with a copy of his father's Etymologicon, for which, as a token of his Majesty's pleasure and approbation, the presenter was honored with a gift of forty pieces of cloth, and a rescript from the throne.

The remainder of the forty sections, (from the 31st to the 40th inclusive) are the work of the younger Sü, "the minister Kiái," as he there calls himself. These ten sections, together with the 30th, fill the seventh volume, which includes also, at the end, two or three short prefatory notes.

The last volume, the eighth, contains in a supplementary form, a critical review of the whole preceding forty sections, prepared for the present edition by Ching Peiyuen and others.

No. 2. Biographical and Chronological Notes.

The Etymologicon furnishes some of the best materials extant for a complete history of the Chinese language and literature. In the absence of such a history, it may assist the general reader better to understand the sequel of this article (Nos. 3, 4, and 5), if a few short notices of the persons named therein be laid before him.

1. *P'auhi* 庖犧, or *Fuhhi* 伏羲. Both these forms are used as the proper name of the first monarch who appears in the annals of the Chinese. His reign commenced, according to their chronology, 2552 B. C. To him they give the honor of inventing the *Pák Kwá*, or system of Diagrams, from whence has arisen the art of writing as it now exists in this country. He was the first of the *wú tí* or "five rulers."

2. *Shinnung shí* 神農氏 *Divine Husbandman*. This was the immediate successor of Fuhhi; he reigned 140 years, and is said to have used knotted cords to record the acts of his government.

3. *Hwángti* 黃帝, or the *Yellow emperor*. This is the third monarch to whom the Chinese consider themselves indebted for their "art divine." He reigned 100 years.

4. *Ts'ángkieh* 蒼頡. It is to this man that the more direct and immediate invention of writing is usually attributed by Chinese historians. He was Hwángti's principal minister of state.

5. *Siuén wáng* 宣王. This sovereign, the eleventh of the Chau dynasty, commenced his reign 827 B. C. He was an illustrious patron of literature and literary men. He flourished nearly three centuries prior to the time of Confucius.

6. *Sz' chau* 史籀. Among those men who devoted themselves to literature under Siuén wáng, this man was called the Great Historian. He is the reputed inventor of the Seal character.

7. *Chí Hwáng tí* 始皇帝. Translated literally, this title means "the first august emperor," or *Augustus the First*. At the same time, he was both the destroyer and the patron of literature and literary men. The Great Wall was built by his orders.

8. *Lí Sz'* 李斯. This was the lord lieutenant of Augustus the First. It was this man who memorialized his master for an act of uniformity, and wrote a treatise on the character invented by Ts'ángkieh.

9. *Cháu Káu* 趙高. Cotemporary with Lí Sz', under the same

ruler, this man lived and held high office. Like his cotemporary, the lord lieutenant, he was devoted to learning. He wrote a work called *Yuen hih Pien* 爰歷篇; the precise character of this work I can not ascertain. I suppose it may have been a memoir on the language.

10. *Hü Wúking* 胡毋敬. In addition to the two abovenamed officers, this man is deemed worthy of notice; he was his Majesty's "great historian;" and wrote a philosophical treatise called *Poh Hioh Pien* 博學篇.

11. *Hü Shin Shukchung* 許慎叔重. The author of the Etymologicon bore this name; *Hü* was the designation of the family; *Shin* was the name he bore in the family; and *Shukchung*, the title or name of distinction given to him by his literary friends. The Chinese trace his descent from the ancient emperor named above; the place of his residence was *Jünán* 汝南; the precise time of his birth or of his death I know not. By one writer he is said to have flourished in the latter part of the Eastern Hán dynasty; but in his own writings, he speaks of the Emperor *Ngái tí* 哀帝, as being then on the throne; if such was the fact, *Hü Shin* must have been born prior to the Advent, and have died (probably at an advanced age) before the close of the first century. His Preface (No. 6.) will speak for itself.

12. *Hü Chung* 許沖. This is the author's son, already referred to, who presented a copy of his father's work to the emperor *Ngán tí* 安帝 whose reign commenced A. D. 107. This was after the death of his father; but how long time after is not known.

13. *Sü Hiuen Tingchin* 徐鉉鼎臣. } These are the names

14. *Sü Kiái Tsúkin* 徐鍇楚金. }

of the two brothers, *Sü Hiuen* the elder, called also *Tingchau*; and *Sü Kiái* the younger, called also *Tsúkin*. They lived and wrote under the *Hau Táng* 後唐, or After Táng dynasty, in the early part of the tenth century, more than nine hundred years ago. From that time down to the present we hear very little of the Etymologicon, except that some editions of it were printed under the Sung dynasty. These brothers were able scholars, as their writings abundantly testify; the younger held the office of "Keeper of the Secret Archives," and enjoyed the highest literary honors. What he has done for the Etymologicon, his Programme (No. 5.) will sufficiently show.

15. *Ki Tsuentsáu* 祁鶴藻. It is chiefly to this distinguished scholar and statesman of *Taukwáng* that we are indebted for this beautiful and very valuable edition of *Hü Shin's* work. His commendatory preface (No. 4.) is dated in the nineteenth year of his

present Majesty's reign, which corresponds to A. D. 1839. He then held the office of literary chancellor in Kiángú; he is now member of the *Nui Koh* or Cabinet, president of the Board of Revenue, &c., &c. The last part of his preface, as it is given in the translation, is a mere brief of the original, a repetition of facts elsewhere stated.

16. *Chin Lwán* 陳鑾. It is only from the two following Nos. 3 and 4, that I have gathered the little that I know of this gentleman. His own Introduction (No. 3.) will best inform the reader concerning the history and character of the man. These two numbers will also give the needful information concerning those gentlemen whose assistance Kí Tsiuntsáu and Chin Lwán secured in the preparation of this new edition. Referring the reader to those papers which are hereto subjoined, I will here close my desultory notes.

No. 3. Prefatory Introduction by the Editor Chin Lwán of Kiángú, dated 1839.

In ancient times, the masters of polite literature held in high esteem the six methods of writing; and verily these are the true sources of the sound and meaning of words, the fountain from whence objects derive their names, and numbers their fixed limits. By means of these, the erudite scholar is enabled to understand the diversified transformations of the universe, with the various changes and modifications in the ceremonial, musical, criminal, and ethical codes; and the less learned is made capable of perceiving how the forms and sounds of words are derived, and how their sound and sense mutually affect each other, so that by these means he may comprehend the fine arts and all the various kinds of historical writings in their best style and profoundest signification. Thus great is their advantage to the young student.

Hü Shubchung lived near the close of the Eastern Hán dynasty. When he saw how the ancient meaning and use of words had fallen into disrepute, he was grieved that even common discourse had become so corrupt and obscure. As an intelligent man he was led to make the most thorough investigations; and as the result composed his *Etymologicon* in fifteen sections. Although I do not know how to understand his phrase *ták shin chi*—"make known the divine will," yet the various alterations of the characters of the language, and the changes of the sounds, together with the regulations which have come down from the three dynasties, and the sound and meaning of [words used by the] border barbarians, are for the most part complete; just as it is expressed by his son Hü Chung, "There is nought celestial or terrestrial, demoniacal or divine, of hill or river, herb, tree, bird, beast, creeping reptile, or of the curious and rare productions, of royal decrees or ceremonial institutes, or of men and things in the world; which is not comprised therein."

From the Hán dynasty down to the present time, almost all the literati and men of talents, who have been thoroughly acquainted with classical literature, and have treated of the laws of the written character, have regarded this work as their standard. Yet there have been disorganizers, such, for example,

as *Lí Yáng-ping*; so that but for *Sú Hiuen* and his younger brother *Sú Kiái*, who revised and improved this book, it would have been gradually corrupted and rendered spurious.

Now upon an examination of the two works, that of the elder brother is found to be the most concise and terse, yet it is sometimes too servile and not free from vulgarisms; that of the younger brother is the most luminous, though many of his expressions are too refined and the style too diffuse. Moreover, the two differ in this, that sometimes where the one is diffuse, the other is concise; or it may be that what is in the one is not in the other; or it may be that a radical has been changed from one place to another, or that an explanation is wholly wanting. All these additions and changes I suspect are the work of later writers, or the errors of the copyists and publishers, so that the two original books we now possess, are not the identical old ones prepared by the two brothers. In laboring on the *Etymologicon*, though each had his favorite study, yet both occasionally were too concise or too diffuse. The elder brother *Hiuen*, having completed his book subsequently to the other, quoted many explanations from *Kiái's* work, and as the latter quoted from the *classica*, *Hiuen* sometimes seems to have mistaken these for the comments of *Hü Shin*. In the department of sounds also, as they are indicated by the two brothers, the younger greatly excels the elder. Accordingly the student ought to have recourse to the work of *Kiái*, "in order to perceive how the forms and sounds of words are derived, and how their sound and sense mutually affect each other, so that by these means he may comprehend the five arts, and all the various kinds of historical writings, in the finest style and profoundest signification," and thus be able to search out and evolve their true origin.

Now it appears that this original work of *Kiái* has been very much mutilated; and although numerous quotations from it, in the *Tonic Collection* of duke *Wáng Cháu*, can be adduced as evidence [of its genuineness], yet this *Tonic Collection* in its turn has also been subjected to additions and emendations by *Hiung Chung*. For example, in his arrangement of the characters by the sounds, sometimes the same character is quoted from both the brothers, and sometimes an explanation from *Kiái* is twice given, differing by being in one case concise and in the other diffuse. Consequently, when brought forward and compared with *Kiái's* book, the discrepancies and errors are found to be numerous.

Last year, the courtier *Kí Shun-fú* (*Kí Tsiuentsáu*) of *Cháu-yáng*, a man of very extensive erudition and most thoroughly versed in classical literature, and exceedingly fond of this *Etymologicon*, was holding the office of literary chancellor in *Kiangsú*, when he obtained from his friend *Kú Tsien-li* an exact copy, an edition printed in the time of the *Sung* dynasty, and also a mutilated copy printed under the same dynasty from blocks in possession of *Wáng Sz'-tung*. Besides these two, he also procured a copy of *Kiái's* *Tonic* edition, printed in the *chuen* character. Having perused these, he directed several literary gentlemen,—*Lí*, *Man*, *Wú*, *Ching*, and *hiá*, to examine the same and point out their errors and defects, and then to prepare a revised

copy and have it printed at Kiáng-yin. In this his profound regard for learning, in his love for the pure ancient style, in guiding the inexperienced, in supporting the weak, and in encouraging the rising genius so as to give stability and extension to our national literature, the courtier Ki stood pre-eminent.

But since, on examination and comparison, the works of the two brothers have been found to differ in some parts, and sometimes to be deficient or erroneous in their explanations, it has become necessary, in order fully to bring to view their classical merits, that we investigate their profound meanings, unfold their combined resources, trace out their ancient derivations, sustain the same by numerous expressions, arrange all these characters into distinct and separate classes, and add a Supplement.

With the view of securing a new and improved edition, the courtier entered into an arrangement with me, he engaging to have a copy prepared for the press; and, in the prosecution of this design, directed me to edit the same. Though possessed of small abilities and incompetent to perform such a task, yet I greatly rejoice to see that it has been completed, and to our mutual satisfaction. The work having been nearly printed off, and the courtier himself having prepared a Preface, has directed me to say a word in like manner, setting forth the end and object of this work.

No. 4. *Recommendatory Preface by Ki Tsünshatsu, Literary Chancellor of Kíngsi, member of the Imperial Academy, &c. (Now assistant chief minister of the Cabinet.)*

INSTRUCTION by means of the six methods of forming characters, was commenced by Ts'áng kiek, and in the Ritual of the Chau dynasty it attained great splendor. The student by the form and sound of the characters sought their meaning, by ascertaining their meaning he was able to comprehend the nature and principle of all things: this was the method universally pursued.

In the times of the Chau dynasty, the reforming influences of literature were most luminous and exceedingly abundant, opening the way for a peaceful rule during tens of generations. After the destruction of literature by Tsin, that the great purpose of this system of instruction by the six methods of writing was rescued from complete oblivion, is owing to the author of the Etymologicon, who diligently sought out and arranged the materials comprised in it and transmitted them to succeeding generations. The two brothers, Sü Ting-chin and Sü Tsú-kin (elsewhere called Hiuen and Kiái), by their careful elucidations perfected the work of Hü Shin. But of the works of the two brothers, the younger is by far the most lucid.

In the general promotion of literature, and in the glory conferred on literary genius, our dynasty has far exceeded its predecessors. From the form and sound of characters, the scholar is enabled to comprehend their meaning so as to acquire and communicate knowledge.

By almost every family a copy of the Etymologicon is possessed; but by for the greater part have that of the elder Sü. The Supplementary Commentary of the younger Sü has been published in large character by Wáng of

Chih, and in a diamond edition by Má of Shihmun: both these editions were disordered, erroneous, defective and spurious, and the whole body arranged so as to render their perusal painful.

Tun Tsán (the writer of this preface) having read the notes on the Etymologicon by Yin Máu-táng, and knowing that Kú Tsienli and Wáng Jánfú of Wú, had in the possession of their respective families ancient manuscripts which were exceedingly clear and exact, for a long time kept this fact to myself. Máu King Sienluh of Hokien, having a mind solely devoted to the study of Hú's work, thoroughly investigated the commentary [of the younger Sù], and studied it with great intensity.

In the year 1837, being raised by imperial appointment, to the literary chancellorship of Kiánguè, I proposed to the aforesaid gentleman of Hokien to accompany me; though at first on account of his age, he was deterred by the length of the journey, yet having in mind the works of Wáng and Má and the chance of getting a sight at them, he was pleased to order his carriage. It was in the ninth month that we arrived at my office and met with the superior of the Ki-yáng Institute, Dr. Lí Shinki, and inquired about the Etymologicon. In former days the Doctor had been fellow-student with Kú, and immediately wrote to Kú's grandson Suitsing to borrow the book. Having obtained it, and on comparing it with the copies of Wáng and Má, it appeared that both in the text and notes, a great many characters had been added to Kú's copy. Thus under the radicals *wood* and *heart*, several tens of characters in the seal form of writing, had been added; so of others. Some, wanting in the works of Wáng and Má, were found to be complete in Kú's work. Further, upon inquiry, the Doctor was able to obtain from Wáng Sz'tung a copy printed in the time of the Sung dynasty; this gentleman obligingly presented a part of this copy to me for inspection. It was contained in case fourth, extending from Sect. 32d to the 40th; the rest of the work was wanting. On comparing this with the MS. copied from an edition printed in the Sung dynasty, they were found for the most part nearly to correspond; we thus knew that Kú's copy was a veritable edition of the Sung dynasty. I was delighted at having obtained this copy, and wished to coöperate with my friend, Máu of Hokien. In the meantime, in communicating with Chin Lwán, the governor of the province, regarding this matter, he was found willing to guaranty the expenses of the publication. I then requested Dr. Lí Shinki to undertake the superintendence of the copying and printing of the work.

As to the original copy of the 25th chapter of the commentary [by the younger Sù] which was wanting, its place was to be supplied by an authentic copy of that of Kú.

Further, I requested the Doctor to have whatever had been quoted from the commentary, and was contained in the Tonic Collection, carefully copied and formed into a Supplement, in order to supply defects, and to preserve the smallest fragments. Moreover, the Doctor himself directed his pupils Ching Peiyuen and Hiáking of Kiángyin, and Wú Jukang of Wú-kiáng, to compare and examine these writings.

Máu of Hokien, having obtained the perusal of Kú's copy, added his testimony, and immediately a copy was made ready with especial carefulness for the engraver. I myself was able to procure from Tsin Liensuh, the Tonic Collection by the younger Sü, and thus this edition was made complete, ready for the press. Copies of the *Etymologicon*, prepared by Yü Yenchi, Li Jinfü, Wáng Pehiau, were published in the time of the Sung dynasty; but all these are now found to be very defective and much mutilated. During the Yuen and Ming dynasties, there seem to have been no reprints. The present edition, therefore, being an exact transcript from Kú Tien-li's, will I trust be quite correct and free from errors. Still, should the lovers of antiquity discover such in it, by pointing out the same, they will help the student to a more thorough acquaintance with the work. Thus it will become more complete; its high aims more fully secured; and the design of Chin Lwán in publishing this edition realized. And thus too, my own hopes and expectations will be satisfied.

No. 5.—*Postgramme by Sü Kiái.* (No date.)

THIS treatise, the *Etymologicon*, has a remote origin, having existed during nine successive dynasties, a period of seven hundred years. The efforts of our literary professors are now relaxed; our men of learning are abandoning their pursuits; no sages make their appearance; and the divine will is darkened. Therefore, in a Supplementary form, I have given a *General Explanation* of Hü Shin's entire work extending from Sects. I to xxx.

The radical characters, and those naturally derived from them, have been taken up and explained in consecutive order; and the respective classes extended so that all objects under heaven, properly falling into them, have been traced out. Those of remote and obscure origin have not been brought into these series. Seizing, therefore, upon the principal idea of those which could be clearly traced, I have formed the *Radical Series*, in Sects. xxxi and xxxii.

Written characters are the means by which the sages were enabled to make researches the most profound, and investigations the most minute; by which are drawn the lines of heaven and earth, of the sun and moon; by which the cardinal duties of fidelity, filial piety, humanity, and justice are illustrated, and the rules for the high and the low in the empirical defined, and all the laws and ordinances for the regulation of ceremonies and music prescribed. When able clearly to comprehend all these, the prince can keep in their proper place all the subjects of his wide domain, and bring the whole empire under just control. So the minister of state, when able clearly to comprehend all these, can properly serve his prince and regulate his sub-

ordinates. Written characters sometimes have different meanings; and if all these are brought together, they will be very numerous. From a full tide, gathering a few drops, we should then turn upwards to the fountain head. Selecting some of the most important characters of the language, I have treated of them in a number of *Excursions*, in Sects. xxxiii, xxxiv, and xxxv.

The sense of characters is sometimes subtle and profound; and if not thoroughly comprehended by the student, all his literary efforts will be mere vagaries. A *Removal of Vagaries* I have attempted in Sect. xxxvi.

Natural endowments are distinctive. Friends have their associates. As among flowers and trees, so universally there are distinctions and diversities. Should ten thousand classes of objects be brought together, they would not rob each other of their order. I have made a *Collection of Classes* in Sect. xxxvii.

As written language has in it what words can not fully express, so it is with single words; and if their explanation be too diffuse, fidelity will be lost; if too concise, perspicuity will be wanting. The natural properties of objects, whether similar or diverse, should be fully developed, and made perfectly clear and distinct. An *Explication of Errata* I have prepared in Sect. xxxviii.

Books having been lost, and leaves torn away, different readings have been introduced; and the emendations and corrections not being clear, these in after times have been left in doubt. A *Resolution of Doubts* I have given in Sect. xxxix.

In high antiquity Fuhfí, by means of his diagrams, gave the clue. The Yellow Emperor invented writing, and Tsángkieh extended the system. In the middle of the Chau dyasty, the emperor Siuen became its patron, and his minister Sz'chau received the succession and transmitted it to Hü Shin, who gave it the finishing line. Under his care its highest purpose was attained. If committed to improper hands, errors must ensue. Our august Sovereign, in his turn becoming its patron, investigated the ancient lore, penetrating into what was dark, and searching out what was obscure; and thus all things were made to appear in their true light. Committing these to me, his minister, I have attempted to perform my task, as described in Sect. xl.

No. 6.—*Original Preface by Hü Shin Shuhchung.*

IN ancient times, Páuhí's royal sway extended over all beneath the heavens. Directing his attention upwards, he surveyed the images in the heavens. Then turning downwards, he surveyed the forms on

the earth, carefully observing the figures upon birds and beasts and the things peculiar to the earth,—here, in his own person, selecting what was remarkable; there, what was so in others. In this manner he was able to invent the *eight diagrams* for a system of changes, and to evolve a scale of magisterial rules.

2. Passing down to the time of the *Divine Husbandman*, we first find that cords were tied into knots in order to record the acts of the government; and thus its affairs were grouped together. These, being exceedingly numerous, gave rise to forgeries and deceits.

3. It was at this time, that Ts'ángkieh, a minister of the *Yellow Emperor*, by observing the footsteps of various birds and beasts, ascertained that by lines objects could be distinguished one from another. Thus he invented writing for the purpose of forming contracts; and hence every kind of work was carried on in due form, and every order and engagement properly defined. The clue that led to this invention he obtained by an inspection of the diagram, *Inundation*, signifying (by interpretation) "proclaimed in the imperial courts," i. e. by means of written characters instruction is proclaimed, and the principles of knowledge are made known in the king's courts; and thus, while conferring emoluments upon their inferiors, the princes will be careful to preserve their own virtues.

4. When Ts'ángkieh invented his system of writing, he did it by drawing the images of various species, and hence he called them *wan*, *figures*. Afterwards, by writing form and sound, he augmented their number, and these new ones he called *tsz'*, or *characters*, meaning by this term that they became numerous from being recombined and nourished. But when characters came to be etched upon bamboos and the bark of trees, this was called *shé*, or *writing*, i. e. giving a *likeness* of the objects described.

5. During the ages that elapsed under the five Emperors and the three families of kings, the form of the written characters underwent numerous alterations. For example, in the inaugural inscriptions, found upon the tablets erected on the Great Mountain by the seventy-two sovereigns who went thither to record their names, none are precisely alike.

6. According to the Ritual of the Chau dynasty, the sons of the Imperial family, when they reached their eighth year, were placed for education under the care of a tutor, and the instruction commenced with these *six classes of written characters*.

(a.) *Indicatives*, such as *sháng*, *hiá*, 上 下 *above, below*: literally, *point thing*, 指事 *chí sz'*, i. e. such characters as these two, *sháng*

and *kiá*, given as examples, the meaning of which we can ascertain by inspection, their import being apparent on examination.

(b.) *Imitations*, such as *jih*, *yueh*, 日月, *sun, moon*: literally *image form* 象形 *siang king*, i. e. such characters as *jih* and *yueh*, the two above given as examples, in which an image or likeness of the object signified is delineated, by making the form of the character an exact imitation of the thing.

(c.) *Phonetics* such as *kiáng*, *ho*, 江河, *river, stream*: literally, *form sound*, 形聲, *king shing*, i. e. such compound characters as the two above. *kiáng* and *ho*, one part of which is taken to be named, and this is joined to another which gives the new character its sound,

(d.) *Ideographics*, such as *wú*, *sin*, 武信 *martial, faith*: literally. *united meaning*, 會意, *hwui i*, i. e. such compound characters as *wú* and *sin*, where two well known characters are joined so as to suggest the idea to be given to the new word.

(e.) *Reversives*, such as *k'áu*, *láu*, 考老 *aged, old*: literally, *turned explanation* 轉注 *chuen chú*, i. e. such characters as *káu*, *láu*, in which, while the upper part remains the same, the lower is reversed or turned.

(f.) *Derivatives*, such as *ling*, *cháng* 令長 *order, elder*: literally, *suppose borrow*, 借假 *kiá tsí*, i. e. such characters as *ling* and *cháng*, which are borrowed to denote things or acts that had previously never been indicated in writing; the character thus borrowed retains its original sound but takes a new meaning.

7. In the reign of the Emperor Siuen of the Chau dynasty, his historiographer Sz'chau invented the *chuen* or seal character, and wrote a work thereon in fifteen chapters; some of these new characters were the same as the ancient, others were different.

8. Subsequently, when Confucius wrote the six classics and Tsú Kiúming compiled the annals called Spring and Autumn, both used the ancient character. Its meaning, therefore, could at that time be understood and explained.

9. At a later period the several princes of the empire, having strengthened their respective governments, refused submission to the imperial sway. Hating the restraints that were laid upon them by the ceremonial and musical codes, they destroyed all these standards; and separating themselves from the supreme government, formed seven independent states, all differing in the modes of laying out their lands, in the construction of their carriages, in the execution of their laws, in the fashion of their robes and caps, in the sounds of their words, in the forms of their speech, and in the shape of their-written characters.

10. When the august Emperor of the Tsin dynasty, known as the First (Tsin Chí hwángtí) had united all the states of the empire under one general government, his prime minister Lí Sz' addressed a memorial to the throne, requesting an act of uniformity, and that whatever was found not conformed to the standards of the state might be abolished. This minister himself wrote a treatise on the character invented by Ts'ángkieh, Chau Káu, another statesman of high rank, wrote a historical memoir on the language; and his majesty's historiographer Hú Wúking, wrote the Great Instructor, a treatise on moral philosophy. These three authors all employed the seal character invented by Sz'chau; and being somewhat abbreviated and modified by them, it was called the Lesser, in contradistinction to the former, the Greater seal character.

11. It was at this time that the monarch of Tsin burnt the classics, and annihilated all the ancient codes. He also banished a great many officers and sent forth armed expeditions. As the business of the officers in the public service became very multifarious, the *official method* of writing was introduced, in order to secure greater accuracy and dispatch; and by this means it was that the ancient form, the *kú wan*, ceased to be used.

12. Of the various forms of writing introduced prior to this date, eight are enumerated as existing under the Tsin dynasty, which are thus designated:—

1. *Tá chuen* 大篆, the Greater Seal character;
2. *Síáu chuen* 小篆, the Lesser Seal character;
3. *Kíh fú* 刻符, the Engraved check;
4. *Chung shú* 蟲書, the Insect picture;
5. *Mú yin* 摹印, the Stamp signet;
6. *Shuh shú* 殳書, the Portal writing;
7. *Lí shú* 隸書, the Official writing.

13. After the rise of the Hán dynasty the *running-hand* form of writing came into vogue (sometimes called the *tsán shú* 草書 or Grass character).

14. According to the code of laws called *wei*, instituted by the Hán dynasty, young students on arriving at the age of seventeen years, were to be instructed and examined in nine thousand of those characters that had been invented by Sz'chau. Then if accepted they were considered eligible to the lower offices of state. Furthermore they were to be examined in the abovementioned eight forms of writing, and then reported by the magistrate to the literary chancellor, who,

after still farther instructing and examining them, selected the most intelligent and recommended them for the higher offices of state, while those who had not duly prepared themselves, or had not come properly recommended, were reported accordingly and dismissed from the public service. Though this code, the *wei*, still exists, yet that system of instruction and examination having now ceased for a considerable period, no one is able to state how they were conducted.

15. In the time of the Emperor Hiáu-siuen, his majesty issued a proclamation inviting all those who could read the character of Tsáng-kieh to report themselves; of these Cháng Chwáng was found to be the greatest proficient, and he was accordingly promoted. Three others,—Tú Nieh, governor of Liáng-chau, Yuen Lí, a resident of Pei, and Tsin Kin, high literary chancellor, were all found able to explain the same character.

16. In the time of the Emperor Hiáuping, his majesty commanded Yuen Lí, and more than a hundred others of the literati, to lecture on philology in the palace-hall called Weiyáng, and also appointed him to be the principal of the primary schools.

17. Yáng Hung, a courtier of the imperial palace, having brought together a variety of philological writings, arranged the same into a book, which he called the Instructor. All these, from those of Tsáng-kieh downwards, formed fourteen chapters, containing 5340 characters. In this book was contained nearly all the characters found in the writings then extant.

18. Subsequently Sin, known as the Defunct, having usurped the Imperial authority, commanded his high minister Chin Fung, and others, to review and examine the lists of written characters—conceiving it to be his prerogative to change and modify it at pleasure. These men, in performing their task fixed upon the following *six classes of written characters*.

(a.) *The ancient form*, 古文 *kú wan*, such as that employed in the books found in the walls of the house where Confucius lived.

(b.) *The antique characters*, 奇字, *ki tsz'*, or such as were found to be different from the ancient or *kú wan*.

(c.) *The seal character* 篆書, *chuen shú*, i. e. the lesser, prepared by Ching Miáu of Kiátú by order of Augustus the First, of the Tsin dynasty.

(d.) *The left hand character*, 左書 *tso shú*, i. e. the official writing employed under the Tsin dynasty.

(e.) *The close seal*, 繆篆, *miù chuen*, i. e. such as was used upon seals and signets.

(f.) *The bird and insect characters* 鳥 蟲 書 *niáu chung shé*, or such as were used upon flags and envelopes.

19. When Kung, the prince of the ancient kingdom of Lú, pulled down the house where Confucius used to live, he found concealed in its walls, the Code of Ceremonies, the History of the Sháng dynasty, the Spring and Autumn Annals, and the Treatise on Filial Duty; moreover, there are extant two books, a copy of the Spring and Autumn Annals, and a copy of T'ao's commentary thereon, which were presented to the Imperial court by Cháng Tsang the prince of Pehping; also pots and vases which at various times, and in different states of the empire have been discovered on the hills and in the rivers, having inscriptions upon them; now all these books, vases, etc., are found to contain the ancient character, *kú wan*, that had been employed under former dynasties; and they are all essentially the same. By means of these various writings and inscriptions, we are enabled clearly to ascertain and describe what were the forms employed in remote antiquity, and hitherto but imperfectly understood.

20. But [notwithstanding the evidence furnished us in possessing these written monuments, if any one now presumes to labor upon them], the people will ridicule and reproach him, as being too fond of the marvelous, and dissatisfied with what is plain; and yet they themselves will change the characters in current use and form new ones hard to be understood, fancying that by altering them in this irregular manner they will gain distinction in after ages. Even scholars who by a description of separate characters would explain to us the meaning of the classics, rashly declare that the official form, invented under Tsin, was the work of Ts'ing kieh! As these characters have been transmitted from father to son, how, say they, could they have been changed and altered? Yet they doggedly affirm, for example, that the character *long* (長 *cháng*) is a compound formed of a *horse's head* and *man*; that the character *man* (人 *jin*) grasping the numeral *ten* (十 *shih*) makes *tin* (斗) or ten bushel measure; and that the character for *insects* (蟲 *chung*) is formed by turning its parts inwards towards the center. Proceeding in this manner, even the imperial jurists, when explaining the laws will, by employing only one single character give sentence in a criminal case! In the phrase, *to-harass people in-order-to-get money*, (苛人受錢 *ko jin shau tsien*) the first character *to-harass*, is taken alone (the others being dropped) to form a complete sentence! Examples of this kind are very numerous, and they are all different from the ancient form employed by Confucius, nor do they accord with those invented by Sz'-chau. Vulgar literati and pettifoggers, too fond

of what they themselves have heaped together, and misled by mere hearsay, do not comprehend either those who are thoroughly versed in the science of language, or the common rules by which written characters are formed; considering the old methods as odd, and having a partiality for rude forms of speech, they consider their own acquisitions as secret and profound mysteries, and themselves as having penetrated into the most subtle and refined conceptions of the sages. Meeting, for example, in the works of Tsangkieh with a section about "The youthful hen's receiving commands," they thence declare that said section must have been written by an ancient emperor, though in it are contained rules for those who wish to become divine and immortal! Thus conspicuous are their errors. What foolishness! what perversity!

21. In the ancient History it is said, "I wish to see and understand the written forms of the ancients;" meaning that we ought to conform to and cultivate the old forms of written characters, and should not box and drill! Confucius has said, "I would fain obtain the lost forms of the historians! But now, alas, they are irrecoverably gone." Because men will adhere to their own private views, and find fault with what they do not know, and will not be at the trouble of learning from others, all distinction between what is right and what is wrong is naught, while their own subtle explanations and specious phraseology excite doubt and suspicion in the minds of every student.

20. Now such ought not to be the case, because written language is the source from whence we derive all our classical and scientific learning, and the origin of our royal institutions. It is the means by which the men of former generations have handed down their stores of learning to their successors, and by which men of after ages must gain their knowledge of the ancients. Hence the saying, "When correct premises are laid down, then true doctrines will be developed." Now we know that nothing in the world has a higher origin or purpose than written language, and nothing ought to be more carefully preserved from confusion and corruption.

23. On preparing the present arrangement of the seal characters, it has been my endeavor to have the whole work accurately correspond to the ancient forms invented by Sz'chau. With reference both to the separate characters, and their respective explanations, I have extensively investigated the writings of learned men of every order from the highest to the lowest, and have made such a selection of characters as seemed most trustworthy, and sustained by the best authority; and their explanations have been adopted only after the most thorough

investigations. In doing all this, it has been my purpose duly to arrange all the classes of words, to remove the errors into which others have fallen, to give the learner a thorough knowledge of his subject, and to make known the divine will. By arranging the characters under their appropriate radicals, confusion and disorder are prevented. Thus all things without exception, are subjected to our view. When characters have seemed obscure, they have been elucidated by quotations; and in doing this the works used have been the Book of Changes by Mang; History by Kung; the Odes by Máu, the Ritual by the officers of Chau; the Spring and Autumn Annals by Tsó; and likewise the Conversations and the Treatise on Filial Duties; all in the ancient form of writing. When any characters occurred which I could not understand, these have been left blank.

ART. II. *Thoughts on the term proper to be employed in translating Elohim and Theos into Chinese.* By a Missionary. In a Letter to the Editor.

IN common with many others, my mind has been not a little exercised in the perplexing inquiry, as to the term proper to be employed in the Chinese language as an appellative for *God*, or the Deity of the Bible. It is confessedly an inquiry of vast importance, but also not free from many difficulties; as is manifest from the great amount of talent, labor and investigation it has called into exercise. My cherished hope and prayer have been, that contending parties would be led to see and feel as one man on the subject. 'This object has not yet been attained; and it is with the prayerful desire of furthering so desirable a result, and not simply to enter the list of controversialists, that I now take up my pen. I have read the greater part of what has been written on this subject with some degree of attention; and am compelled to confess that the arguments on neither side have been conclusive to my own mind; while from these papers mainly, I have been furnished with materials, which have enabled me to form an opinion, based, as I think on sound logical deductions, which will appear in the sequel.

Of the terms which have been proposed to render אֱלֹהִים and Θεός into Chinese, only two are prominent; *shén* 神 and *tí* 帝, the latter to be accompanied with some qualifying adjunct, and these are probably the only native ones at all defensible. Before proceeding

to the examination of these terms, however, it will be well to ascertain what are the requisites in any term employed as an appellative for the Divine Being. I apprehend that such term should be one used by common consent, generally, and κατ' ἐξοχήν, for Deity or for a Divine Being or Beings, by the people to whose language the term belongs. This is of the very highest importance. If the term be not so used, it can not become a proper one to translate אֱלֹהִים and Θεός. There should be a suitability also, so that the term should convey of itself and by application the idea of power, dignity, greatness, and grandeur. Again, it should be a *generic* term for Deity, if the people into whose language the translation is made, are polytheists, and have a general name for Deity. Such is אֱלֹהִים, for the Aramean nations had become polytheists; such also is Θεοί, for the Greeks had whole families of Divine beings.

The first of these requisites is indispensable; the other two are very important, and should exist, if the genius of the language and the theology of the people afford them. Now, in which of the two proposed terms do we find these requisites, or the nearest approach to them; and hence the closest correspondence to אֱלֹהִים and Θεός? Are they found in *shin* 神 or in *tí* 帝? In this investigation, dictionaries by foreigners and their opinions, manifestly can be of no weight unless clearly verified by native usage and authority. Thus premising, I shall assign some reasons for giving a preference to *tí* 帝 with an adjunct, as either *sháng tí* 上帝 or *t'ien tí* 天帝, as the fittest term to render God in the Chinese; and then show why I can not acquiesce in the position of those who have advocated the employment of *shin*.

I propose to try *tí* by the abovenamed requisites. 1. Is *tí* used by the Chinese for Deity by way of eminence; and as the distinguishing appellation for that being, or those beings who are regarded divine? In the sacred books of the Chinese, we find at least *one* Being recognized of whom is predicated what belongs only to God, and who, especially in moral character and attributes, resembles far more the true God, than does any one of the Θεοί of the Greeks. He is a Being to whom no beginning is attributed; a Being of perfect moral rectitude, and is represented as rewarding the upright and punishing the wicked; a Being too of universal sovereignty and providence. The distinguishing title by which this Being, and all other entities supposed to resemble him, are known among the Chinese is *shángtí* 上帝. This too is a title used by way of eminence to distinguish Deity, long before the Chinese were led by their pride, either to assume or apply

it to mortal man. This was likewise at a time, when it is clear from their ancient works, the Chinese possessed a purer theology and more correct notions of the divine Being and character than they now do.

2. *Ti* as used by the Chinese, is a term which carries with it, not the idea of a simple personal name, but of power, dignity and authority. It is seldom or never applied otherwise than to designate objects of real or supposed greatness, natural, moral or official, or some or all of these attributes combined. Hence, when the founder or followers of the system of Rationalism wished to give dignity and prominence to their system and the new objects of worship introduced by them, they applied this term by way of usurpation to some of those objects. This is the origin of the famous *Yuh-huáng shángtí* 玉皇上帝, and also of *Hiuen-tien shángtí* 玄天上帝, both of whom are now objects of worship. By some the first of these two *Ti* has been erroneously confounded with the *shángtí* 上帝 of the sacred books. The origin and history of *Yuh-huáng shángtí* is mentioned in Vol. X., page 305 of the Repository; and notices of the other are given in Vol. XVIII. page 102.

Closely allied to the above characteristics, but in my view adding force to the suitability of using *tí* 帝 to designate Deity, is the fact, that it is the term used by the Chinese to convey the idea of *god-like*, just as they use *shin* 神 for anything *spirit-like*. Hence it is, that those objects of religious worship, which most resemble the one great *Ti* of ancient record and veneration are designated by the same term; hence, too, he, who according to the prevalent and venerated philosophy is the one great *Ti*'s visible representation in *tien líá* 天下, or this world, and is regarded as having been by this One Great one so appointed, is also designated *tí*, or has assumed this as his peculiar title. Whatever may be our opinion as to the inappropriateness of such application, according to Chinese philosophy there is propriety in giving to their Emperor the title of *t'ien tsz'* 天子 and of *tí* 帝: not of *shin* 神, because he has rather too much of gross material belonging to him, but of *tí* a ruler of dignity and authority, and by the great autocrat so appointed. True, we may feel there is much arrogance, if not something more heinous in such an application. The same application was also true of *θεος*, for Strabo uses, *ὁ θεὸς καίσαρ*. Let the Emperor of China once feel and heartily acknowledge the power of divine truth, and such use of *tí* will be dissolved.

Is a term to be rejected because it has been abused in its application? Then the translators of the LXX, and the writers of the

New Testament should have rejected *θεός*. On the same principle may we with as much reason reject our holy religion, because it has been made the occasion and instrument of tyranny, oppression and shedding of blood,—abused to the worst of purposes. If *天* be a fit, although abused and misapplied term, shall we not rather reinstate it in its once preëminent position, and through it reveal the true character of the One and the Supreme as Chinese records of early ages speak of One, whom there will probably be no great error in recognizing as the God of Abraham, and of whom the patriarch found the fear and worship even in the land of Canaan; as also one who is recorded to have been the priest of this Most High God. May not Yáu and Shun and the people of their times, who may probably as early and even earlier than Abraham and Melchisedec, have possessed knowledge of the true God, such as Abraham found in Canaan, derived too from the same source?

3. But is *天* used as a generic term for Deity by the Chinese? Is it an appellative for a class of beings regarded divine, and not the name merely of an individual? If the Chinese in their theological opinions have conceived of such a class, *天* is the only distinguishing title for such a family. There is no other term generic and used *καὶ θεόν* for Deity. So that searching after such a term, if it be not found here is like a search for the philosopher's stone—for what does not exist. Then, if such *generic term* be absolutely *indispensable* in order to translate the Holy Bible, the revising committee at Shánghái may as well give up their work. Whence this necessity? *Is it so, that the Author of the Sacred Scriptures has so constructed them, that a people must of necessity be polytheists, and have a family of Gods, and a generic name for that family, before there is a possibility of translating the sacred oracles into their language?* If people never had the idea of the existence of more than one Divine being, though they are gross idolaters, by offering religious worship to ten thousand of creatures, possibly not paying any worship at all to that one being regarded divine; how could the language of such a people afford a term at once generic and *καὶ θεόν* for God? Is not such a case quite supposable? Such indeed seems to have been the religious position of the North American Indians. They venerated, but did not worship the one Great Spirit, which in their language would become the term for God by way of eminence while they avowedly did offer religious worship to innumerable evil spirits. But as they acknowledged only one Great Spirit there consequently could be in their language no generic term for God, as of a class of beings regarded divine, and yet translations of

the Bible into their languages have been made. Does not the existence of such generic term depend, not on the nature of the case, but on the theological and mythological views of a people? We know from revealed truth, there can be no such term. There can be only *one* God, one supreme Being, and consequently there can be no term expressive of a *class* of such beings. But mankind have not always been thus correct in their theology, and hence such terms have arisen. The Greeks had several families of gods, divine beings begetting divine beings, and hence the generic term of *theoi*. The use of אלהים as a generic it is now impossible to trace; probably it arose much in the same way, as its cognate among the Greeks. If the Chinese, like the Greeks, have a family of divine beings, that family is assuredly composed of the highest in rank, the most powerful and venerated beings acknowledged by them. The common term by which this class is distinguished (leaving the question whether they be or be not esteemed divine), is *ti*, just as *tien shin* 天神 is the generic appellation for one, *pú sáh* 菩薩 for a second, *shin chú* 神主 for a third, and *kwei* 鬼 for another class of objects of worship, so also is *ti* 帝 the term for distinguishing the highest, most venerated, most dignified and powerful class. In its use and applications by the Chinese, it is nearer to those of *theoi* than any other term to be found in their language. This fact will become more clearly developed in the discussion of *shin* 神 as claimed to be the best term to be employed to express Deity.

I now proceed to consider the grounds, on which *shin* has been advocated as the only proper term, in the Chinese language to express Deity appellatively. This term, the author of the "Essay on the proper rendering of the words Elohim and Theos into the Chinese language," given in pp. 17,57 of Vol. XVII, says must be used "*malgré* all objections." Let us therefore, ascertain the strong foundation on which this "must be used" rests, by reference to the Essay, and to the writings of others, who advocate the same views. On page 20, he says, "in order to combat *polytheism*," "we must use the name of the whole class worshiped as Gods by the Chinese." Again, page 23 "We must, therefore, take for Jehovah the name of" the whole class [of Gods] and affirm that it properly belongs to Him alone; that there is no other being in the universe *entitled to this name*. Again, page 20, a definition of the generic name for God, is given,—"The name of the highest genus or Class of Beings, to whom the Chinese offer religious worship."

These first principles of the Essay appear well, and had the argument, purporting to be built upon them (the language in which they

are couched being understood in *one* sense,) possessed a perfect accordance with these principles, its Author might with much reason have declared, in his conclusion, as to the term he advocates, "We must use [it] *malgré* all objections." That "one sense" referred to above is, that in the first quotation,—the words "worshiped as gods," must mean that they are so worshiped because they are *esteemed* to be *divine Beings*. But in the mind of the author; judging from his Argument, they seem to signify, *such worship is offered as belongs to Gods or divine Beings*. If therefore, "worshiped as Gods" means worshiped *because they are esteemed divine Beings*, we make no objection to the proposition. This clearly then constitutes polytheism. But if the latter idea be the true one in the mind of the author and other advocates for *shin*, viz., that "worshiped as Gods" signifies worshiped *as divine Beings only should be worshiped*, we cannot acquiesce in the position. This is not polytheism, but idolatry.

Again, in relation to the generic name for God, if, by "*The name for the highest genus or class of Beings*," &c., be intended *the name* by which that *genus* or *class* is *distinguished* from every other *genus* or *class* of beings, then it is just what we need. But if in the first phrase, "worshiped as Gods"—by gods, is to be understood simply, *beings to whom religious worship is offered, which should be offered to the true God only*, and by "The name of the highest genus, &c.," be signified a *name* predicated of, though not *peculiar to such high class*, while with equal propriety, it is applicable to many other classes of beings, then we cannot but feel that there is a radical defect in the very foundation of the Argument in this essay. This argument is labored, ingenious and plausible, and especially calculated to bewilder those not acquainted with the Chinese language, and unaware of the very diversified uses and applications of *shin*. It is conducted too much, as if the author believed that *shin* had no such application even in its concrete use. True, occasionally we get a glimpse of the fact of its extensive range, though the prominent view given is, that it only embraces so much as the definition for a generic name naturally implies, and so is the *distinguishing name* for the *highest class*. But whether the writer intended to hold up *shin* in the restricted sense as simply an appellative for the highest genus or class of objects worshiped, or in its wider range, as a generic name for all objects of worship from the lowest to the highest in rank, it is not easy to decide. But other writers on the subject argue the adoption of *shin* 神 expressly and explicitly on account of this extensive application. In the China Mail there is a well written article, on the present

question, quoted below,* in which it is stated that the object of enquiry is to find a term in the Chinese language *analogous* in its use to the word *God* in English, or to the *Deus* of the Latins, the *θεος* of the Greeks, or the *אלהים* of the Hebrews; and it is then remarked, "These several terms have in the language to which they belong, a general application to whatsoever may be an object of religious worship, without regard to the character of that object." Again, "The *θεος* of the Greeks represented a multitude of objects of worship, each of which had its respective proper name; while all collectively were designated by this common term." The writer then announces his opinion that *shin* is such analogous term; and hence embracing, what is attributed to *אלהים* and *θεος*, "*Whatsoever may be an object of religious worship without regard to the character of that object.*"

* To the Editor of the "China Mail."

"Thoughts upon the manner of expressing the word for GOD in the Chinese language: by JOHN BOWRING, LL.D."

Sir,—The above is the heading of an article in the November number of the *Chinese Repository*, which I read with interest. The learned writer has there expressed much that is ingenious and important on points connected with the question, but in my opinion has not met the question itself. The inquiry is not, if I apprehend it, about the proper name of the Supreme Being, who has called himself *Jehovah*, nor is it how that name shall be expressed in the Chinese language, but the search is for an appellative term for God. It is supposed that *Jehovah*, the proper name of the Deity, will be transferred to the Chinese language, on the same principle that *Jesus*, the proper name of our Savior, or *Moses*, the proper name of the Jewish lawgiver, will be conveyed to that language, viz: by expressing as nearly as may be the sound of the name in Chinese characters, without regard to their signification. This being done, there will still be wanting an expression for the generic or general term God. The Christian believes in but one God, still there are many that are called gods, and it is supposed that every language has an appellative term similar in its use to the word *God* in English by which this order of beings is designated. The object of inquiry appears to be, to find in the Chinese language a term analogous in its use to the word *God* in English, or to the *Deus* of the Romans, the *Theos* of the Greeks, or the *Eloah* of the Hebrews. These several terms have in the language to which they belong, a general application to whatever may be an object of religious worship, without regard to the character of that object. In English, we speak of the true God and of false gods; the Romans had a Jupiter, a Neptune, a Venus, and others, but all were classed under the general term *Deus*. The *Eloah* of the Hebrews was alike applied to the true God and the idols of the surrounding heathen, and the *Theos* of the Greeks represented a multitude of objects of worship, each of which had its respective proper name; while all, collectively, were designated by this common term. The Chinese also worship a multitude of objects, each under its distinctive name, but have some appellative term to designate them as a class, and which is common to them all. This common term I think is *Shin*. This may be seen written in a large character and pasted up in the boats, the shops, and dwellings of the Chinese, and is made the symbol, or general representative, of all the objects they worship. Before this written character is kept the altar and smoking incense, and to it worship is performed on the first and fifteenth of every moon; and special offerings are made at the same shrine on the birthday of every god in their Calendar. If they worship the spirits of departed ancestors, they are called *Shin*; if they worship the latent principle of nature, it is called *Shin*; if they worship *Ma-tee-ye*, *Pih-ye-ye*, or *Shang-ti* all are called *Shin*; and should they worship Jupiter, Juggernaut, Jehovah, or Jah, they all would be called *Shin*. The Chinese speak of *Tien-shin* (heavenly gods), *T'u ti shin* (local gods), *Shan-shin* (gods of the hills), *Ho-shin* (gods of the river,) &c. They have presiding deities over the elements, the seasons, and the various professions of men, each with a distinctive name; but all are called *Shin* or gods, as we speak of Confucius, Shakespeare, or Socrates, under the appellative term *man*. If it be objected to *shin* that the Chinese apply it to their idols, and consequently it should not be applied to the Supreme Being, the same objection with equal propriety might be made to the use of our word *God*, which is applied to idols, to men, and to Satan himself, who is called "the god of this world." The same objection might also be urged against the Greek word *Theos*, a term used to designate the false and fabulous deities of the heathen; still the Divine Author and first teachers of Christianity applied the term to the Supreme Being. The Savior of mankind, when he came to give his religion to the world, did not form a new symbol, nor introduce a foreign word for God, but selected one from the language of the people he came to teach,—a term familiar to them, and one which they applied to the objects of idol worship. Though this term, by a people ignorant of the living and true God, was applied to senseless blocks of wood and stone, still the Author of Christianity uses this very term in giving to them a knowledge of the Almighty,

Another writer (whose manuscript is in my possession) states as the important ground, why he favors *shin* as analogous to the Hebrew and Greek terms for God, is "That the Chinese do use *shin* to designate *their objects of worship*, and that it is with them a common and not a specific name." He further remarks, "Infinite Wisdom in the Son of God directed him differently [than to select the name of any individual Deity]. He selected and employed for the true God, the common name employed by the heathen to designate *the objects of their worship*." Further in Vol. XVIII, page 100 of the Repository, we have a pithy article by "A Lover of Plain Common Sense," who founds all his remarks on this same idea, that the objects worshiped by any people are necessarily the Gods of that people, and that a name in their language generic for such objects of worship, must be the term we need to translate אלהים and θεος, and on page 608, are given the views of a writer on the same side, where this same idea again appears in a strong light; and *shingt* is declared not to be the *generic name* for "the beings or idols" worshiped by the Chinese, but is applied "to a few only of the multitude of false deities adored by this people."

I have been thus particular in presenting these quotations and references, to show that there is no misapprehension of the position assumed, in order, undesignedly, to foist *shin* 神 into the lofty station of a term to reveal our Jehovah God. The position assumed is clearly

Here we have the divine sanction and the highest authority for applying the word as an appellation to the Supreme Being, which was used by the heathen to designate an unknown God or their fabulous deities. If it were proper to introduce a new word for God, in teaching Christianity to the heathen, it doubtless would have been adopted by the Savior and his Apostles; but if Jesus Christ and his inspired disciples, in giving Christianity to an idolatrous people, employed the term for the Most High by which they designated their idols, why need we use a new word or a foreign symbol in teaching Christianity to the Chinese? Surely they have gods enough to have some common term to designate them, and they can scarcely be more ignorant of the true God than were the ancient Greeks and Romans.

Should it be urged against the use of *shin* for God that it is used in other senses, such as being *shin*, animal spirits, &c., the same objection may be urged against the application of *Theos* to God, for this term is also found in composition having another signification. It enters into the composition of proper names such as *Theophilus* and *Theodorus*, and a variety of common words, such as *theology*, *theology*, *theology*, and the like, still no objection is made to the use of *Theos* to designate the true God, because the term is found in composition with another sense. In the Chinese Thesaurus, from which extracts have been made by a distinguished Chinese scholar illustrative of the use of *shin*, the primary meaning given to it is Spirit i. e. *shin* is a spirit. This much resembles the definition of Deity given in the Sacred Scriptures—"God is a Spirit." The example given by the same Chinese author to illustrate his definition of *shin*, is—"The inscrutableness of the superior and inferior principles in nature is called *shin*" i. e. God.

In commenting on the use of *shin* by Confucius, *Chu-hi-tz'* says that, "K'wei is the soul of the inferior principle of nature, and *shin* is the soul of the superior principle. But if we speak of the two united together, we say, when extended, they become *shin*, god, when contracted or reverted, they become *K'wei*, demon." The sage adds a quotation from the Odes, which says—"The approach of the *shin* (gods) can not be comprehended, with what reverence therefore should we conduct ourselves!"

Should those engaged in translating the Sacred Scriptures into the Chinese language, transfer the proper name *Yahweh*, or adopt the suggestion of the learned linguist who proposes the abbreviated form *Jah*, and represent this by the symbol, or should they employ the Chinese term *T'ien* (Heaven) or *T'ien chu* (Heaven's Lord) or *Shang ti* (High Ruler) they would still want an appellative term by which to translate *Theos* or God, and which I think is correctly rendered by the term *shin*.

Truly yours, SCIOLUS.

this: *That objects to which religious worship is offered by any people, are of necessity the Gods of that people.* Hence the conclusion, that an appellative by which those objects are known must be in their language the generic term for Deity, and thus the proper one to translate the Hebrew and Greek terms.

Here we have two different ideas, idolatry and polytheism, sadly confounded. Yet, in our search after a fit word to translate the original terms in the Scriptures for God, it is important that they should be kept distinct. Probably no one will deny that *shin* is a common term applied by the Chinese *to all their objects of religious worship*, even in the fullest sense contended for; but most unluckily for the validity of the argument, it is not even thus limited. There are myriads of *shin* regarded of too insignificant a character to be honored with worship even by the grossly idolatrous Chinese. But is *shin* ever used by the Chinese in any of their standard works, is it in common use, or has it been applied κατ' εἰκόνην to any object or being, real or imaginary, ancient or modern, to express Deity or God? This point in the discussion is an inquiry of the first importance. Yet no instance has been produced, and probably can not be, where *shin* is so used. In the meaning of *shin* there is not necessarily the least idea of God whatever, any more than we have an idea of Deity in the English words *spiritual, mysterious, invisible, inscrutable*, and their cognate names.

It may be contended (see page 25) that *shin* used in a concrete sense means, or is to be translated, God or Gods. Do native dictionaries authorize this meaning? Ask an intelligent Chinese *not acquainted with what may be your object and predilections*, why the objects of Chinese worship are called *shin*, and he will tell you because they are spiritual, invisible, inscrutable, or something analogous, but never will one tell you, because they are partakers of the divine nature. All these may belong to deity as qualities, or as being expressive of the divine method of existence or operation, but constitute no part of the *essential attributes* of the divine Being. The Chinese employ *shin* in no such distinguishing sense. The quotations made from Chinese works in the Essay clearly show this, for almost every one in which *shin* is used, may be, and according to Chinese usage should be, rendered not God or Gods, but *spirit* or spiritual, mystery or mysterious, intelligence or intelligent, &c.,—a noun or adjective, singular or plural, as the case may be.

The question now arises, not whether *shin* is applied to a being or beings supposed to be divine, but whether considering its meaning,

use, and application, it is a term adapted to translate the Θεός of the New Testament? Θεός, as we will have occasion to notice, appears primarily, anciently, and from common use, to mean, not a spiritual and mysterious being, or something invisible and inscrutable, &c., but by way of eminence, Deity or Divine essence; ὁ Θεός of classical use would be the God of eminence. So ὁ Θεός of the New Testament use means the God therein revealed. The idea, that the translators of the LXX., or the writers of the New Testament, employed θεός because it was such a generic term as the advocates of *shin* claim it to be, is contrary to reason and common sense. Such an idea assumes as a fact, the still more absurd idea lying back of it, that those who first used θεός for Deity were originally and never anything else than polytheists. The reasonable and common sense grounds for the Septuagint and New Testament use of θεός are, that those translators and sacred writers found θεός to be the term, in the Greek language, used for Deity from earliest antiquity, when those who employed it, were still monotheists. It was the term for God κατ' εἰσροχὴν; and presently it will be shown, that the Greeks never did use Θεός in the unlimited sense of *shin*, but generally by way of eminence for God or Gods. Although the sacred writers found θεός most sadly abused and misapplied by the after mythology of the people, they still used it, and restored it to its original and specific application.

The idea is advanced above that the Greeks were originally monotheists; and it will be seen from parts of my argument that I entertain the same idea of the Chinese. I have been surprised to learn, that by some this is regarded as a strange hypothesis without foundation. The opposite idea, that the Chinese not only have not now, but never had any knowledge of the true God, is *the strange hypothesis*, which should be most clearly established, before it is received and made a ground of argument. Christian philosophy, observation and history, all unite in testifying that the tendency of man, without divine revelation, has in religion ever been, to remove farther and farther from the truth. Such is the teaching of Paul in the first of Romans. As he came from his Maker's hand was man a polytheist?—Did man issue from the old world, wrecked by the flood, into the new, a polytheist? Although mankind soon afterwards corrupted themselves, yet do not reason and common sense, does not history inspired and profane, and does not tradition, combine in giving testimony that *distinct traces* of some knowledge of the true God did continue to exist long after the flood? Reason and common sense testify that it is very improbable that mankind in the course of two or three gene-

rations (and those were long generations) would entirely lose that knowledge of the true God possessed by their ancestors. It has already been noticed that Abraham found a priest of the Most High God, even among the notoriously wicked Canaanites, and a God-fearing Philistine in Abimelech. Now turn to Chinese history, and what do we find? Is there not one Being, and but one, revealed in their sacred books, to whom attributes are predicated, and works are ascribed such as belong only to the true God? Let it be added too, that that knowledge of this one Being appears to have been more clearly possessed, and to have exerted a far greater and controlling influence about the time that the patriarch Abraham lived, than it does now, or has done for centuries. It is not mere assumption that the Chinese once were monotheists, whatever they now may be; neither is it so, that the Greeks were. As the Greeks had a term *θεος* to distinguish that one Being, so have the Chinese, which is not *shin* but *Shángtí*.*

But the advocates of *shin* assume it to be an indisputable fact that *θεος* was the generic term, or common name to designate their objects of worship, and that the author of the Sacred Scriptures sanctioned and employed this term because it was such a generic term, embracing *all objects of worship*. If however it should appear that the Greek use of *θεος* was not thus extensive in its application, and was not used as an appellative for all their objects of worship, then we are necessarily compelled to seek *some other reason*, than the one assigned above, on account of which the sacred writers employed it to designate the true God. The fact is that *θεος* was not used by the Greeks as a common name for their objects of worship, *but only for the highest class of those objects of worship*; viz. that class which in their mythology were *esteemed divine*; *θεος* is the term used for that class *καὶ θεῶν*, and for that only. Hence it is the distinguishing title of those objects of worship, which were believed to be Deities by origin, nature, and necessarily. It was not applied to other objects of worship, of which the Greeks had myriads. But *shin* is not thus *limited to the highest class of beings* in the Chinese mythology. The whole scope of reasoning adopted by those who advocate *shin*, indicates that they do not regard the term thus limited, and hence they have claimed for *θεος*; a more extensive application than Greek classical usage sanctions.

* See on this subject and the origin of idolatry, a work entitled, "Arts, Sciences, and Antiquities of Greece and Rome," Vol. II., under the word "Genius."

approach of ordinary mortals; and have thought him to be so transcendently great, glorious and powerful, &c., as to receive no homage, regard no petitions, and take no cognizance of any of mankind, except through the appointed medium of vicegerents and mediators. Thus a people might worship myriads of objects, not one of whom would be regarded as *divine* or a God. Such seems to be the real position of the Chinese, and there is a doubt whether the emperor himself be an exception. It is therefore asking too much, to assume as a fact, that the objects worshiped by the Chinese are their Gods, especially too, when intelligent Chinese themselves most positively deny that they are so esteemed. They represent their *shin* to be the servants and agents of a great Supreme One, by whose authority they are appointed and act, to whom they are amenable, and at whose tribunal they must annually appear. Hence the annual ceremony of sending off all the *shin* on the 24th day of the 12th month. It is of small moment *how we regard their shin*, but in this search it is important to ascertain how they regard them.

What then are the objects of Chinese worship, according to their own estimation? The Chinese have two great classes of objects to which religious worship is offered. These may be distinguished by *foreign* and *native*. The former class belongs to Buddhism. This system was introduced into China nearly eighteen centuries ago. It has brought in a multitude of objects of worship. There is, however, very little pure Buddhism in China. The system has been modified to suit the tastes and customs of the people adopting it, and engrafted on a religious trunk indigenous to China. Yet one would scarcely turn to this mutilated and borrowed system to seek for the term after which we are searching, especially when it is borne in mind, that the system is regarded *heterodox*, and is one object against which the Imperial author of "the Sacred Edict" issues his bull. Buddhism and its books are of no authority, and will never be appealed to by the intelligent. Still it may be inquired, if among Buddhistical objects of worship, there be not a God, some Divine being or beings, regarded essentially and naturally so? Whatever may be the opinion of Buddhists in the land of Budha, Chinese Buddhists have no such idea. All objects of worship are regarded as holding a relation to the original Chinese Supreme One. There is a multitude of the canonized, and some who by a kind of apotheosis or absorption, have become amalgamated with the Deity, and are worshiped as patterns for imitation, and to secure their assistance in obtaining what they have attained—viz. absorption in the felicitous west. These objects of worship are rather *imported tutelary saints* than *imported Gods*.

The native *Shin* are more important to our inquiry. What are they? The most numerous class of *shin*, and regarded with the greatest dread are *kwei* 鬼, some spiritual part of man, ghosts or manes of the dead, and generically called *shin kwei* 神鬼. Are they regarded divine? Another class is the 神主 *shin chú*, ancestral tablets, and the most venerated objects of all Chinese idolatry. Among this class of objects of worship, is there, in the mind of the worshipers, the idea of there being any divine Being? By worshipping their ancestral dead, the Chinese carry out their professed principles of filial piety to *idolatry*, but not to *polytheism*.

These objects of worship are all confessedly of human origin, men and women canonized, or the ghosts of the dead, whose malignant influences are feared. Of all these too, it is worthy of remark, that the Chinese established religious ritual sanctions only the worship of the *shin chú* 神主, or ancestral worship. The common people are prohibited by the same ritual from worshipping the two following classes: 1. The *shin* of the fields and particular localities, who have been appointed to their government by a higher power, and to which power they are amenable. They are regarded as exercising only a limited and delegated authority. Certain officers of government are required to worship them. The generic term for this class, corresponding very nearly to the *genii* of the Romans is *shié tsik* 社稷. 2. A class of *shin* of supposed higher rank, who are designated according to the branch of the family to which they belong. If they belong to the visible world, they are called *tí k'í* 地祇; if to the invisible, they are called *t'ien shin* 天神. Intelligent Chinese who have such a knowledge of the Bible, as to be qualified to form an opinion, state that this class of *shin* occupy in the Chinese mind, much the same place assigned to angels in the sacred Scriptures. They are the beings commissioned and sent forth by the Supreme Ruler. No idea of divinity seems to be attached to them.

Of worshiped worthies and heroes there is an immense and still increasing catalogue.

There is another class of *shin* peculiar to the Rationalists, which probably had no existence in Chinese mythology before the time of Lútsz'. Several of these are called *Shángtí* 上帝, but with an individual title to distinguish them from the *Shángtí* of the sacred books. There is the *Yuh-kwáng Shángtí* 玉皇上帝 very generally worshiped, and the *Hüen-t'ien Shángtí*, 玄天上帝. There are other *tí* which are acknowledged by the state reli-

approach of ordinary mortals; and have thought him to be so transcendently great, glorious and powerful, &c., as to receive no homage, regard no petitions, and take no cognizance of any of mankind, except through the appointed medium of vicegerents and mediators. Thus a people might worship myriads of objects, not one of whom would be regarded as *divine* or a God. Such seems to be the real position of the Chinese, and there is a doubt whether the emperor himself be an exception. It is therefore asking too much, to assume as a fact, that the objects worshiped by the Chinese are their Gods, especially too, when intelligent Chinese themselves most positively deny that they are so esteemed. They represent their *shin* to be the servants and agents of a great Supreme One, by whose authority they are appointed and act, to whom they are amenable, and at whose tribunal they must annually appear. Hence the annual ceremony of sending off all the *shin* on the 24th day of the 12th month. It is of small moment *how we regard their shin*, but in this search it is important to ascertain how they regard them.

What then are the objects of Chinese worship, according to their own estimation? The Chinese have two great classes of objects to which religious worship is offered. These may be distinguished by *foreign* and *native*. The former class belongs to Buddhism. This system was introduced into China nearly eighteen centuries ago. It has brought in a multitude of objects of worship. There is, however, very little pure Buddhism in China. The system has been modified to suit the tastes and customs of the people adopting it, and engrafted on a religious trunk indigenous to China. Yet one would scarcely turn to this mutilated and borrowed system to seek for the term after which we are searching, especially when it is borne in mind, that the system is regarded *heterodox*, and is one object against which the Imperial author of "the Sacred Edict" issues his bull. Buddhism and its books are of no authority, and will never be appealed to by the intelligent. Still it may be inquired, if among Buddhistical objects of worship, there be not a God, some Divine being or beings, regarded essentially and naturally so? Whatever may be the opinion of Buddhists in the land of Budha, Chinese Buddhists have no such idea. All objects of worship are regarded as holding a relation to the original Chinese Supreme One. There is a multitude of the canonized, and some who by a kind of apotheosis or absorption, have become amalgamated with the Deity, and are worshiped as patterns for imitation, and to secure their assistance in obtaining what they have attained—viz. absorption in the felicitous west. These objects of worship are rather *imported tutelary saints* than *imported Gods*.

The native *Shin* are more important to our inquiry. What are they? The most numerous class of *shin*, and regarded with the greatest dread are *kwei* 鬼, some spiritual part of man, ghosts or manes of the dead, and generically called *shin kwei* 神鬼. Are they regarded divine? Another class is the 神主 *shin chú*, ancestral tablets, and the most venerated objects of all Chinese idolatry. Among this class of objects of worship, is there, in the mind of the worshipers, the idea of there being any divine Being? By worshipping their ancestral dead, the Chinese carry out their professed principles of filial piety to *idolatry*, but not to *polytheism*.

These objects of worship are all confessedly of human origin, men and women canonized, or the ghosts of the dead, whose malignant influences are feared. Of all these too, it is worthy of remark, that the Chinese established religious ritual sanctions only the worship of the *shin chú* 神主, or ancestral worship. The common people are prohibited by the same ritual from worshipping the two following classes: 1. The *shin* of the fields and particular localities, who have been appointed to their government by a higher power, and to which power they are amenable. They are regarded as exercising only a limited and delegated authority. Certain officers of government are required to worship them. The generic term for this class, corresponding very nearly to the *genii* of the Romans is *shié tsik* 社祿. 2. A class of *shin* of supposed higher rank, who are designated according to the branch of the family to which they belong. If they belong to the visible world, they are called *tí k'í* 地祇; if to the invisible, they are called *t'ien shin* 天神. Intelligent Chinese who have such a knowledge of the Bible, as to be qualified to form an opinion, state that this class of *shin* occupy in the Chinese mind, much the same place assigned to angels in the sacred Scriptures. They are the beings commissioned and sent forth by the Supreme Ruler. No idea of divinity seems to be attached to them.

Of worshiped worthies and heroes there is an immense and still increasing catalogue.

There is another class of *shin* peculiar to the Rationalists, which probably had no existence in Chinese mythology before the time of Líutsz'. Several of these are called *Shángtí* 上帝, but with an individual title to distinguish them from the *Shángtí* of the sacred books. There is the *Yuh-hwáng Shángtí* 玉皇上帝 very generally worshiped, and the *Hwien-t'ien Shángtí*, 玄天上帝. There are other *tí* which are acknowledged by the state reli-

gion, viz. the imperial canonized *ti*. The worship of these ranks with that paid to imperial ancestors, and is performed by the Emperor. But of all the *ti* only one is presented in a light which leaves the impression on the mind that he is regarded as a God, a *divine, powerful, and glorious Being*. Where is there evidence that this one Being is ever worshiped at all by any class of Chinese? All below the Emperor are by the ritual prohibited from worshipping him. The Middle Kingdom tells us this prohibition is sanctioned by the penalty of death. All *shin* are regarded as deriving their authority from this great *ti*, as being subject to him, and accountable to him, not as inferior gods to a greater God, but as servants and ministers to their sovereign and lord. Does the Emperor himself worship this one 上帝 *Shángti*? The religious province of the Emperor is to sacrifice to *t'ien* 天 and *ti* 地. Who or what are these? We do find this one *Shángti* occasionally styled *t'ien* 天, but never *t'ien ti* 天地. Moreover, we do not find any provision made for the worship of the highest class of *shin* above noticed, the *t'ien shin* 天神 and *ti k'i* 地祇? unless that worship is to be performed by the Emperor. The highest officers of government are required and allowed to worship only a class of inferior grade. In the Essay (page 31), it is said, no beings called *ti* are mentioned with the *shin* for the worship of whom national rites are established. The author conjectures the reason to be, because *Shángti* 上帝 is included among the *t'ien shin* 天神. Arguing from the genius of the Chinese institutions, the more reasonable conjecture is, that no *Shángti* is worshiped. As the Emperor himself can not be *approached except through his high ministers*, so he himself can not *approach the Supreme of all, except through the medium of his ministers*, the highest family of *shin* or spiritual beings, i. e. through *t'ien* 天 a contraction for *t'ien shin* 天神, angels belonging to heaven, and *ti* 地 a contraction for *ti k'i* 地祇 angels belonging to, or whose province relates to earth.

There are some difficulties connected with the use of *shin* as an appellative for Deity, which should be considered. The specific use of *shin* as a designation of their objects of worship in the minds of the Chinese renders it necessarily of the plural number. It will always convey, when specifically used, the idea of plurality, unless expressly, definitely and very, carefully guarded. The genius of the Chinese language is such as to render this, it may be feared, in frequent instances impossible. Again, *shin* is the only word in the Chinese language which properly signifies *spirit* and *spiritual*, as opposed to *matter* and *material*. Use it definitely and distinctively for God, and how is

spirit to be translated in the Bible? For instance, without *shin*, or a word of its precise meaning, how is it possible to *translate* (not *paraphrase*) I Cor. ii. 10, to the end of the chapter, and many other similar passages?

Another difficulty is to render many passages of Scripture intelligible if *shin* be employed for God. Though it is admitted that there are difficulties in the application of *tí*, yet they certainly appear to cluster insurmountably around *shin*. The translation of the first verse of Genesis would present a perfect enigma to a Chinese. "In the beginning, *shin* created," &c., is an astounding annunciation. The great mass of the Chinese, and all readers know that the host of their *shin* had no existence at the *k'ái pek t'ien tí* 開闢天地, "the opening of heaven and earth." We have no singular form, no article, nor other apparatus in the Chinese language, so available in other languages to define and limit, when stating general propositions; while *shin* used in the concrete is necessarily a plural, and embraces the whole family so designated. Moreover, the common and beautifully expressive phrases of Scripture, as "my God," "your," or "our God," "the God of Abraham," "of Israel," &c., can not be *translated* intelligibly by *shin*. How pitiable would it be to have Chinese scholars commenting on the phrase, "I am Jehovah your God," as I, Jehovah am your soul, spirit, or ghost. Use *shin* for God in the soul-agonizing cry of our Savior on the cross, and what idea does it convey? The substitution of *shin* for *shángtí* was attempted by a brother missionary in this passage. He writes as follows: "Wishing to ascertain how the use of *Shin* in the place of *Shángtí* would strike my teacher, I requested him to read the 1st verse of the 22d Psalm, and substitute *shin* for *shángtí*. He did so; and when called upon to give the sense in the colloquial, he burst into a long and loud roar of laughter, exclaiming, 'It will never do! it will never do! If you substitute *shin* here, it will not be understood as referring to God, but to one's own spirit. The verse will mean, My spirit, My spirit, why are you leaving me?' An intelligent Chinese friend who was present, also joined in the laughter, and remarked, 'That the passage with *shin* instead of *shángtí* presented to his mind the idea of a person sensible of the approach of insanity, and lamenting over his departing senses; My senses, My senses, why are you forsaking me?' This remark he made of his own accord. I did not call upon him to give his opinion.'

The method proposed in the Essay (page 72) to obviate this acknowledged difficulty does not untie, but simply cuts the knot. Does the "God of Abraham," &c., mean simply "the God who protected him, or

the God whom he worshiped?" What we now want, is a *translation* of the sacred Scriptures. Of *paraphrases* we have enough for present use.

Two or three of the principal objections urged against *shángtí* and *t'ien tí* 天帝 it may be of use here also to notice. It is said to be too limited a term, both in meaning and application to translate the original terms in the Bible for God. One writer goes into a minute investigation of the lexicographical meaning of *tí* 帝 *sháng* 上 and *t'ien* 天, to ascertain whether divine attributes may be found revealed by either alone, or by any combination of them. Such is not the question at issue. We wish the Chinese application of *tí* with one of these terms as a prefix. This is the true use. And every Chinese scholar can not but know, *that if there be a term in the Chinese language used by way of eminence for Deity it is this, and only this term.* And if, as I think has been shown, that a term to be analogous to Θεός must be the distinguishing term for Deity, this must be the term, "malgré all objections." Change the form of the objection a little, and it will apply with overwhelming force to *shín*. It is too unlimited in meaning and application to be used for God. So unlimited, indeed, that in 256 instances selected and quoted in the "Imperial Thesaurus" expressly to illustrate the meaning of *shín*, not one of them necessarily means a divine being.

But are the words composing the term proposed to be used really so limited and defective in meaning? Is it not quite as comprehensive as Θεός? This, it is supposed means "the *Ordainer*," and *Shángtí* "the *Supreme Ruler*," or *T'ientí*, "The *Heavenly Ruler*." The two ideas surely are not so very far removed from each other. We are not seeking after a term which will itself express the attributes and character of God, for such a term has never existed in any language. Those attributes and that character must be learned, as we have learned them, not from the words *God* and Θεός, but from God's book and works.

The limited application of *shángtí* or *t'ientí* has been felt to be a more serious objection to its adoption. Shall we conclude that because the *Chinese have never sunk so low in polytheism* as the Greeks had, therefore the Chinese term for Deity *xaí' εἰς ἑῶν* is too limited to translate the Greek term? This is the true position of the case. Can we yield our judgment to such a conclusion, and *lament over the Chinese for being in theory so nearly monotheistical* as they seem to be. Still on account of an unclassical use of Θεός in some instances in the sacred Scriptures, and the unbending character of the Chinese language, there is no doubt a real difficulty as to how Θεός should be trans-

lated where the word is used for objects of worship in general. Neither *shángti*, *t'ientí*, nor *tí* alone, will cover the ground. But have not the Chinese a term of definite application which will just cover the ground of *theoi* thus used? This term I think to be *shin ming* 神明, which is not so unlimited as *shin* 神, and if I mistake not, is a more dignified expression. Is there any sufficient reason, to cause an invariable adherence to the same term, to translate *θεος* and *θεοί*, without any regard to the local meaning and application? For the want of such a term in the Greek language as *shin ming* 神明 seems to be in the Chinese, the sacred writers were compelled to make an unphilosophical use of *theoi*. The suggestion I therefore would make is, that when the idea of the sacred Scriptures is *polytheism* (as is the case in the First Commandment), the term used to translate God should be invariably employed: but when *theoi* is employed in an extensive sense embracing all idols, and so idolatry is the mental idea, then *shin ming* 神明 should be introduced.

But is there not danger that the Chinese will confound the true God with their own idols, if we use *tí*? What if another Kánghí should arise and refuse baptism, "always excusing himself by saying he worshiped the same God with the Christians." What answer could be given? The Greeks in hearing Paul preach of God by the name of *ὁ θεός*, could have raised the same difficulty. And the manner in which Paul managed when placed in circumstances somewhat similar, will be safe and easy to the missionary; that is, turn to the excuser himself, and say, 'The God "whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you."

Experience is better than theory, and the former must be followed when the two clash. Dr. Morrison's theory was that *shin* must be used for God. His experience, especially in his late years, seems to have been that *shin* was not adequate to express God, and he resorted to various combinations of Chinese characters to reveal the true God, and even used *shángti*. This is a fact worthy of serious reflection.

Let me beg that so important a question may be investigated, rather than speculated on; on its decision mainly hangs the issue, whether the Chinese shall soon have the sacred Scriptures or not. The more we investigate Chinese authorities, and compare them with standard works on the Greek mythology, the more will we be constrained, it appears to me, to something like the following conclusions:—

1. That *tí* of the Chinese, and *θεος* of the Greeks, as used by natives, are very nearly synonymous. Both designate *καὶ ἐσθλῆν* that class of beings by each respective people esteemed highest in rank among their

objects of worship ; and also that these terms can properly be predicated only of such class.

2. That there is a no less remarkable analogy in the use of *skin* and *δαίμων*. As *δαίμων* may be predicated of all the *θεοί*, so *skin* 神 may be predicated of all the *τι* 神; but as *θεοί* is never predicated of *δαίμονες*; so also, *τι* is never predicated of *skin*. There is also a remarkable analogy of meaning between the two terms. Both convey the idea of spirituality and intelligence generally of a character and order more than human. Again, the demonology of the Greeks embraced good and bad spirits, though generally good, from the souls of men, manes, lares, penates, genii, and upwards; and objects of worship from the lowest to the highest rank: so also the Chinese doctrines of *skin* include all from the lowest to the highest beings which are objects of worship, and many which are not objects of worship, not only benignant but also malignant spirits. The doctrine and practice of the Chinese concerning their *skin* is a remarkable acting over again of the demonolatriy of Greece. It is a system of demonolatriy and nothing else.

3. The term borrowed from the Greek language to designate the God of the Bible, was not selected by the translators of the Septuagint, nor employed by the Savior and his Apostles, because it was the *common name* by which *the heathen designated their objects of worship*. Classical writers in Greek it appears did not so use *θεός*. There is scarcely a doubt that *θεός* was thus selected and employed just because it was the only term used for Deity *καὶ ἐξοχῆν*. It was found to be the distinguishing term used to designate the highest in rank of all spiritual beings; but which were not however called *θεοί* because they were spiritual beings.

4. That as *τι* has been misapplied, because of supposed resemblance in dignity and office, to a mortal ruler, so also *θεός* in like manner was applied as a title of the emperors.

5. That it is extremely doubtful, whether any being worshiped by the Chinese, is by them regarded as a divine being. At most there is but one, the *Shángtí* of antiquity, and he worshiped only by the emperor. Consequently, a general term by which the objects to whom the Chinese offer religious worship are designated, can not be a generic term for Deity. Again, the Chinese mythology, in which there is only one Being at all recognized as being divine, does not contain, and can not furnish a proper generic term for Deity. Not having an idea of such a class of beings, the Chinese language assuredly will not afford a generic term for it.

6. That *skin* is never employed for God by way of eminence ; never so employed as to distinguish any being or class of beings, from any other being or beings as God or Gods. Consequently if a *κατ' ἐξοχήν* term be necessary to translate *Θεός*, *skin* can not be that term. It is the only term in the Chinese language which generically means *spirit* and *spiritual*. The falseness of the position that such a term is adequate to translate *Θεός*, and become the distinguishing name of the divine Being, will be manifest by these two syllogisms :—

1st. God is a spirit. The soul of man is a spirit. Therefore the soul of man is God.

2d. God is a *skin*. But *skin* is a spirit. Therefore *skin* a spirit is God, and an adequate term to translate a term which means God. This reasoning is no more absurd in one case than the other.

Such are the views which I have been constrained to embrace. The "Essay" with all its labored argument, fastened the conviction on my mind that *skin* could not be the term we needed ; other advocates of the same views only have deepened that conviction. "An Inquiry into the proper mode of rendering the word God," &c., advocating *τί*, nearly produced a similar conviction concerning this term. The position of a missionary thus situated was not very agreeable, his great business being to make God known, and yet destitute of a name through which to reveal him. The result of investigations occasioned chiefly from such a state of mind, I have here spread out. Hoping these views may prove of some use in the investigation, they have been given though with reluctance. If they be wrong I would rejoice exceedingly to see my error. If they be correct, may the Author of the Bible by his Holy Spirit so guide each of us that we may see and yield to the truth ; and thus prevent any from standing in the way of the universal spread of the sacred oracles among this multitudinous nation of dark-minded idolaters.

[*Note.* We have taken the liberty of inserting the entire communication from the China Mail referred to by our Correspondent, on page 192, for which we trust he will not be displeased. The general argument of the paper we commend to the consideration of those interested in the discussion, and will, with the permission of the writer, here only refer to two or three points in it which are not clear to our own mind. On page 198, the writer speaks of the *skin* being "servants and agents of a great Supreme One," and being all sent off on the 24th day of the 12th month to appear at his tribunal. We have made such inquiry in respect to this statement as we have had opportunity, both from "intelligent" natives and from books, and can find no authority for it. In the *Siu Shin Ki*, it is stated to be done by the *Taiu shin*, or god of the Furnace, who ascends on that day to the presence of Yuh-hwang Shángti, to report upon the conduct of the household during the year ; and every one says he is the only *skin* who does it. We should be glad to have

the matter fully illustrated by a reference to books, for if such be the case, the attributes of Shángti are different from what we had supposed.

The distinction made between *idolatry* and *polytheism* on page 199, and the remark that a people may "worship myriads of objects, not one of whom would be regarded as *divine* or a God," is we think calculated to confuse the minds of those who employ these words in their usual English acceptation. Webster defines *idol* to be "an image consecrated as an object of worship, a pagan deity;" *polytheism* is the "doctrine of a plurality of gods;" *divine* is, among other meanings, defined as "pertaining to a heathen deity or false gods;" and *god* and *deity* are explained as synonyms. The reference to the usage of Papal and Greek churches on page 197, compared with the description on page 200 of one *it*, that "he is regarded as a God, a powerful and glorious Being," conveys the idea that the writer looks upon the Shángti of the classics as the true God, and the *shis* as deified or canonized saints. If such be the just inference, does not this term then become the *proper* name for God, and not the *appellative*, as proposed at the commencement of the article? The whole argument seems to us a little confused from the restricted signification imposed upon some of the terms employed.—*Ed. C. R.*

ART. III. *Japan: A Translation of the 12th Chapter of the Hái-kwoh Tú Chí, 海國圖誌 or Notices of Foreign Countries, illustrated with Maps and Engravings. Published at the city of Yáng-chau fú in Kiángsú, in the summer of 1847.*—(Continued from page 156.)

The Lui Káu of Yü Chingsieh, published in the year kweitsz' (1713?).

[I have been unable to find anything about this author, or his work. He is probably a writer of the present dynasty, but the year *kweitsz'* may be 1713, 1773, or 1833. It is most natural to suppose that these extracts are all arranged in the chronological order of the works to which they belong, and as that from which the next to this is taken appeared in 1730, we may perhaps not err in taking the first of the three, which will put it in the 52d year of K'ángli.]

In the reign Wán-lih (1571-1619), the Japanese seized Formosa, and towards the close of the same period the red-haired men of Holland from the Western ocean, attempted to take possession of Hiángshán, but not being able, they made an attempt on the Pánghú (Pescadores) which was equally unsuccessful, and so they went southward and seized the Moluccas and Batavia. They seduced the Batavians into using opium, which swelled them out so that they could not move, and they were accordingly reduced to vassalage by the Dutch. A short time after, these collected a force of picked men, with which they attacked the town of Hiángshán, but being defeated in fight, they sailed east for the Pescadores, whence they sent persons to bribe the *siunfú* of Fuhkien with large sums, quoting the case of the Italians, [who had been allowed] to reside long before in Hiángshán, in favor of their being put in possession of the Pescadores as they

had requested. The *sinfú*, however, deputed messengers to speak them fair (or to put them off with fair words), so they made an offer to the Japanese in Formosa to pay them annually 30,000 deer-skins for a place of trade on that island. As the Japanese residing in Formosa happened to have recently embraced Christianity, they consented forthwith; the Dutch raised the walls of Chihkán, the modern market-town of Án-ping,* there to dwell, and once having gotten their territory were constantly picking quarrels with them. The Japanese, on the other hand, who from the time they became imbued with their doctrines had never been victorious, went eastward (to Japan), with all belonging to them, and so excited were they against the Christian religion that they put to death all their own people who practiced it, and at the same time, restrained the inhabitants of Lewchew from following it.

The Dutch having now obtained possession of Formosa set up *Kweiyih*,† and went no more to the eastward.‡

Ching Chilung,|| a native of Fuhkien, who had married a woman of Japan, lived at Formosa with his family, and when the Japanese went last from that island, he equipped and manned a fleet, and became a privateer. In the 2d year of Shunchí of the Tá Tsing dynasty (1645), he sent a memorial from Án-ping to tender his submission. His son, Ching Kihshwáng escaped to sea, and in the latter years of the same reign attacked Formosa at the head of a fleet of several hundred sail; the Dutch, overpowered by numbers, withdrew to Batavia where they remained abiding their time. Such of the Formosans as still adhered to the Christian religion, and were called "the sect of the doctrine," Ching Kihshwáng utterly annihilated. At the commencement of the reign of K'ánghí, he submitted, and the emperor proposed abandoning Formosa; but this was stoutly opposed by Shí-láng, who said that to abandon it would be to make the Dutch a present of it? It ended by its being divided into major and minor districts, and the fame [of the opposing statesman] has reached the present time.

* Most likely Fort Zealandia, a little to the north of the chief city of Tái-wán.

† *Kweiyih*, in the dialect of Fuhkien *Kwei-it*, probably means Coyet, the governor with whom the Fuhkien authorities corresponded upon the subject of putting down Koshinga.

‡ The East. The text does not sufficiently explain whether the east of the island of Formosa is meant, or the island of Japan; a construction quite compatible with the writer's probable ignorance of the relative position of the two countries.

|| Ching Chilung, father of Ching Kihshwáng, known as Koshinga, or, as the Portuguese write it, Koxinga. The father died in prison at Peking. The Dutch after 30 years' tenure were expelled in 1662, and the island of Formosa finally passed into the hands of the Chinese government in 1683. (See Chinese Repository, Vol. II. page 415.)

*Chin Lunkiung. Collection of Particulars of Foreign States.**

Corea (says this work) lies to the northeast of the world.† To the south of it, separated from it by a single sea, is the island of 'Tui-ma, a possession of Japan, which with a fair wind may be reached from the former place in one night. To the southward of 'Tuima, from E. to E. N. E. of the compass,‡ stretches a chain of seventy-two islands all in a state of vassalage to Japan. The only one which has commercial intercourse with China is Chángkí, and this produces millet and other grain, but in so small a quantity as barely suffices for the consumption of its own population. Such of them as trade are therefore members of a public establishment; a general estimate of their profits is made at the close of the year, and these are equally divided amongst the whole population according to the number of persons in a family.

The residence of the sovereign is nearly a month's journey by land north-east from Cháng-kí, the name of the place is Mí-yá-kuh (Miako), which being interpreted, means the Capital city.|| He wears the Chinese headdress and habiliments. The nation are in the habit of using the Chinese character, reading it with Japanese sounds. The power of appointing persons to office and removing them from it, and the administration of all public business is vested in a generalissimo; the monarch (regnant) interferences in nothing, and has only to spend his income and receive his tribute (or revenue) §

Although in passing between Púto and Chángkí, the course is due east and west, the currents are perverse, and the danger from winds and waves so great as to have given rise to the popular saying:—

Jih-pun háu ho 日本好貨 Goodly are the wares of Japan,

Wát áu nán kwo 五島難過 But the Wu táu are hard to pass.

* *Hái-kuoh Wan-kien Luh. Record of Things seen and heard in Foreign States*, by Chin Lunkiung. It appeared in 1730. The author, when young, accompanied his father, who appears to have been a naval officer on several expeditions, and at a later period himself held important coast commands.

† The world, *t'ien tsí*, heaven and earth, which may also mean the empire of China.

‡ The compass, arranged according to the eight diagrams of the Book of Changes.

|| Chinese Repository, Vol. IX. p. 305. "The *Mikado* is the acknowledged emperor, absolute alike in spiritual and temporal affairs; the *Siogoun* is a military chief, professedly the vicegerent or lieutenant of the emperor."

§ Tribute or revenue. This word 貢 is used for the tribute tendered by dependent states, and also for the quota of their produce levied on particular districts, exclusive of any regular taxes. In an edict upon the death of the empress dowager (Jan. 23.), the emperor 'Taukwáng desires that none be presented for the space of one year. Kwángtung sends gifts of oranges, lí-chbis, fans of the flag leaf, scents of several kinds, and grass-cloth.

The generalissimo has only an occasional audience of him.

In the contests that have occurred on the change of a dynasty, the struggle has never been for the hierarchy, but for the post of generalissimo. It is related in the Japanese histories, that since the foundation of the state to the present time, the former has continued in the same family; that once upon a time, when a generalissimo usurped the monarchy, the hills and seas yielded not their produce, the five species of grain came not up, the order of nature was disturbed; but that on his returning to his post as minister, everything reverted to its ancient course. Since that time no one has had the evil ambition to aspire to the throne.

The families of the ministry inherit their offices and salaries in perpetuity, and as under the Hán dynasty in China, the officers are styled* *Ts'z-shí Tsien-shih*. Their incomes are large enough to keep them from corruption, and it is therefore seldom that they break the laws; thus for instance, they give the *kiái kwán* (officers of the streets) annually elected, who are the same as our *hiáng páu* (head-boroughs), 50 *kin* a year.† They have all much leisure, and but little business to transact. Persons conversant with literature and arts are great people, are treated with extreme courtesy, and exempted from scutage. The habits of the people are particularly cleanly; the streets are constantly scrubbed and washed; the husband and wife do not eat off the same dish;‡ and the servants throw away the leavings of their superiors.

The wealthy walk and sit upon cotton rugs, the poor upon grass mats, and the number of persons in a house is estimated by that of the carpets and floor-cloths in it.||

The collar worn by both men and women is broad, the sleeves full, and the dress so long as to brush the ground; these are figured with flowered patterns, or dyed in various colors. For trowsers, they use a roll of silk wrapped around their legs; and their feet are clad in short socks and shoes down at the heel. The men stick daggers in their girdles, cut their beards, and shave (or pluck) the crown

* In the first part of the 100th chapter of the *Pei Wan Yun-fú*, under the word 石 *shih*, a stone, a quotation is given from a work treating of the Hán, as follows: "Wú-tí (6th of the Western Hán) appointed *Tss'-shí* to the charge of certain divisions of the empire: *Ch'ing-tí* changed this title to *Muh* (a shepherd), his rank (i. e. the salary attached to it) being 200 *shih*, viz. of grain."

† *Kin* 金 gold; there is no means of ascertaining what sum or value is meant.

‡ Do not use the same broth spoon.

|| This expression is explained to be equivalent to our counting heads, the Chinese, mouths; &c.

of their heads. They let the hair grow on their temples and around to the back of their heads, in a strip above an inch wide, tying up a handful of it behind, and trimming it as it grows. The women do not rouge themselves, but lay on a white cosmetic; neither do they wear fresh flowers, or flowers cut out of colored silk, hair-pins or ear-rings, but they put tortoise-shell in their hair, which is dark and-like the clouds for thickness. They burn the *nán-muá* and *chín-hiáng* as perfumes. The top-knots of the females are gathered up before and behind. They leave no rim to the finger nails, simply because they are afraid of its taking up the dirt. The eyebrows, eyes, and complexions of both sexes are such as no foreigner can form an idea of. All have a double surname; those with a single one being descended from the youths and maidens betrothed to each other by Sii-fuh.* The place in which he dwelt is called the home of Sii, and his grave is at the foot of the mountain Hiung-chí.

The Japanese are of the Buddhist persuasion, and esteem in particular the bonzes of China. They adore their ancestors, and keep the graves and chapels of the dead constantly clean. They hold life so cheap that when any one is detected in a breach of the law, he goes off to the wilds or the hills, and commits suicide by ripping up his belly; he implicates no one else. Their code is very severe. They do not wrangle or fight, and when they speak it is in a subdued tone. They clap their hands when they want to summon their attendants, and these reply by an ejaculation of assent. They do not buy or sell human beings, but when the hireling's term of service is completed, he returns to his home.

There are two dependencies under the government of Japan; to the north, the island of Tuima, bordering upon Corea, which sends tribute to Tuima as the latter does to Japan; and to the south Sa-tungma, which is close to Lewchew, and pays tribute to Satungma, as that island does to Japan. The chiefs of both these islands are subject to the authority of Japan.

Its climate and seasons correspond with those of Shántung, Kiángs⁶, and Chehkiáng. The heights of Chángkí (Nagasaki?) in Japan and Puto in China, lie east and west of each other. The voyage by sea is forty watches (80 hours) long; from Amoy to Chángkí, seventy-two. With a north wind you go in by the Wú-táu (Five Islands) Channel;

* Sii-fuh was sent by the first monarch of the Tsin dynasty (about 200 B.C.) in search of a plant growing, as a spirit told him, in the east, which gave immortality to those who ate it. He took 500 youths and maidens with him, and never returned.

when the wind is southerly, by that of T'ien-t'áng. Tuima lies abreast of Tang-chau; Satungma, of Wan-chau and Tai-chau.* The produce of the land consists of gold, silver, and copper, lacquer-ware, crockery, and letter-paper, colored, or stamped with flowers and plants. The sea yields amber, haliotis, beche-de-mêr, and fine sea-weeds. The mountains of Satungma are lofty and precipitous; the streams deep and their waters cold, hence the cutlery [tempered in them] is very sharp. Horses are also among its productions. Its inhabitants are robust. The pirates of the period Kíatsing (see page 138) were from Satungma.

When Japan first sent trading vessels to Yungkiá, eighteen Japanese fishermen were driven by the winds to China, and induced by certain bad characters to commit acts of disorder. The latter trimmed their beards and shaved their heads [in Japanese fashion], mixed up in their speech the local dialect of some distant place, and thus confederated, they robbed and plundered. Their gang was called the *Wo nú*, Japanese slaves, but when they were at length taken, there were but these eighteen men of Japan amongst them. The vessels of that country were thereupon prohibited from trading to China, but permission was given to ours (the Chinese) to go to Japan, and up to the present time no ship from it has ventured hither.

† Although in passing between Púto and Chángkí, the course is due east and west, the currents are perverse, and the danger from winds and waves so great as to have given rise to the popular saying:—

Jih-pun háu ho 日本好貨 Goodly are the wares of Japan,

Wá táu nán kwo 五島難過 But the Wá táu are hard to pass.

A ship sailing from Amoy to Chángkí, with a southerly wind, sights the head of Kí-lung (Quilon) on Formosa; to the north of which she finds the Mí-káng and Hiáng-sin seas; she next makes the Tá-shán and Tientáng mountains on Sa-tung-ma, and then steers a straight course [or due north]. In one of the seas aforesaid, the surface of the water is as if it were covered with rice-husks (*mí-káng*), and the bubbles of the other are like mushrooms (*hiáng-sin*); hence their names.

Lewchew lies to the south of Sa-tung-ma, in an E.S.E. direction. The voyage to it is computed to be 68 watches. It is the same as the

* It is not certain what all the places here mentioned are called on foreign maps. Tuima is undoubtedly Tsu-sima, an island lying northeast of Quelpaert I. in the Straits of Corea. The Wá-táu are the Gotto Is. off Nagasaki, or Chángkí,—a name having the same meaning, "Long Cape," in both the Chinese and Japanese languages. Satungma is either Tanega sima or Yakuno sima, lying off Satzuma, and regarded as dependencies of that principality.

† This sentence is inserted by mistake at the foot of page 208, but is repeated here in its proper connection.

state of Chungshán. Its natives use the written character of China. They are a weakly race, and their country is poor; its produce consists of copper utensils, paper, mother-of-pearl, and tortoise-shell, but they have no trade.

To the east of Japan and Lewchew, the current sets entirely in an easterly direction, and the sea is consequently called *Wí-lá*, the Back-door.*

Nán-hwái-jin's Geography of the Whole World.†

Japan is a large island, 3200 *li* in length, and not above 600 broad. It comprises at present sixty-six departments, each of them under the rule of a chief, or prince. Its inhabitants give the preference to manly power: although there is a supreme sovereign, all authority remains with a powerful minister. The people are much addicted to war, and but little to letters. The country produces gold, iron, and fine lacquer-ware. The monarch abdicates in favor of his son when the latter has passed his thirtieth year. The natives do not attach much value to precious stones, but chiefly prize gold, silver, and old porcelain.

Hwang-ting Tung-káu Sz'-t-mun; or Book of the Four Barbarian Races, in the General Synopsis published under the reigning dynasty.

In ancient times Japan was known as the dependent state of Wo. In the period Hien-hang of the T'áng dynasty, its name was changed to Jih-pun. It is stated by some one that Jih-pun was a minor state, the name of which was assumed by that of Wo, when the latter included it in its integrity. It is situated in the Eastern ocean; its northern and eastern extremities are traversed by high mountains. The land rises to the east and falls to the west, in form like a dragon-fly; the *Tsing-ting kwoh*, or Dragon-fly country, was also an ancient name of the island. It comprises five principal divisions, seven circuits, and three islands, containing 115 departments, subdivided into 587 inferior districts, which are all mountainous and indented with bays;‡ the largest not exceeding in size a Chinese village.

*尾閤 A figure not remarkable for its delicacy, taken from the sewer of a house, or the like exit, where refuse is poured out without the possibility of returning. The *Pei Wan Yun fú* gives the following passage from Chwáng-tsz' (B.C. 250) "Of the waters of the world, the largest is the ocean; a myriad streams are poured into it incessantly, yet it never fills; the *wí-lá* drains it incessantly, yet it is never empty." *Wí-lá*, says the glossary, also quoted, is the name of a stream to the east of the ocean. The geographical position of China offers some explanation of the impression.

† *Nán-hwái-jin* was a European; his work was compiled under this dynasty.

‡ *Kí-tí i shwui yá* 皆依水嶼 Such is the rendering insisted on by one teacher: others seem to think that it merely means a mountainous coast line.

Dependent upon it are some tens of states. It has a hierarch, whose succession has continued from the creation to the present time, without a change; he takes no part in politics, and has no control over the army; nor has he ought to do, save to enjoy his royal revenue from generation to generation. The *wáng* (executive sovereigns) who administer the state, and command the forces, have not been always the same, but have risen or fallen with the fortunes of the time, according to the degree of their influence. There is an officer entitled the *kwán pèh*, whose functions are the same as those of the Chinese *ching-siáng*,* who has also changed with each succeeding dynasty. He has the special charge of the civil government, and of the forces. The four clans of Ping, Yuen, Táng, and Kieh, the most powerful families in Japan, have each in turn usurped the executive sovereignty. There is no historical authority for the order of the succession of the princes, and the appointments of the ministers, save the *Wú-tí King*,† a work in 52 chapters by the Japanese bonze, 'Tiáu-jen, which embraces a period of 87 years, viz., from the 5th of Chí-ching, the *mikado* of Anteh, to the third of Wanyung of Kwei-shán-yuen. This is minute in details, but treats briefly of important matters. In the extracts made by Lí Yenlung from the Annals of Japan, the customs of the country are given with tolerable precision, but the chronology is confused in its order.

The sovereign's surname is traditionally *Wáng* (the king); his residence is at a place called *Mí-yá-kuh* (Miako), which being interpreted means "the capital," to the northeast of *Chángkí*, from which the journey to it by land occupies nearly a month. It is farther from *Liáutung* than from *Fuhkien* and *Chehkiáng*.

The Chronicles (of the Ming) tell us that to go by water from *Tái-fáng* to the country of *Wo*, you must keep along *Corea*, steer south and east, traverse three seas, and after coasting along seven countries, and sailing 12,000 *li*, you will reach Japan. In another place they say, that to the district of *Loh-lang* as well as to *Tái-fáng* the distance is 12,000 *li*, to the east of *Hwui-kí*, and not far from *Tán-'rh*. By Japan they mean its capital, the circuitousness of the route to which accounts for the language of the Chronicles; for, as far as Japan is concerned,

* *Ching-siáng*, 丞相 e. g. the *tá hioh-sz'* of the present dynasty.

† *Wú-tí King*, 吳妻鏡 My Handmaid's Mirror. The name is said to be chosen as indicative of the intention of the writer to confine himself to matters relating to home alone, without digressing to foreign subjects. The word rendered 'handmaid' is properly concubine, or wife of the second degree.

the island of Tuima which forms part of it is only separated by a single sea from Corea, and is to be reached in one night with a fair breeze.*

In the reign of Lisung, king of Corea, many years ago, the *kwánpé* of Japan made war upon him for seven years without intermission, and eight circuits were several times nearly lost. Since the annexation of Corea to China, under the present dynasty, the Japanese have been awed into a state of submissive tranquillity.

In the 4th year of the period Tsungteh (1647),† the king of the Japanese islands commanded Ping-chí-lien and Tang-chí-shing to write a letter to Corea, worded as follows: "During the past year the great prince has been ill; he has in consequence not attended to the administration of his government for some time. In the spring of this year he recovered. The productions of your honorable country required as necessaries by the ministers (or vassals) of the great monarch are very many; those of late received from it, but few. The trade with China permitted under the T'áng dynasty having been moreover cut off, the great monarch has no means of meeting the requisitions of his ministers, and he therefore expects your honorable nation to make good every one of the articles which have not been supplied since the year *yih-hái* (1624) up to the present date, that there be no misunderstanding between our two nations. The governor of Shamo chau has resolved upon peace with Lewchew, the governor of F'i-tsieu chau with the southern barbarians; and the annual receipts from both these people are considerable. The sovereign of Japan has resolved upon peace with your honorable nation, but what must he think of the trifles he receives from you as compared with what is sent by the other two?" The king of Corea transmitted this letter to the Emperor, observing that the intentions of the Japanese were not to be seen through, and that it would be as well to direct the officers in charge of the coast to cause steps to be taken for its defense; to the

* The above is a very free translation of the passage, which is somewhat perplexing to a foreign geographer, inasmuch as Hwui-ki is in Chehkiáng, and Tán-rh which is to be approached on the voyage to Miako, in Hái-nán I. The sense may be assumed to be that of the paraphrase, as in a statistical work upon the chief divisions of Hái-nán, a teacher declares that it is laid down that Tán-rh is only a single sea's distance from Japan; that on a clear day the houses of the latter place are visible from it, and that in a still night the cocks may be heard to crow and the dogs to bark! The error arises from a vague conception of the southing to be made from Corea to weather the Japanese group, and is hardly so wonderful in a people who have little inducement to improvement as a maritime power, as some of the mistakes made by Portuguese and Spanish voyagers much about the time the Annals of the Ming were compiled.

† This is the period of the father of the first monarch of the present dynasty, which usurped the throne of the Ming in 1614.

prevention of mischief. Japan was, at this time on the lookout for a pretext to make war on Corea, and the fact that the latter was nevertheless unharmed by her troops, is to be entirely ascribed to the terror inspired by the Majesty of Heaven.

In the 2d moon of the 7th year (1650), a son was born to the sovereign of Japan, who thereupon held a festival in propitiation of good fortune, and demanded a subsidy from Corea of the utensils necessary for the sacrifices. In the 3d moon of the 8th year (1651), Japan sent again to Corea to require that in all letters, the son born should be spoken of in the same terms as the monarch himself; and some blank white paper with his official stamp upon it was exacted of the king of Corea. Permission was given to Tsung,* at his request, to send an envoy to Japan with congratulations, who might take the opportunity of observing the state of affairs there.

From the time of Shunchí (1644), there has been commercial intercourse with the Japanese, but they bring no tribute; the trade too is in Chinese vessels only, which went to Japan, none of her ships coming to China. The commerce with China is carried on at Chángkí, where the dealers trade in the various descriptions of goods there collected together; and there are besides this, 71 islands to the east and south of Tuima, all Japanese territory. The country abounds in copper, which has supplied the mintage of the present dynasty. In addition to the Yunnán quota, there used to be annually purchased a fixed amount of 4,430,000 catties odd, for the provinces of Ngánhwui, Kiángsí, Kiángsú, and Chehkiáng. Government dealers were appointed, and the number of ships fixed at sixteen, all of which trade outwards in the manufactured and raw silks, cotton, sugar, and drugs of the Inner Land. The monopolists in charge of the copper were obliged to take a certificate of the Japanese, under which their purchases might be examined and passed. For the fractional quantities, in excess of the above, which amounted to some one or two hundred chests, a smaller certificate was taken. After being two or three years in force, these regulations fell into desuetude (or they were no longer of avail).

The inhabitants of Sheh-moishi and Joh-tso-poh-to boast of their merchants, some of whom amass fortunes of a million [taels.] In the single island of Hotsiuen they observe the Chinese fashion of striking a bell to summon people to meals when the table is laid. The people of the hamlet of Yingko in Samo are acquainted with the rules of

* *Tsung* is most probably the king of Corea, but from the abruptness with which the character is thrust into the text, I incline to consider it a misprint for some particle.

politeness, and attach importance to a transgression of laws. The unshaven bonzes of Iki, who have 3800 monasteries, are the only people whose character is somewhat violent and sanguinary.

The whole of the districts, major and minor, are under the three military chieftainships of Shán-k'au, Funghau, and Chuhyun, the three chiefs of which fight with and plunder each other. Of the three, Funghau is the most powerful division, but all are subject to the general control of the sovereign who resides at Shán-ching. A large proportion of those who made piratical incursions during the time of the Ming, were inhabitants of Samo, Fshau and Chángmun. Their ravages are all to be ascribed to the intrigues of traitorous Chinese, who tempted the Japanese brought together by the trading vessels.

The personal appearance of the inhabitants of Japan is fine. Its climate and seasons correspond with those of Kiángsú and Chehkiáng, and it produces every sort of pottery, as well as lacquer-ware and gilt figured paper. The handsomest horses come from Samo, the ground of which yields copper. Numbers of cutlers frequent the place, and the weapons made by them are extremely sharp, and are therefore commonly worn by Japanese in their belts. Amber, beche-de-mêr and haliotis are the produce of the seas.

The northernmost of the dependencies of Japan is Tui-ma, which is not far from Corea; the southernmost is Samo in the vicinity of Lewchew. Tuima is exactly in the same parallel with Wan-chau and Tai-chau. The high points of Chángkí and Púto are east and west of each other. From this side to that, the voyage is 40 watches long. From Amoy to Chángkí, with a northerly wind; you enter by the Wú-táu (Five Islands); with a southerly wind by Tientáng, the voyage being 72 watches.

The division of a night and a day into ten watches was invented by seafaring men on account of the impracticability of measuring their track by *li*. They accordingly note the *li* by the number of watches.

Extract from the *Ngau-mun Liok*, or Records of Macao.

The prohibitions of the Japanese government against the doctrines of the Lord of Heaven are very severe. In the stones of the Batavian quay is engraved a crucifix, and at the entrance of the street, on either side of the way, are soldiers standing with drawn swords. Persons trading with the country are obliged to enter [the city] by the way of the crucifix (i. e. treading upon it); if they turn back, or to the right or left, they are immediately decapitated. There is also an image of

side of the way, are soldiers standing with drawn swords. Persons trading with the country are obliged to enter [the city] by the way of the crucifix (i. e. treading upon it); if they turn back, or to the right or left, they are immediately decapitated. There is also an image of Jesus (Yé-sú) fashioned of stone, fixed in the threshold of the gate of the city, that it may be trampled upon. The barbarian ships of the Portuguese (or westerns) consequently do not venture to this country to trade.

Extract from the *Wán Kwoh Tí-lí Tsien-tú Tsik*, or Synopsis of Universal Geography, illustrated with maps.

[This extract was not in the earlier edition, nor is it certain when the author wrote. The writer of the work from which the last portion of the chapter is selected lived in the reign Kánghi.]

Japan (says the above) consists of three hilly islands, whereof the largest is Chungshán. In this too, is the royal residence. Its shores are indented with bays, into which run numerous streams, and there are ports of trade all along them. The country within is full of mountains, which produce silver and copper; but the soil is not fertile, the natives are not used to eat meat, and do not keep pigs or poultry; agriculture is their only occupation (as farmers): they put up sheds on the hills to work the mines and are very expert in the excavation of ways and passages.

The Japanese are not the same as the men of HÁN, and there is also a difference in their personal appearance and their oral language; and although they are beholden to China for their written character, and study the ceremonial forms of the Chinese, their ideas do not correspond with those of the latter.

They are short of stature, their eyes are deep set, and their noses flat. They shave the head only in front, allowing the hair to grow long behind, and binding it up in a short queue, which they lay on the top of the head. Their garb is a long robe, they never put on trousers, and wear slipshod sandals on their feet. They eat nothing but rice, vegetables, fish, and tortoises, but they swallow a large quantity of wine, even to a drunken excess; and are greatly addicted to women; the whole country being filled with courtesans.

All classes, whether rich or poor, inherit the station of their fathers from generation to generation. Those on whom hereditary principalities are bestowed, carry a sword and dagger, and govern each one his own territory; but they are obliged either to reside at the Capital, or to send a son or grandson thither as a hostage. From the sovereign to the plebeian, all are amenable to established law. The sovereign

can not incur expense or travel about amusing himself at his pleasure ; ministers of rank are charged with his superintendence, so that he himself lives like a prisoner in his palace. The cabinet ministers are not either masters of themselves, but are also restricted by the code, which has fixed provisions for the movements of the grandees, and for their sleeping and diet. It is only the lower orders that are permitted to act as they like in these respects, but if they break the law, the penalties are extremely severe, and no mercy whatever is shown to them. The feeling of the people [towards the government] is consequently one of fear, and not of reverence or affection.

From ancient times to the present, the state has always been under the rule of two monarchs. The actual * monarch of former days now wields a spiritual authority, and he passes his life in his hall like a priest, differing in no respect from a wooden idol ; the secondary sovereign holds in his hands all power over the troops, and all administrative authority. The literati and people amount to 20,000,000, and are excellent as scholars, agriculturists, mechanics, and merchants. The greater portion of all three islands is so rocky, that if they were not diligent in sowing the ground, the people would die of famine. Their artisans make lacker-ware boxes and fine silks, such as are rarely to be obtained in China ; their merchants make tours to traffick all along the coast of their own country.

In the time of the Ming, the Japanese had extensive commercial relations, but they went to war with the Pú-táu (Portuguese) on account of a misunderstanding with them caused by dissension respecting the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven, and with the assistance of the Dutch obtained the mastery. Hereupon they extirpated the sect [of Christians], and went all lengths in expelling foreigners from their country. The whole population thenceforward became Budhists.

Ships from Holland, however, and from Chá-pú in the dominions of the Tá-ting dynasty, are permitted to trade at Chángkiáh, but they are under strict regulations, and no intercourse is allowed to them with the natives of the interior. The city where the military sovereign resides is called Kiánghú, 江戸 (Yedo). The population is immense, and its number beyond computation ; but the houses have been, unfortunately, so often destroyed by conflagrations or earthquakes that

* *Chin* 眞 actual, as distinct from the *tsz* 次 secondary monarch. *Chin* is shown in both Morrison and Medhurst to have a meaning akin to spiritual ; and the sect of Táu in particular use 眞人 *chin jin* to signify a person divested of mortality.

the whole place is a heap of ruins. The spiritual sovereign lives in the metropolis (*Miako*). This is a region of temples and monasteries; priests of Budha and Táu are densely congregated in retired spots. There are not a few seaports, the most considerable being that of Tái-chí.

Shun-hiáng Chui-peh. The Postscript of *Shun-hiáng*.

[The word *hiáng*, a village, is printed *king*, an official title, in both the earlier and later editions of the *Hái-kwoh Tú Chí*. *Shun* is an edible water-plant, said to grow only at one place in *Kiangsó*, thence named *Shun-hiáng*. The work entitled *Shun-hiáng Chui-peh* is by *Tunghán* of *Hwátung* in *Kiangsó*, who is believed to have flourished in the reign *Kienlung* (1735-95). The whole of it is contained in the cotemporaneous miscellany known as the *Shwoh-ling*, reference to which shows that the following extract is imperfectly quoted.]

At the time that the Regent,* Prince Lú was at sea, his minister, *Yuentsin*, dispatched an envoy to Japan with presents of Budhistic works, in the hopes of obtaining some troops from that country.—A bonze named *Chán-wei*, who had come thence was accordingly sent on board the same ship [as the envoy]. *Yuentsin*† arrived at Japan, and the joy of the people when informed of the books from Tibet was excessive, but as soon as they heard the name of *Chán-wei*, they were greatly astonished, and exclaimed, “If this bonze be come back, let him die immediately.” As they would not receive the imperial letters, the books were taken home again. The reason assigned for the conduct of the Japanese is that *Chán-wei* had been converted there to Christianity, and had escaped home from the persecution.

In former times the Portuguese enticed the people of this country to become Christians, communicated to them their secret doctrines, and debauched great numbers of their women. Once they had become Christians, there was no change for them; alive or dead.‡ The

* When the last monarch of the *Ming hung* himself, 1643, *Chú*, one of the imperial family, who had been made a prince of the highest order with the title *Lú*, fled before the Tartar invaders to *Fuhkien*, and was slain in the 7th or 8th year of *Shunchí* (1650-1).

† This sentence is not in the text of *Tunghán* as given in the *Shwoh Ling*. The original story is much longer, and makes mention of two ships, one of which made a fair passage: but the other, which carried the ritual of Budha and the priest, encountered a terrific storm, wherein there appeared two huge red marine monsters and with them all the fish in the sea, in such numbers as to impede the way of the vessel. After being driven far out of her course, however, she too made the land.

‡ The teachers consider this passage to signify that a convert to Christianity was of necessity enlisted as a Christian for ever, whether living or dead.

chiefs of the Portuguese pursued their crafty policy with unrestrained license, until having excited the people to assemble for seditious purposes, the government sent out a large force, and utterly exterminated them. They then spared no pains to cut off all communication with the Portuguese (or the Western world). They have a likeness of the Lord of Heaven engraved on a brass plate, which is laid in a thoroughfare so that all people of all nations whatsoever who go there, are obliged to trample upon it as they pass. And if any one is found to be bringing in his baggage a single article that is Portuguese, or a Portuguese book or picture, every one on board his ship is beheaded.

See the abridged account of Cháng Linpih who was sent as envoy to Japan.

ART. IV. *Topography of Shensi; its boundaries, area, rivers, divisions, cities, population, productions, &c.*

THE province of Shensi 陝西 i. e. West of the Pass, is in one respect the most interesting of the eighteen, from its being the original seat of the Chinese, the land where the blackhaired race first established itself, and from whence it has spread over the Inner Land. In the days of Kienlung, Shensi included the present province of Kánsuh, but it is now bounded on the west by that province; north by the desert region of the Ortous Mongols, from which the Great Wall divides it; east by Shánsí, from which the Yellow river divides it, and Honán; southeast by Húpeh; and south by Sz'chuen. It extends from lats. 32° to 39° N., and from longs. 106° to 111° E., of an irregular shape, but approaching a rectangle. The area has been roughly estimated at 67,400 square miles, which is nearly the same as Kwángtung, and the population in 1813 was 10,207,256, or 153 persons to a square mile; these data make Shensi the tenth in point of size, and the fifteenth in respect of population, of the eighteen provinces.

The surface of the country is rugged, and between the rivers Wei and Hán in the south, some of the peaks in the range of the Tsin ling 秦嶺 rise even to the snow limit. North of the Wei, the country declines to the eastward, and a lower elevation is seen in all the departments along the Yellow river. A spur of the Alashan or Holan 賀蘭 Mts. appears in the northwest in Yenngán fú, called Múyun ling, and all the northern portion of Shensi is generally too rough

for extensive agricultural pursuits, though so far as is known, not for habitations. In the south, the Tái-peh shán 太白 or Great White Mt., Chung-nán shán 終南 or South-Limit Mt., Tái-hwá shán 大華 and Sháu-hwá shán 少華, or Great and Little Flower Mts., and Sháng shán 商山, are the most noted peaks of the Tsin-ling. In the extreme southwest of the province is Po-chung shán 樞冢 or Grave Mt., a noted eminence; and north of the Wei, in the department of Fungtsiáng, are Lung shán 隴, Wú shán 吳, and Kí shán 岐, all of them well known in the history of the region.

The rivers of Shensi, north of the Tsin ling, are all tributaries of the Yellow river; those on the south flow into the Yángtsz'. The Wei ho 渭河, and its principal branch the King 涇, are noted for their clear and turbid waters, which run in parallel lines like those of the Missouri and Mississippi, long after their junction. These two streams have their source in Kánsuh, and flow east and southeasterly till their junction near Singán fú, from whence a short channel carries their waters into the Yellow river; the two have many tributaries, but none of much note or size. The Loh ho 洛河 joins the Yellow river just above the R. Wei; this stream rises in the northwest, near the Great Wall, and receives in its course through the province the drainings of the western districts. Proceeding north, above the R. Loh, the Choh-kin ho 濯筋, the Wú-ting ho 無定, and the Kíuh-yé ho 屈野, are the largest tributaries of the Yellow river; the two latter have their sources in Mongolia. South of the Tsin-ling, the Hán ho 漢河 drains all the country, while the Kiá-ling kiáng 嘉陵江, a large branch of the Yángtsz', forms the southwestern boundary of the province. Most of the rivers of Shensi are too rapid for safe navigation, and this is particularly true of the Yellow river, whose waters rush down from the table-land of Mongolia with a force which almost defies all the skill of the Chinese boatmen to oppose them.

The province of Shensi is divided into twelve departments, and eighty-five districts, as given in the following list.

I. *Singán fú* 西安府, or the Department of Singán, contains eighteen districts, viz., two ting, one chau, and fifteen hien.

- | | |
|---------------|--------------------|
| 1 咸寧 Hánning, | 3 藍田 Lántien, |
| 2 長安 Chángán, | 4 孝義廳 Hiáu-í ting, |

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| 5 鄂縣 Hioh hien, | 12 咸陽 Hányáng, |
| 6 盩厔 Chauchih, | 13 涇陽 Kingyáng, |
| 7 寧陝廳 Ningshen ting, | 14 醴泉 Litsiuen, |
| 8 臨潼 Lintung, | 15 三原 Sányuen, |
| 9 高陵 Káuling, | 16 耀州 Yáu chau, |
| 10 渭南 Weinán, | 17 同官 Tungkwán, |
| 11 富平 Fúping, | 18 興平 Hingping. |

II. *Tungchau fú* 同州府, or the Department of Tungchau, contains ten districts, viz., one chau, one ting, and eight hien.

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------|
| 1 大荔 Tálí, | 6 郃陽 Hohyáng, |
| 2 華州 Hwá chau, | 7 韓城 Hánching, |
| 3 華陰 Hwáyin, | 8 白水 Pehshwui, |
| 4 潼關廳 Tungkwán ting, | 9 朝邑 Cháu yih, |
| 5 澄城 Chingching, | 10 蒲城 Púching. |

III. *Fungtsiáng fú* 鳳翔府, or the Department of Fungtsiáng, contains eight districts, viz., one chau and seven hien.

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| 1 鳳翔 Fungtsiáng, | 5 寶鷄 Páukí, |
| 2 岐山 Kíshán, | 6 麟遊 Linyú, |
| 3 扶風 Fúfung, | 7 汧陽 Kienyáng, |
| 4 郿縣 Mei hien, | 8 隴州 Lung chau. |

IV. *Hánchung fú* 漢中府, or the Department of Hánchung, contains eleven districts, viz., two ting, one chau, and eight hien.

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 1 南鄭 Nánching, | 7 褒城 Páuching, |
| 2 西鄉 Sihíang, | 8 沔縣 Mien hien, |
| 3 定遠廳 Tingyuen ting, | 9 畧陽 Lohyáng, |
| 4 寧羗州 Ningkiáng chau, | 10 鳳縣 Fung hien, |
| 5 城固 Chingkú, | 11 留壩廳 Liú pá ting. |
| 6 洋縣 Yáng ting, | |

V. *Hingngán fú* 興安府, or the Department of Hingngán, contains seven districts, viz., one ting, and six hien.

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| 1 安康 Ngánkáng, | 5 漢陰屬 Hányin ting, |
| 2 平利 Pinglí, | 6 白河 Pehho, |
| 3 紫陽 Tsz'yáng. | 7 洵陽 Sunyáng. |
| 4 石泉 Shihtsiuen, | |

VI. *Yenngán fú* 延安府, or the Department of Yenngán, contains ten hien districts.

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| 1 膚施 Fúshí, | 6 安塞 Ngánseh, |
| 2 宜川 I'chuen, | 7 保安 Pángán, |
| 3 甘泉 Kántsuiuen, | 8 靖邊 Tsingpien, |
| 4 延川 Yenchuen. | 9 定邊 Tingpien, |
| 5 安定 Ngánting, | 10 延長 Yencháng. |

VII. *Yülin fú* 榆林府, or the Department of Yülin, contains five districts, viz., one chau and four hien.

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|----------------|---------------|
| 1 榆林 Yülin, | 4 神木 Shinmuh, |
| 2 葭州 Kiá chau, | 5 府谷 Fúkuh. |
| 3 懷遠 Hwáiyuen. | |

VIII. *Sháng chau* 商州 or the inferior Department of Sháng, contains four hien districts.

- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| 1 山陽 Shányáng, | 3 鎮安 Chinngán, |
| 2 商南 Shángnán, | 4 雒南 Lohrán. |

IX. *Kien chau* 乾州, or the inferior

Department of Kien, contains two hien districts.

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|--------------|----------------|
| 1 武功 Wúkung, | 2 永壽 Yungshau. |
|--------------|----------------|

X. *Pin chau* 邠州, or the inferior

Department of Pin, contains three hien districts.

- | | |
|----------------|---------------|
| 1 淳化 Shunhwá, | 3 長武 Chángwú. |
| 2 三水 Sánshwui, | |

XI. *Fú chau* 鄜州, or the inferior

Department of Fú, contains three hien districts.

- | | |
|----------------|--------------|
| 1 洛川 Lohchuen, | 3 宜君 I'kiun. |
| 2 中部 Chungpú, | |

XII. *Suiteh chau* 綏德州, or the inferior

Department of Suiteh, contains three hien districts.

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------|
| 1 清澗 Tsingkien, | 3 米脂 Míchí. |
| 2 吳堡 Wúpáu, | |

1. *The department of Si-ngán*, next to Shuntien fú or Peking, contains the largest number of districts of any department in the provinces, and it once comprised thirty-three, half of which have been partitioned off, but its population is not the second; it lies along the south-side of the R. Wei, and was once more densely peopled than at present. The capital lies in lat. 34° 16' N., near the junction of the King and Wei rivers, and was the metropolis of China during the Tsin, Hán, and Táng dynasties, and the briefer ones which intervened, a period of more than a thousand years; it was then called Cháng-ngán, the name by which the district is now known. In the times of Confucius, the capital of the empire, Cháng-ngán, lay northwest of the present locality; it received the name of Si-ngán in the days of the Ming. The Nestorians found this place the seat of greater power than any other in Asia, and the celebrated empress Wú-tsih-tien here swayed her scepter over more than half the continent. It was known then by them as *Khoubdan* or *Khoumdan*, under which name it is mentioned by Theophylact of Simocatta, in A. D. 582, when the house of Sui occupied the throne. There is every probability that this region was one of the localities where the progenitors of the sons of Hán first settled after their migrations through Central Asia. The region is still highly cultivated, and after Peking, Singán fú is the largest city in the northern provinces, the residence of the governor-general of Shensi and Kánsuh, and the center of the trade of the northwestern provinces. Some remains of the palaces of former monarchs are still pointed out, but they only serve to show how trifling were the attempts of the emperors of those days to perpetuate their name and glory by rearing magnificent and durable buildings. One of the most interesting relics of antiquity ever found here is the inscription recording the preaching of the Nestorians. (See Chi. Rep., Vol. XIV.)

II. *The department of Tungchau* comprises the eastern part of the province at the junction of the rivers Wei and Loh with the Yellow river, and was set off from the preceding in consequence of its extent; the position of the chief town renders it an important place. In the district of Tungkwán, is the celebrated pass of that name, where the R. Wei forces its way through a gorge in the mountains as it joins the Yellow river, the heights on the south being a spur from the Tsin-ling, and on the north from the hills at the sharp bend of the Yellow river. Both this and Singán fú rank among the most populous and fertile districts in China.

III. *The department of Fungtsiáng* lies on the confines of Kán-suh, northwest of Si-ngán; the chief town is situated on the Yung-shwui 雍水, a branch of the R. Wei, and the whole department is fertile and populous in a high degree. Falcons are trained for the chase by the inhabitants, and the hills afford a large variety of game.

IV. *The department of Hánchung* lies in the southwestern corner of the province, along the headwaters of the Hán, and is one of the most mountainous regions of Shensi. The chief town is situated at the junction of the Páu-shwui 褒水 with the Hán kiáng, and most of the towns are found along one or other of these rivers. One of the most remarkable features of the region is the great national road from Peking to Chingtú fú in Sz'chuen, which runs from Si-ngán across the Tsin-ling into the valley of the R. Hán. It has been carried over high mountains, whose sides have been scarped down to afford a pathway, and across gorges of terrific height by bridges of sufficient strength to afford passage to large carriages or trains. It has been opened many centuries, and by those who have traveled it is pronounced not inferior to the road over the Simplon, though the elevation is not so great. These mountains furnish musk, wax, honey, cinnabar, and peltry; game is abundant, and the bears' paws obtained by the hunters are considered by Chinese epicures a great luxury.

V. *The department of Hing-ngán* lies east of the preceding, and south of Singán, occupying the southeast of the province; like Hán-chung, it is very rugged, but the bottom lands are fertile, and afford sustenance to a large and hardy population. The mountains throughout the whole extent of the valley of the R. Hán are famous in the civil wars of China for the resort they afforded to chieftains and robbers, and this department in particular, was the scene of many fights in the declining days of the Chau dynasty, the capital being the chief town of the Tsin state; it was also the residence of an emperor of the Hán dynasty.

VI. *The department of Yen-ngán* comprises the largest area of any of the departments, reaching quite across the province; it lies south of the Great Wall, and north of Tungchau fú. The chief town lies on the bank of the Liú hú, or Willow Lake, a small sheet of water not far from the Choh-kin river, a tributary of the Yellow river. This extensive region is thinly peopled, the surface of the country quite mountainous, and its productions—peltry and furs of various kinds, cinnabar, marble, petroleum, game—show that the inhabitants look to other means than agriculture for a livelihood. That part of the prefecture along the Great Wall is partly inhabited by Mongols.

VII. *The department of Yülin*, or Elm Forest, occupies the extreme northeast of the province; the chief town was formerly a military post, but the increase of population caused it to be erected into a separate prefecture. The Great Wall and the Yellow river form its limits on the west and east; it is not as rough as Yen-ngán fú, and the greater accessibility to most of its towns by means of the Wúting and the Yellow rivers, and the roads across the north of Shánsí, has attracted a denser population. There is no impediment put in the way of the Mongols beyond the Great Wall settling down in the towns, and they are found in many places.

VIII. *The inferior department of Sháng* is a small region in the southeastern part of Shensi, set off from Singán fú, and comprising the valley of the Tán ho 丹河 or Carnation river, a confluent of the R. Hán, and several smaller streams.

IX. *The inferior department of Kien* lies between Singán and Fungtsiáng fú; its chief town is situated on the Hán-kuh ho 漢谷河, and its two district towns are also found in the same valley.

X. *The inferior department of Pin* lies north of the preceding, on the R. King, near the confines of Kánsuh, and like that was set off from the prefecture of Singán. The chief towns of both these departments are ancient towns, having been numbered among the numerous villages around the metropolis in the days of Confucius, and like most of the cities of Shensi, having received many names, and undergone many changes during the intervening centuries.

XI. *The inferior department of Fú* is situated between Singán and Yenngán fú, in the valley of the R. Loh; it formerly belonged to the latter, and resembles it in its productions and inhabitants.

XII. *The inferior department of Suiteh* also belonged once to Yenngán fú; it lies along the banks of the Wúting and Yellow rivers, one of its towns being close to the latter. Very little is known concerning the productions of the land, or civilization of the inhabitants.

in this part of the province. The advantages for communication with other parts of the empire afforded by the magnificent river which rolls along its borders are unknown to them, and must be until the mighty power of steam is brought into action.

The inhabitants of Shensí are regarded as among the best formed, the bravest, and the strongest of the sons of Hán; they are reputed to make the best soldiers, and for commercial activity they are not inferior to any, many of their bankers finding their way even to Canton and Amoy. The trade across the Desert to Ílí is much of it in their hands, and passes down the King and Wei rivers through Síngán fú into the Great Plain; a thousand years ago it centred there. The grains raised in Shensí are wheat, millet, barley, and a little rice; clouds of locust sometimes destroy the crops, the distressed people then devouring the locusts. Medicines of various sorts, rhubarb, honey, silver, quicksilver, copper, gems, salt, coal, cabinet woods, hides, carpets, horses, mules, and camels, are among the productions of the land, the mines, and the shop. In literary pursuits, the people of Shensí do not equal those in the eastern provinces, though many distinguished persons have arisen in it. The climate is cold and subject to many changes, the temperature of London and Cairo being experienced in the same locality.

ART. V. *Men and Things in Shánghái; famine; violent begging; contributions solicited; distribution of food; asylum for outcast children; oppression and assault; postmaster generals; pawnbrokers robbed; pirate-catchers.* Letter to the Editor from SPECTATOR.

SIR: Famine is still abroad in the land; multitudes of the people are distressed, and in some places, if reports be true, large numbers are dying for want of food. In the district of Shánghái, there are said to be 200,000 now suffering from famine; and in a small district to the east of this, no more than 60 ¼ by 36, the whole population, say 120,000, are beggars,—unable, from any resources of their own, to gain an adequate sustenance. Equal or great distress prevails in districts northward from us, along the banks of the great rivers. I have endeavored, but in vain, to get some statistics in order to show the extent of the famine and the amount of suffering. The all absorbing question, with the authorities, is *How to keep the people quiet?* And they are making vigorous efforts to secure this end. The late repeated deaths in the imperial house, doubtless add to the intensity of solicitude at the present moment.

“*Beggars becoming violent, so as to create disorder and cause insurrection, is one of the first and chief things to be guarded against.*” If no more than five persons band together at any house or shop, and insist on their requests,

and take away any property or goods, be it but the smallest quantity, such an act is designated "*violent begging*." Such conduct is like to that of lawless vagrants and vagabonds, very injurious to the inhabitants of the country; and those who indulge in it must be dealt with in the most summary manner. So they are, both by the magistracy and by the sovereign people. I have seen instances of horrible cruelty enough to make one's blood run cold.

To relieve the distressed people, the provincial government has taken rigorous measures, *soliciting contributions* on the one hand, and on the other becoming the almoners of the poor. Contributions are solicited on a scale so extensive that every one, who has but a few cash, can add to the general stock. In the first place, the governor of the province, according to old custom, has put forth a proclamation, calling upon the rich gentry to come forward with their great contributions, promising them, that if they do this, he will solicit the emperor to bestow on them "sacred grace," to make them dance for joy! Then again, in the second place, the magistrates reiterate the proclamations of their superiors, and "take the lead in making contributions." And then in the third place, benevolent gentry, moved by what has been said and done, take up the matter, open subscription lists, and collect cash and grain. In some instances these contributions are taken up in shares, each of not more one fifteenth of a Spanish dollar, say 100 copper cash current in Shánghái. The foreigners have joined in these contributions; two lists of subscribers at least are on foot, and they have been numerous and generously signed. Thus I have described to you one part of the system—the collection of charities.

The distribution of food, no easy matter, has been conducted very systematically. People are not starving here because there is not sustenance enough in the land, but because it is not distributed—which, whereas multitudes have not the means to purchase, must be done gratuitously.

The Asylum for outcast children, at Wángkiá Mátau (in the local dialect called *Wongkiá modá*), shall be here noticed, as I have already had good opportunities, by personal inspection for becoming acquainted with the nature and extent of its operations. The plan is not new, similar provision having often been made in former years of famine; and it is established only temporarily for three lunar months to meet (existing) exigencies,—to give relief to a portion of the suffering caused by the inundations of last spring and summer. The number on the list is two thousand, all that the apartments now opened can accommodate. An extension of the buildings is contemplated, and when these are secured, either by renting or building, the number of children will be increased.

In the proclamation pasted up at the main entrance, the establishment is called *Ki-hái Kuh* 棄孩局, Outcast-children's Asylum. It is situated on the south side of and just above, *Wángkiá mátau* 王家馬頭, or the lan-jing-place of the Wáng family. The site seems never to have been built upon previously to 1848, and was, up to that time, like all other unoccupied ground about the city, covered with rubbish, or made the unseemly receptacle of coffins. About two years ago, an attempt was made to secure the site for some one of the foreign consulates, I think it was the Danish; to prevent that purpose being carried into effect, the landlord, a member of the Chin family, erected thereon several lines of buildings, one of the principal of which is now the asylum. It consists of fifty low apartments, the whole suite extending over an area, it may be of three or four English acres. These apartments vary in extent from fifteen to thirty feet square, have brick or pannel walls, are without windows or ceilings above, and beneath are flagged with square tile; taking them all in all, they afford as good and comfortable accommodations as are enjoyed by any of the middling classes in Shánghái. It has been said that the site is regarded as an *untucky* one, because it was once covered

with naked coffins; very likely it may be so regarded, since the owner has not been able until now to secure tenants, or but very partial occupancy for all these new and well finished apartments.

The asylum was opened on the 5th ult., by direction of the chief magistrate, and at the request of several native gentlemen. As already stated, the complement, 2000, has been made up. This great family consists wholly of those who are above the age of three and under that of ten years; and are portioned off twenty in each apartment, and a directress, an aged matron assigned to each company. Most of the apartments, I ought to have remarked before, have a loft, raised some eight or ten feet above the ground; on that the children sleep, while they have their food and their sport on the tiles below.

When an outcast child was found, if able to speak and answer questions, its age, name and surname, &c., were all noted; those found to be under three years were sent to the *Yukying táng*, or foundling-hospital, and those above the age of ten were rejected. The term *outcast* is to be understood here in a restricted sense, and not in its common acceptation, as denoting one cast out in order that it shall die, but rather with the expectation that it may be befriended and its life prolonged. There are abandoned persons in all parts of China, equally infamous and cruel, who cast out their offspring to the intent that they may not live; the number of these, it is generally thought, is not great; but in the present instance, and in all similar cases, where want of sustenance is the propelling cause, the little sufferers are sent out to seek a living, and with the most confident expectation that they will be fed, and perhaps clothed also, as is done in this asylum.

I will now only add that the entire regulation of the establishment is apparently most admirable, the food, clothing, medicine, etc., are all the best the city affords. Each child is labeled, and a register is kept of the whereabouts it came, so that at the expiration of the three months, the family may be orderly disbanded. About seven hundred of the group are girls.

Oppression and assault are much more frequent, and much more fatal in their results, among the Chinese, than the barbarians are wont to fancy. The Peking Gazette is often but a poor index of what actually occurs; and popular rumor, like the echo among the hills, sometimes marvelously exaggerates. Horrible tales are told of what are the results of the last year's famine. In a town, situated somewhere westward from this, it was said the people, oppressed by the magistrate, rose and took his life; then came the mandarins in great force, and leveled to the ground the houses of the malcontents; and so great was the terror that, over a space of three hundred miles, not one man, woman or child was to be seen! All had fled in consternation; and the whole town was left one indiscriminate heap of ruins. This case has been reported officially to the Emperor, and published in the Gazette, but as quite a trivial affair, where only two or three persons were slightly wounded, and little or no damage sustained. After the best investigation it is in my power to make, through intelligent Chinese, the facts appear to be simply these. In the district under the magistrate of *Küyung*, not far from Nánking, the famine has been very sore; the rich are few, and the poor many. The landholders were utterly unable to pay their taxes according to law; the magistrate oppressed and drove them on to desperation. To crown all, he went with the military to pull down one of the ancestral temples, intending by this means to intimidate and compel the gentry to complete, or secure, the payment of taxes. At this the people rose *en masse*, and the magistrate was pelted, his sedan broken, his cap and button knocked off, and he himself compelled to knock head and sue for his life. In this way he was allowed to escape. The leader of the military and

a dozen of his men sustained slight wounds, but no life was lost. Thus baffled, the magistrate of Kúyung reported to his superior, the prefect of Kiángning fú, who on the following day sent forth and seized two of the poor peasants, who, when examined by the prefect, told the truth regarding the extent of their distress and their inability to pay the taxes, &c. The prefect thereupon read them a lecture, and forthwith reported to his superiors, the governor-general and governor at Nanking; and finally, these high officers, after sending communications back, warning both the magistrates and the people, reported the case by memorial to the emperor. Thus ends the tragedy, as have ended thousands of others, in mere words. However, it is in this way, principally, that the popular voice is made to reach the throne.

Vox populi, vox Dei :

so the pagan monarchs of China say, *i min wei tien* "the people are our Heaven," and so they have no other alternative, but to listen and to relax, when the clamor of the people has become loud as the noise of thunder.

Postmaster-generals exist in each of the governments of the Chinese empire. These provincial governments extend sometimes to only a single province, and sometimes to two or three. For each of these governments there is a distinct department for the conveyance of government dispatches; and for each of these departments there are two officers called *tí táng* 提塘, one stationed at the Capital and one at the seat of the provincial government; the one is called *King táng* 京塘, the other *Sang táng* 省塘, or metropolitan postmaster and provincial postmaster; the former is, I believe, in connection with and under the control of the Board of War; the latter is stationed near, and is subject to the orders of the provincial authorities. Thus, for the government of the *Liáng Kwáng*, one will have his headquarters in the city of Canton and the other in Peking; so for three provinces constituting the government of *Liáng Kwáng*, one is posted at Nanking and the other in Peking. Between these extremes, in each case, a distinct line of posts is formed with all the necessary appendages of houses, horses, &c. &c.,—all supported by the government solely for its advantage, and not for the people. By this system, some fourteen or fifteen days are ordinarily required for imperial edicts to reach Shánghái from the capital; the edict announcing the demise of the late emperor and the succession of the new monarch, issued on the 14th of the 1st moon, Feb. 25th, did not reach this city till the 1st of the 2d moon, March 14th. What a contrast this to the modern rate of dispatch on the other side of the globe!

These postmaster-generals, like most of the other public servants of the emperor, hold their office for a term of three years; but there seems to be this peculiarity in regard to their appointment: they are selected from the second and third ranks of military graduates, *kijin* and *tsinsz'*; when the term of holding office is about to terminate, the provincial authorities issue a proclamation, inviting such of those military graduates, who are by law eligible to the office of *tí-táng*, to present themselves for examination at the provincial court, where, out of the whole number of candidates, two are to be selected, one for Peking and one for the provincial capital. Two proclamations of this kind have recently been issued by the magistrato of Shánghái, one dated in the 12th moon of the last year, the other on the 9th day of the 1st moon of this year. In this second, it is stated that no candidates having appeared at the provincial court, this is issued to hasten forward those who wish to secure this office. The necessity of having to be thus urged would seem to indicate that the postmaster-generalship is not very lucrative, or at least not one much sought for by the military graduates. Perhaps the responsibilities connected with it, render the office an object not much coveted.

Pawnbrokers robbed at Kiating. These establishments, which exist in almost all parts of the empire, seem everywhere to be special favorites among the banditti. They are usually very rich, and not always well guarded. At Shánghái they are the largest structures in the city; some of them look like old castles, having walls on all sides rising thirty or forty feet. One of this sort in the city of Kiating, situated half a day's journey north of Shánghái, was entered on the night of the 12th of January, and property to the amount of several thousand dollars carried off. A reward of \$500 has been offered for the apprehension of the robbers; but as yet neither the articles carried off, nor the robbers have been found.

Two pirate catchers, as they are called, have been put in commission here, and sent out to cruise on the coast of this province. These are two large boats, so my informant says, manned by Chinese from Canton; to stimulate their exertions, they are to be rewarded, in addition to their regular pay, with a 100,000 copper cash for each pirate, and all the booty they may chance to take.

Yours, &c.

Shánghái, March 25th, 1850.

SPECTATOR.

ART. VI. *Journal of Occurrences: 'Edict of succession of H. M. Hienfung; honors given his brothers; religious intelligence, arrival of the Bishop of Victoria.*

THE *edict of succession* has been published in Canton on yellow paper in both Mánchu and Chinese, the text of each surrounded with dragons. The new monarch takes the style *Hien-fung* 咸豐, which may be rendered Great Abundance, or Complete Prosperity, for his reign; this title though not strictly the personal name of the monarch, has by use come to be so regarded among foreigners; and the words Kienlung, Kánghí, Táukwáng, &c., will always continue to be regarded as the names of those monarchs. The present year is still to be reckoned, as the 30th of Táukwáng, the 1st of Hienfung not commencing until Feb 1st, 1851. The new incumbent is in his 19th year, having been born in August, 1831. The announcement of his having ascended the throne is here copied from the China Mail.

The Hí cháu 喜昭 or Auspicious Proclamation.

Proclamation of the Sovereign upon his succeeding to the Empire by the ordinance of Heaven. Our Great and Pure (Ta-Tsing) Dynasty has continued the subject of Heaven's most parental affection. Its mighty foundation was laid in ancient times by our great progenitors Tai-tú and Tai-tung; the whole of China was brought under the single rule of the first of the Imperial line; our other ancestors, the Sainted, the Immortal, the Exalted, and the Humane, each like his predecessor excelled in virtue, and shed an influence of renovation [upon men], increasing the glory of the Empire and blending its parts harmoniously together; and our late Father now departed, during the thirty years that he has held the reins of government, has sat late in his robes, and has eaten when the moon was past, diligently aiming at perfection of rule. From his own distinguished merit, and the conduct of his statesmen, the Court commanded respect. The richness of his bounty extended to all parts of his dominions, inasmuch that there was tranquillity within and beyond their frontiers, and the black-haired flock were beholden to it for their happiness.

Thus might it have been hoped that his illustrious years would be greatly prolonged, and that blessings would be continued to him for evermore; but on the afternoon of the 14th of the 1st moon, having appointed us his heir-apparent, he sped upwards on the Dragon to be a guest on high, and the [charge of the] spiritual vessel devolved on our insignificant person.

When we called to mind our own insufficiency, profound was our fear that we should not be equal to the task, until we bethought us of the counsels bequeathed by the Holy ones, and of the trust imposed on us by His Majesty, our late father; and as the Throne committed to us could not long remain unfulfilled, we put constraint upon the grief we so sincerely feel, and re-ve-

rantly obey the word that is passed. Upon the 26th of the 1st moon we shall therefore solemnly announce our accession to Heaven, to Earth, to our Ancestors, to the Spirits celestial and terrestrial and to the gods of land and the grain. Let the ensuing year be the first of Hsien-wu.

We look upward, hoping to continue what was admirable in our predecessors, and clasp our breast with feelings of awe and earnest solicitude. And whereas at the time of promulgating our inaugural proclamation, our bounty should extend to all our kindred, all things that it is fitting we should do are stated in order below.

[Here follows twenty-three clauses, each containing the different objects and mode of exhibiting imperial favor. See Vol. X. page 90. It then concludes as follows:]

This great bounty have we extended to our dominions upon succeeding to the Throne. Oh! then, do ye Princes and ministers, civil and military, aid us in the service we have undertaken, that we may add stability to the mighty line the accession of which has devolved upon us. Let each one give evidence of his fidelity, aiding us by his counsels [to the attainment of] perfection; that boundless blessings may be manifested to this realm for a thousand million of year.

Let this be published throughout the Empire, that all may be informed thereof.

His position in the late emperor's family, and his elevation of his brothers, both living and dead, are seen in the following extracts also from the Mail.

"Whereas upon the demise of our eldest brother many years ago, his late majesty, deeply moved, gave him by act of grace the additional title of Tolo Beile. We have now succeeded to the government of the empire, and as, when we bear in mind that the deceased drew the same breath as Ourselves, our heart is more sad, we command that the rank of a Kiun-wang be conferred upon him. Let the Controller of the Imperial Clan consult with the Board of Rites and the Controller of the Household, and when they shall have decided which are the proper forms to be observed, present to us their report thereupon. Respect this!

"Let our younger brothers, Yih-sh, be a Tsin-wang, with the style of Kung; Yih-tah, a Kiun-wang, with the style of Shun; Yih-hoh, a Kiun-wang, with the style of Chung; Yih-hwui, a Kiun-wang, with the style of Fu. As soon as they shall have put off their hundred days' mourning, let them wear the cap with the tuft of red cloth, and let their court dresses and robes of office be made of the deep yellow. Respect this!"

"Whereas we yesterday (or recently) conferred by retrospect the title of Kiun-wang upon our eldest brother deceased, inasmuch as our second and third elder brothers, who died many years ago, were also both our brothers, we feel towards them as brothers of the same bosom; and as we recall them to our thoughts, we are indeed profoundly sorrowful.

"Let our second and third brothers both be honored with the title Kiun-wang, and let the Controller of the Imperial Clan deliberate with the Board of Rites and the Controller of the Imperial Household, and report to us what forms they are of opinion it is proper to observe. Respect this!"

Religious intelligence. The Rt.-Rev. George Smith, D. D., Bishop of Victoria, and Mrs. Smith, arrived at Hongkong in the Sir George Pollock, March 29th, accompanied by Rev. Edward T. R. Moncrief, and entered upon the duties of his station. Since his arrival, Rev. V. J. Stanton, the colonial chaplain, has embarked for England in the P. and O. Str. Braganza, on the 24th inst., with his family, on account of ill health; Mr. Moncrief takes his station during his absence. The Rev. F. P. Gough came out in the Sir G. Pollock to join the mission of the Church Missionary Society at Ningpo, and the Rev. William Welton and Mr. Jackson from the same Society to commence a new mission at Fuhchau. Mr. Welton is a physician, and intends to commence a missionary hospital at Fuhchau, like those now in operation at Canton and Shanghai.—The Rev. W. A. P. Martin and Rev. S. N. Martin with their wives, sent out by the Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church, and Rev. Justus Doolittle and wife from the American Board at Boston, arrived in the Lantao on the 10th inst.; the two former are destined to Ningpo, and Mr. Doolittle to Fuhchau.—The Rev. W. Dean left on the 22d of February in the U. S. S. Plymouth, Commodore Voorhees, for CochinChina and Siam, to act as interpreter to H. E. Joseph Balestier, the Envoy from the government of the United States to those countries.—Rev. B. W. Whilden left Canton on the 27th ult. in the Elizabeth Ellen, with his three children, on his return to America.

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ART. I. *Sing Shi Páu Yen* 醒世寶言 *Precious Words to Awaken the Age.* By CHÁNG LÍCHEN. Published at Canton, 1848.

[This is a tract, made up of extracts from the writings of moralists, and is published for the purpose of benefiting men, very much as religious tracts are issued in Christian lands. It is printed near the Examination Hall, in Canton, and copies are sold to benevolent persons desirous of circulating them, at the rate of five cash each. The names of thirty-eight subscribers are appended to it, with the number of copies each of them took, in all five thousand books. The work forms a book of aphorisms and rules of conduct, and is about as high in its standard as any production of Chinese moralists that we have ever seen.]

Introduction.

VIRTUE is a quality which man obtains from Heaven, in order to prepare him for the apprehension of right principles, and enable him to discharge the responsibilities of life. But as he is partly under the control of his natural temperament, and subjected to the influence of depraved desires, it happens that the original virtue of his nature is not always fully developed. Moreover, it has been observed, that the minds of men are all by nature good, but that in experience there is an order of succession, and that which is to be learned should resemble that which has been learned: that by this means the mind will be able to attain unto a clear apprehension of virtue, and restored to original goodness; and as it is only by urging it, that the attention of men is aroused to a full understanding of it, therefore the sages and worthies from ancient times were wont to record only summaries of general science, and those who have deserved well of mankind for their efforts in the advancement of morality, have not failed to arouse the minds of men to the consideration of important subjects, and lead them to reflect upon these until their principles were fully developed.

My friend, Cháng Líchén Esq., desiring to see virtue promoted, and hoping to have the coöperation of his fellow countrymen in the advancement of this object, has selected various specimens of the virtuous observations and doings of the ancients, and choosing out the most important and practical, concise and perspicuous, under several heads, seeking out the chapters and selecting suitable passages, he has arranged them so as to bring those of a similar purport into the same section. Before sending his work to the press, in

order that he might announce it to be completed, he extended to me the invitation to furnish him with some few observations, which he might insert by way of preface. I therefore take this opportunity to commend his benevolent purpose, which is truly such as it professes to be, and not any vain pretense, and his words admonishing to virtue, which the gentle and the vulgar must all alike praise. The intelligent, also, who shall notice it, must not think the less of it, because of its loose and desultory garb, and individuals of the profession, should any such consider it worthy of their regard, as well as those who are able to appreciate fully, and still more completely to develop the ideas and principles inculcated, must beware that they do not speak light of it, as being only a compilation of detached sentences. They are truly important observations, possessing the efficacy of moral maxims and words of wholesome caution, suitable on the one hand to dissuade from excesses, and on the other unable to tolerate any deficiency of virtue. Surely advice which is thus calculated to encourage the good and to restrain the bad, can not be regarded as at all trivial or unimportant. Thus ends my preface. Tánkwáng, 28th year, 10th month.

Edited by Fung Yuen, styled Kien-fán, a citizen of Ancient Yueh, at the Traveler's Lodge, in the City of Rams (Canton).

Precious Words to Awaken the Age.

FILIAL duty has no bounds. It requires all the energies of the mind. Parents must wait, generally speaking, until they are fifty or sixty years of age, before their children are to able support them; then the years past are many, and those which yet remain are few. If those who sustain the relation of children, do not serve their parents with their whole heart, then, by and by, their grayhaired parents having passed away, never to return, and no longer to be found in heaven above, or on the earth beneath, then it will be too late to sorrow for their former misconduct, and repentance will be of no avail. That they may never such experience unhappiness, let them see that they provide a support for their aged parents.

When parents see that one of their offspring is poor, they can not fail often to think of it, and in apportioning food and drink and clothing among their children, they sometimes seem to appear partial. It may be, the successful child is required to deliver up to them his earnings, and they then take the property and bestow it upon the poor son. It is the just wish of parents to see their children enjoy an equal share of the property. Should therefore the wealthy son whose property is given to the poor one, hastily be disposed to think hardly of such conduct, let him consider within himself, "supposing I should happen to become poor, then my parents will in the same manner manifest their regard for me."

In getting along in the world, to yield one step is magnanimous. To give place, is just so much to advance your own interest. To forego one portion, is happiness. To benefit others, is the true method of doing a good turn for yourself.

To give alms to a person who is in straitened circumstances, is more grateful than a seasonable shower. To speak words which wound the feelings, is more to be dreaded than the dark hailstorm.

If one word will destroy the peace of heaven and earth, then it must not be uttered. If one action will destroy the happiness of a whole life, then it ought not to be rashly performed.

If you inquire respecting the wealth of my ancestors, how I shall be able to enjoy it, this I should say was as difficult as the accumulation of an estate by my own effort. But if you inquire concerning the happiness of my posterity, whether or not I shall bequeath to them my possessions, then I should say this would be as easy as to ruin an estate.

The happiness of the obstinate and self-willed is small, but the man of a liberal and comprehensive mind secures a large emolument. He who is tyrannical and oppressive has an untimely fate, but the officer who rules with moderation and wisdom shall see many years.

When the mind is excited by delight, we are in danger of disregarding the truth; and when our words are prompted by anger, we are in danger of losing our self-respect. It is well therefore that we should always be on our guard.

If we rely upon our extraordinary talents to help us forward in the world, then we must beware of the venomous reptile of envy behind our backs; and if we assume a fair countenance in order to impose upon our fellow-men, it is likely there will be a mirror held before us in which our real courage will be reflected.

In attacking men's vices be not too severe, if you wish to have them think it worth receiving; and in persuading men to be good, set not the standard too high, if you would have them listen to your admonitions.

If you praise men for their virtues to their face, although they may be inwardly pleased, still they will not perhaps be very profoundly moved: but if behind their backs you extol their good qualities, then their expressions of approbation will know no bounds. If you reprove men's faults to their faces, although they may not be pleased, still perhaps their anger will not be very deep: but if you reproach them for their faults behind their backs, then their expressions of resentment will be unmitigated. This is the general disposition of mankind.

The aristocracy who dwell in the country are liable to many incroachments from the vulgar. It is always the case more or less; and yet, after all, [to suffer it] is more for my advantage. For if I so act, that men when they see my shadow keep themselves out of the way, and venture not to pluck a single ear of corn from my field; though it

may be very pleasant to me, still they will know what sort of a man I am.

Whenever we wish to benefit others, we should first rid ourselves of anger, and with great suavity and consideration seek to procure their goodwill; then our words will easily find access to their hearts. If one man is angry at another for contradicting him, and I also join in the contradiction, wherein does it differ from adding oil to a fire which is already blazing furiously, in order to extinguish it?

When men are very intimate, they must not speak out to one another all their private affairs, lest unexpectedly their friendship being interrupted, then what was formerly said should furnish evidence to substantiate a charge against them. And should the friendship at any time be broken off, then also it will not be proper that the whole truth should be spoken with the greatest possible plainness, lest when they again come to terms, the language which they before held should cause them shame.

Whenever you have a controversy with an individual, then you should only speak of the persons and the circumstances immediately concerned; and by no means bring forward the faults of his parents, or divulge the shame of the women in his house; the controversy concerns only the individuals themselves, they should not allow it to disturb the friendly relations of others.

Whenever you hope for anything from others, you should first inquire what favors you have extended to them. And whenever you expect anything from heaven, you must consider what your conduct merits.

If you would not have men hear you, then the best way is not to speak: and would you not like to have your conduct known, then the best way is to refrain from acting.

You should not speak of your good fortune to a person who is suffering from disappointment: in the day of prosperity, do not forget the season of adversity.

He who delights to speak of men's secrets, or divulge the foibles or shameful acts of conduct in the female apartments, will certainly meet with extraordinary calamity.

Whenever you meet with a disappointment, consider that it might have been a great deal worse, and your mind will be set at rest.

A person who has not been sick, does not know how to value his health; but when he is taken sick, he begins to appreciate the pleasure of being well. A person who has had no employment does not know how to value the happiness of leisure, but when he has begun to work, then he begins to know the satisfaction of relaxation.

Every man in his conduct should endeavor to set an example of condescension and amity. In conducting his family, no matter whether he be rich or poor, the master ought to show himself a pattern of such virtues. This is like the glorious brightness of a vernal sun, under which all things spring up and grow luxuriantly. But if you once allow yourself to be crabbed and exceedingly precise, although you may not be guilty of anything actually wrong, still such a temperament can not appear otherwise than as the sour and gloomy aspect of autumn, when all things are withered and sere. Such are the natural remunerations of justice; the decrees of Providence and the affairs of men always mutually correspond.

When you are sitting at table as a guest, you ought not to seem to know everything, and should especially avoid talking carelessly about everything you may happen to think of at the time, or bawling out a man's name; lest you inadvertently appear to be disrespectful to the name of the father or elder brother, in the presence of his son or younger relatives; or perhaps speak of faults which those in the company are conscious of having been guilty of themselves; in this way you would not fail to bring trouble upon yourself.

In order to secure that men should praise you to your face, no means is so effectual as to give them no occasion to speak evil of you behind your back: and that you may obtain the occasional approbation of mankind, no method is so certain as avoiding their permanent dislike.

He who created things, in forming man gave him two hands, two ears, and two eyes, and but one tongue, thus signifying that he should see, hear, and do a great deal, but should say little. His tongue was closely shut up in his mouth, the teeth being in the place of a wall, the lips as suburbs, and the beard like palisades, the tongue thus being surrounded as it were with a triple guard. If you truly desire to enjoy life then you must give heed to your words.

When there is a tumult in the street, let others go forward, but I will fall back. When a controversy arises, others may use their tongues, but I will use my ears.

Should any one perchance speak evil of me, then it would be well for me to retire and inquire of myself whether I have done anything to deserve it; if so, he has but spoken the truth, if not, then he has lied. In the former case, I have no occasion to be angry with him; and in the latter, he can not have done me any real injury. Why then should I wish to retaliate?

Whenever men fail to treat each with strict politeness, there must

be some forbearance between them ; a little impatience may create a great evil.

Whoever calls himself my friend, and yet behaves himself unkindly towards another of my friends, I can no longer regard him as my friend ; though he treats me well, it must be, I think, because he depends upon me for somewhat. Had he nothing to expect from me, then I could not expect him to treat me better than he treats my friend.

There are people in the world who by raising cattle and horses, seek to accumulate wealth for their posterity ; but the folly of such is manifest even in this world. But those who seek by oppressing the poor to accumulate for their posterity, will after death suffer endless punishment in hell. They will never escape to any other state of being, and their children can not happily enjoy their wealth. How, too, shall they ever reform. Being now at the " nine fountains," it is too late for repentance ever to reach them. How then can the oppressors of the poor neglect early to awaken to the consideration of these things !

In the world there are many dishonest schemes for attaining to the possession of wealth and honor. This happens from the circumstance that the virtue of ancestors often has succeeded in accumulating large possessions, and then also from the circumstance that the present condition is often a reward for past conduct, and that the future prosperity or adversity moreover is about to be a reward for the present conduct. For example, the grain which affords us sustenance in a year of famine, is that which was laid up in a year of plenty, and on account of the present year's dearth, those who live in the next year must suffer the evil of starvation. Again, suppose a case in which a man has inherited a magnificent patrimony, then although he should be habitually extravagant in his manner of living, still he would not immediately become poor, but in a short time he turns out to be so poor that he has not a place so large as the point of an awl to stand upon, and now we can perceive the result of his extravagant expenditures. Moreover, we may instance the case of the tall tree upon the mountain ; the root is deep, and the trunk is firm. But wait until a long time after, when within the heart has gradually become hollow, and without the skin has much of it peeled off ; the branches and the leaves are yet green and fresh, its root is large, and its strength vast. But wait until another time when its living powers are exhausted, and the top is shattered by the thunderbolt, and it is completely uprooted from the earth by the violence of a tempest, then how different is the appearance. Is the evil-doer able to comprehend this ?

Important Selections from the Work on the Principles of Physiognomy, by Doctor CHU HI-FI.

The mind is that which gives to the countenance its peculiar expression. If a person diligently studies his own mind, he will himself understand his true character, whether it be good or bad; the conduct is the acting out of the mind. Observe the conduct of an individual, and you will know whether he is happy or miserable. If a person does not render a due equivalent for that which he receives (i. e. is not equitable in his dealings), it will be difficult for him to protect and to support his offspring. If a person is variable and inconstant in his speech, it will thence appear that his intentions can not be relied upon. If a man's disposition is pacific and harmonious, it is a sign that he will secure glory to himself and honor to his children. If a man's talents are depraved and his disposition obstinate, and he does not meet with some great calamity, it will be wonderful. If a man knows not how to show any expression of gratitude, he will assuredly spend his days in poverty, and his life will be prematurely cut off. If whenever you converse you reflect well upon the past, you will attain unto honor and riches and old age. If you honor the rich and despise the poor, then with whom will you be able to intrust the care of your wife and children? If you respect the aged and cherish the young, you will not fail to perceive affluence following in your steps, and glory waiting before you. If you utter with a vain tongue the language of disobedience and contention, your days will be cut short. If you forget favor and cherish a petty resentment, it will be difficult to attain to the highest degree of merit at the literary examinations. If petty wealth and petty honors easily satisfy, the retribution of calamity will be accurately meted out; and if great wealth and great honor do not move you, then you will obtain happiness and emolument without bounds. If you are not competent for the management of affairs, you will not only come to nought yourself, you will also entail calamity upon your children. If you treat men liberally beyond what the strict claims of justice require, you will unawares be rewarded with happiness and long life. If you fraudulently or violently deprive men of their estates, your children will certainly come to shame; if you honor your teachers, then you will have sages for your sons.

He who is too severe easily accomplishes his designs, but it is difficult to preserve himself entirely free from calamity: he who is too gentle with difficulty completes his undertakings, yet a calm and equable felicity he is also able quietly to enjoy. If you impose heavy

burdens upon others and light ones on yourself, they will not permit you to share with them in their counsels, nor coöperate with them in their affairs. If you ascribe merits to others and impute faults to yourself, then you will be fully competent to protect from calamity and to support under misfortunes. If you mildly take the reproaches of men, your children will suddenly come to great honor. If you will constantly bear it in mind to concede some little portion of your rights, you will have quiet and leisure as long as you live.

How is it that people feed upon swords, and drink daggers? The superior man by his overbearing self-will and assumption, and the man of low degree by venturing on hazardous actions, and exposing himself to chance. How do people throw themselves into the water, or strangle themselves? It is by the young man of ordinary parts venturing in slippery places, and the young woman of a high spirit being crossed in her wishes. How is it that people are prematurely cut off, and their prospects suddenly blasted? By speaking vain words, by performing vain actions, by cherishing a vain mind—in short, by all sorts of vain behavior. How do people come to meet with severe judgments and untimely deaths? By numerous acts of secret malice, by much secret selfishness, and by performing secret actions—in short, by all sorts of secret management. By what means do men bring upon themselves severe sickness terminating in death? By sensual indulgence, lewdness, and dissipation. How do men come to be afflicted with grievous ulcers, which finally bring them to the grave? By stuffing themselves with fat and sweetmeats. How is it that people become old, and are left without heirs? By being of a morose and solitary disposition. How is it that people of full age are bereft of their children? By cherishing a treacherous and deceitful mind. How do men come to be afflicted with many grievous calamities? By unjustly oppressing and depriving people of their property. How is it that men unawares break the laws? By not attending to their own business.

If you speak of the character of a wife, you would say first of all that she should know how to be quiet and observe silence. In the next place you would require that she should be a woman of an excellent disposition, and you would not think so much of great talent and power. If she be stern and authoritative, she will be worthy of being appointed to the first rank. For her to set a light value upon ornaments, would be fully equivalent to a thousand pieces of gold. In the abundant command of words, she must delight to excel. If she have children, she must sacrifice her own comfort. If she practice

filial duty and maternal kindness, she will not only be an aid to her husband, but she will also do well for her children. If she be not at all discontented amid poverty and trouble, she will merit the praises of two nations. If in circumstances of honor and wealth, she is habitually economical in the use of food and clothing, her apartments will become the abode of glory and happiness. When she has a large number of servants and maidens, she will not fail to be kind and indulgent in her treatment of her inferiors. When her coffers are full of wealth, she will still strictly observe her habits of economy, and work well for her family.

In conclusion, we observe in regard to the preceding observations, that in passing them under review, we find no admixture of error. If diligent efforts be made to instruct the rising generation, we may still hope there will be a change for the better. No doubt the omens of good fortune will then work together in our favor—verily, the vital wealth and the spiritual energy will thus be developed in a more illustrious manner. To know the good and to maintain it, is like adding new flowers to embroidered clothing—to know the bad and avoid it, is like transforming misery into happiness. May those who shall hereafter peruse these pages, perceive herein the reflection of their own virtues.

ART. II. *The Holy Wars: Tü-tsing Shing Wü Ki, or Records of the military Achievements of the Monarchs of the Great Pure Dynasty.* Compiled by WEI YUEN of Sháu-yáng of Hünán province. 20 vols. 8vo. 3d edition, revised and enlarged. 1846.

IN China, the Press is free. On all subjects men may here print and publish whatever they find most pleasing to themselves, or deem best for the public weal. The politician and religionist may proclaim their opinions without let or hindrance everywhere and always. In the exercise of this freedom, however, if they presume to put forth seditious publications, they render themselves thereby obnoxious to the pains and penalties which the laws ordain for such heinous offenses. This we believe is the only point, so far as the laws are concerned, that requires to be guarded against by either author or publisher. Only let him be loyal, carefully maintain the orthodox faith, his masters, the officers of government being judges, the student has no

thing to fear; if able to write, and command the means to print, he may send the efforts of his genius, his literary essays, into every village and family of the land. Nor is there, that we are aware of, any tax, direct or indirect, on productions of the press. All this freedom operates favorably for the multiplication and circulation of literary works. No vocations are more honorable than authorship and the manufacture and sale of books. The number of such works annually published in this empire, is very great; and their influence by no means inconsiderable.

As in other countries, so it is in this, with regard to the motives which have influence in leading men to engage in literary enterprises. Honor, fame, pleasure, gain—all tend more or less directly to swell the catalogues of books for sale in all the principal cities of the empire. The work now before us is the product of one belonging to that very large class of men in China, whose special interest it is to sustain and perpetuate the supremacy of the reigning Manchu family. These men, by education, by habit, by elevation to places of trust and emolument, become part and parcel of the governmental system—a system which with them is all in all; its prosperity is their prosperity; its life is their life; and its downfall would be their ruin. Under such circumstances, it is no marvel that they are its zealous supporters. The danger is—nor is it small,—that their numbers ere-long will become so great as to convert them from *parasites* into *parricides*. Many of them are able men; but they are very numerous, and it is from the people that they derive their support. They rob and devour the people. The legal taxes, for the most part, are not heavy, but the extortions are enormous.

The Records comprised in the volumes before us form a somewhat curious work; and to those who desire to study the history of the Manchu race and its policy, especially its policy towards people and nations not its own, it is a valuable work. The title—*Tü-tsing Shing Wü Kí*, 大清聖武記, literally translated, reads the “*Great-Pure Holy Wars’ Records*,” a title eminently characteristic of the high pretensions which are put forth by and in behalf of the “celestial dynasty.” Their empire is Great; it alone is supreme; in it is, or ought to be, comprised, as they believe, “all beneath the heavens.” It is withal a *pure* dynasty; naught that is vile, low, or ignoble, can, as they fancy, have a place in it. As the heavens overshadow all lands, so the “celestial dynasty,” the *tien cháu*, in dominion, is wide as the world. All who oppose, or will not submit to its rule, offend against high heaven; they are, to use the strong language of

our author, "sinners," transgressors of laws celestial. All such "sinners" ought to be either exterminated, or made to submit to the powers that be; and military operations undertaken for these purposes are *holy wars!* Nothing is, or can be truly good, in the estimation of men of this class, unless it be Chinese, and come within the pale of the Middle Kingdom; accordingly we find in the volumes before us, "the doctrines of Jesus" denounced as injurious to the people and hurtful to the state. Such doctrines, therefore, and those who profess and propagate them, may be *tolerated*, but they are not to be commended, are not to be approved. Strange as it may seem, Wei Yuen, the minister of *Reason's Glory*, places Christianity and opium in the same category, as the principal evils that now endanger the safety of the empire.

Regarding the feelings of the Chinese towards foreigners there is a great diversity of opinion. Some people would have us believe that the black-haired race—men, women and children—all hate and abhor the *fân kwei*, and would gladly have them exterminated. Others take the opposite extreme, and would have us know that all, or nearly all, both people and rulers, would welcome foreigners to their country; but this needs proof. There are those, we know, who would rejoice to see the restrictive policy set aside. The number of such, however, we fear, is not large. A few only are sufficiently informed, have knowledge enough of foreigners, to render them capable of forming a correct opinion on the point in question. The information possessed by the Chinese regarding other people and nations, is exceedingly limited and incorrect. Many of the best informed do not believe that the admission of foreigners into their country—or even to the five ports—will or can be for the public good. They would prefer to have the old policy restored, and all foreigners for ever excluded from the country. The new and liberal policy they deprecate, as the people of Europe deprecated the first movements of the Reformation. These men, as we know, not only err in judgment, but are wrong in their premises. The more their information is increased the better for them, and the better for their country will be the consequences. The old order of things, the exclusive policy, has nothing in its favor that we can discern, to make its perpetuity desirable—nothing, unless we are prepared to affirm that the semi-civilization of this country is preferable to the enlightened state of western nations, and the religions of China more to be sought for than that taught us in Holy Writ. We not only dislike the old policy, but with the present *half and half* system we are thoroughly dissatisfied. Compared with

the old, we view it favorably as a transition state. It is a cheering fact that a *Reformation* has commenced in China—a reformation that, while it will be no less salutary in its results, may be a thousand times more rapid in its progress than the old Reformation of Europe.

The change here—this transition state—has been commenced by men who have little idea of what will be the consequences of their doings. The case of Lin is in point. Before he left Peking for his crusade against the traffickers in opium, he boasted of his knowledge of foreigners. Born and bred on the frontiers, "he knew them well." The sequel of his first acts—how different from what he and his imperial master anticipated! Of this sequel only the first, the opening scenes, have yet been unfolded. Admission to the five ports and the toleration of Christianity, form but the beginning in the new order of events.

If we rightly judge, Wei Yuen, the author of the *Holy Wars*, is in sentiment of the same school as Lin Tsehsü; of him, however, we know nothing except what we learn from his book. He was born near the close of the last century; and is, we presume, still living. At a very early age, he left his native town in Húnán for a residence at Peking, where he had access to all the records of the Capital, not excepting those of the Cabinet and his majesty's historiographers. He also enjoyed, what was to him of great advantage, the society of many aged men, veteran statesmen whose reminiscences ran back scores of years prior to the time when he entered upon his public career as minister of state. The military achievements of the reigning family soon and powerfully arrested his attention; were the objects of his highest admiration, and the volumes before us are the result. In them we have the military career of the Manchus from the origin of the family down to the present time, drawn out and adorned in fine Chinese style. The book is one we can recommend to all those students of this language who wish to see "the Chinese as they are." From the materials contained in it, a series of most interesting essays could be prepared, giving sketches of the Manchus, the Mongols, and the many "peoples and tribes" within the limits and upon the borders of the Chinese empire.

ART. III. *Ode to the Deity.* From the Russian.

[The following sublime ode to the Deity, composed by one of the most famous of the Russian poets, has, it is said, been translated into Chinese and Manchu, written on silk and hung in the imperial palace at Peking; and likewise into Japanese; but we are quite ignorant when or by whom done. A copy of the version into these languages would be of no little value in illustrating the Chinese ideas and term for God. The English translation by Dr. Bowring gives a high idea of the genius of the Russian author; but if he had been well read in his Bible, we think he would hardly have omitted in this highly-wrought hymn all mention of Him, "who is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature."]]

O, thou Eternal One ! whose presence bright
 All space doth occupy—all motion guide :
 Unchang'd through time's all-devastating flight,
 Thou only God ! there is no God beside.
 Being above all beings ! mighty One !
 Whom none can comprehend and none explore ;
 Who fill'st existence with thyself alone ;
 Embracing all—supporting—ruling o'er—
 Being whom we call God—and know no more !

In its sublime research, Philosophy
 May measure out the ocean deep—may count
 The seeds, or the sun's rays ; but God ! for Thee
 There is no weight or measure ; none can mount
 Up to thy mysteries. Reason's brightest spark,
 Though kindled by thy light, in vain would try
 To trace thy councils infinite and dark ;
 And thought is lost ere thought can soar so high,
 E'en like past moments in eternity.

Thou from primeval nothingness did'st call,
 First Chaos, then existence. Lord, on thee
 Eternity had its foundation ; all
 Sprung forth from thee ; of light, joy, harmony,
 Sole origin—all life, all beauty thine ;—
 Thy word created all, and doth create ;
 Thy splendor fills all space with rays divine—
 Thou art, and wert, and shalt be glorious ! great !
 Life-giving, life-sustaining potentate.
 Thy chains the unmeasured universe surround,
 Upheld by thee, by thee inspired with breath !
 Thou the beginning with the end hast bound,
 And beautifully mingled life and death !
 As sparks mount upward from the fiery blaze,
 So suns are born, so worlds spring forth from thee !
 And as the spangles in the sunny rays
 Shine round the silver snow, the pageantry
 Of heaven's bright army glitters in thy praise.

A million torches, lighted by thy hand,
 Wander unwearied through the blue abyss ;
 They own thy power, accomplish thy command,
 All gay with life, all eloquent with bliss.
 What shall we call them ? piles of crystal light—
 A glorious company of golden streams

Lamps of celestial ether burning bright ?
Suns lighting systems with their joyous beams ?
But thou to those art as the moon to night.

Yet, as a drop of water in the sea.
All this magnificence in thee is lost :
What are a thousand worlds compar'd to thee ?
And what am I, when heaven's unnumber'd host,
Though multiplied by myriads, and arrayed
In all the glory of sublime-t thought,
Is but an atom in the balance weighed
Against thy greatness—is a cypher brought
Against infinity ? What am I, then ? Nought !
Nought ! But the effluence of thy light divine,
Pervading worlds, hath reach'd my bosom, too ;
Yes, in my spirit doth thy Spirit shine,
As shines the sunbeam in a drop of dew.
Nought ! But I live, and on Hope's pinions fly
Eager towards thy presence ; for in thee
I live and breathe and dwell,—aspiring high,
Even to the throne of thy divinity.

I am, O God ! and surely thou must be !
Thou art,—directing, guiding all,—thou art !
Direct my understanding, then, to thee ;
Control my spirit—guide my wandering heart :
Though but an atom midst immensity,
Still I am something fashion'd by thy hand,—
I hold a middle rank, 'twixt heaven and earth,
On the last verge of mortal being stand,
Close to the realms where angels have their birth,
Just on the boundary of the spirit land !

The chain of being is complete in me,—
In me is matter's last gradation lost,
And the next step is spirit—Deity !
I can command the lightning, and am dust—
A monarch and a slave—a worm, a God,
Concentrated here ! and how ? so marvelously.
Constructed and conceived, unknown ? this clod
Lives surely through some higher energy ;
From out itself alone it could not be.
Creator ! Yes ! thy wisdom and thy word
Created me. Thou source of life and good !
Thou spirit of my spirit, and my Lord !
Thy light, thy love, in their bright plenitude
Filled me with an immortal soul, to spring
Over the abyss of death, and bade it wear
The garments of eternal day, and wing
Its heavenly flight beyond this little sphere
Even to its source—to thee, its Author—thee !

O, thought ineffable ! O, vision blest !
(Though worthless our conceptions all of thee)
Yet shall thy shadow'd image fill our breast,
And waft its homage to thy Deity.
God ! thus alone my lowly thoughts can soar—
Thus seek thy presence : Being wise and good !
'Midst thy vast works, admire, obey, adore ;
And when the tongue is eloquent no more,
The soul shall speak in tears of gratitude.

ART. IV. *Movable Metallic Types among the Chinese.*

THERE is good reason for believing that the Chinese had the art of printing books by blocks and types fully six hundred years before it was known in Europe, and though their knowledge does not detract from the merits of the invention of Göttenburg and Fust, still how many precious manuscripts and palimpsests might have been saved from irrecoverable destruction if Europe had had commercial and literary intercourse with China in the days of the Heptarchy and Hejira. Movable types are still employed by printers, though the common mode of printing by xylography is regarded as cheaper. We have recently made the acquaintance of an enterprising bookseller and printer named Tang, who has devoted much attention to the manufacture of movable types by casting them in molds, and has already produced two fonts, with which he has printed several works. Mr. Tang is a partner of a bookselling firm in Canton, which has expended upwards of ten thousand dollars on these fonts.

According to his account, the mode of making the type is to carve the character upon a small block of wood of the right size, cutting the strokes clean, and then make an impression of its face in fine clay, into which mold the melted tin is poured. The clay is separated from gritty particles by stirring it up in water, and pouring off that which does not soon settle, afterwards drying it. Four types are cast at once in a frame, and the clayey matrix broken in pieces when they are taken out, to be re-made for a second casting by a similar impression of the wooden type. They are afterwards planed to a uniform height. The next page is printed with these tin types, raised to the same height as the English ones, in order to take the impression in the common hand-press; they are only $4\frac{3}{4}$ lines high, partly in order to suit the wooden frame in which they are set up and printed, but chiefly to save the expense of tin.

The frame in which the types are set up and printed off, is a solid piece of rosewood, planed smooth, with its top guarded on three sides by a ledge, the top of which, just the height of the types, forms the border of the page when printed. The types are then set up in the frame, no *composing stick* being used, the columns separated by neat brass rules, and the leaf divided by a central column as in Chinese books. In the specimen here given, the types are not spaced, but in works printed with the other and larger font, the characters are usually separated. Twenty-one columns exactly fill the frame; a moving slide secures the types on the top, and completes the border round the

Specimen of Tin types cast in clay.

馬	彭	黃	孔	蔡	尹	盧	尹	黃	楊
潘	孔	江	謝	楊	陸	石	彭	招	容
莫	李	尹	莫	賴	吳	楊	招	孔	賴
謝	招	麥	鄒	徐	林	蔡	孔	桂	蔡
鄭	鄧	馮	鷄	黎	蕭	葉	麥	崔	邱
吳	徐	賴	嚴	侯	張	張	黎	李	黎
錢	馮	楊	蕭	金	梁	潘	潘	鄧	潘
陸	金	鄒	潘	蕭	容	容	聶	蕭	張
容	黃	張	侯	何	侯	侯	張	杜	杜
林	侯	鄒	石	杜	石	石	杜	金	石
石	江	孫	馬	廖	馬	徐	金	石	莫
葉	蕭	梁	徐	潘	盧	林	邱	杜	杜
盧	尹	招	林	孫	金	徐	鄧	麥	麥
徐	麥	詹	盧	王	蕭	馬	詹	蕭	蕭
聶	侯	洪	侯	葉	游	容	洪	徐	徐
金	羅	徐	金	莫	彭	潘	馮	尹	陸
邱	詹	金	邱	謝	招	錢	黃	金	侯
鷄	崔	侯	鄧	鄭	崔	莫	羅	吳	謝
梁	王	嚴	李	麥	徐	陸	金	謝	吳
蕭	游	杜	崔	江	鄧	蕭	鄭	廖	廖
楊	桂	何	王	馮	洪	侯	江	何	何
蔡	杜	廖	游	孔	王	陸	蕭	彭	羅
黎	賴	黎	桂	桂	彭	陸	彭	蕭	羅
張	何	鄭	何	王	王	陸	蕭	羅	羅
張	廖	李	廖	彭	王	陸	蕭	羅	羅
孫	廖	李	廖	王	王	陸	蕭	羅	羅

page; the types are not *justified*, or spaced out in each column to the same length, the page being sufficiently tightened at the sides to prevent the types rising when inked. When the page is proved and corrected, it is printed in the ordinary Chinese way with a brush.

The number of types which have been cast for these two fonts exceeds 150,000, but what variety of characters is included in them we do not know. The principal motive Mr. Tang assigns for embarking in the enterprise was to print two sorts of lottery tickets with which his townspeople gamble very much; one of them, made from the Hundred Family Names, called *Wei Sing Pú*; and the other from the *Tsien-tsz' Wan*, or Millenary Classic. He uses them also for whatever jobs may be required, but has never ventured the publication of a newspaper—or more likely has never thought of employing them for such a purpose.

In order to exhibit what is known respecting printing with movable types by the Chinese in former days, we here introduce a well digested paper by Stanislas Julien, translated for the China Mail; whether Mr. Tang has really read any of these notices we can not say, but he maintains the originality of his own invention, and we hope will not ultimately find it a losing undertaking.

Stereotype Plates in Wood.

According to Klaproth (*Memoir upon the Mariner's Compass*, p. 120), the earliest use of stereotype plates in wood goes back to the middle of the 10th century of our era:—

“Under the reign of Ming-teung, of the After Táng dynasty, in the 6th year of Chang-hing [A. D. 938], the ministers Fang Tu and Li Yu proposed to the Academy Kwéh-tsz' kieu to revise the nine Canonical Books, and to engrave them on plates of wood for the purpose of printing them for sale. The emperor adopted this advice, but it was only in the 2d year of the emperor Taitou of the After Chau dynasty [A D 933], that the engraving of the plates of the Canonical Books was completed. They were then distributed and circulated over all the provinces of the empire.”

M. Klaproth made the observation that printing invented in China, might have been known in Europe about 150 years before it was actually discovered there, if Europeans had been able to read and study the Persian historians: for the method of printing employed by the Chinese is found to be explained with sufficient distinctness in the *Djemma's at-tawarikh* of Râchid-Eddin, who completed this immense work about the year A. D. 1310.

We would add that Europe might have known the art of printing more than 600 years before it was discovered there, if Europeans had been in relation with China a few years before the commencement of the 6th century. Thanks to this process, imperfect though it was in its original form, it might have been possible to reproduce from a few germs an immense number of the *chefs d'œuvres* of antiquity, both Greek and Roman, and to have preserved the greater number from a loss at this day irreparable.

The employment of engraving on wood for the purpose of reproducing texts and designs, is much more ancient in China than any one has hitherto believed. We read, in fact, the following in the Chinese encyclopædia

Keh-chí King-yuen, 格致鏡原 vol. 39, page 2:—

“On the 8th day of the 12th month of the 4th year of the reign of Kânté, founder of the Sui dynasty (A D 583) it was commanded by a decree to collect all the worn out designs, and unedited texts and to engrave them on wood for publication. Thus occurred (adds the work we quote) the commencement of printing on plates of wood.”

We see that it far preceded the era of Fung Ying-wáng or Fung-táu, to whom they attribute this invention about the year A.D. 932.

This quotation is found to be repeated in another Chinese encyclopædia, intitled *Pu-t'ong-pien-lan*, vol. 21, p. 10. According to another work of a similar kind, intitled *Pi Tsang*, 印刷 printing on wood was invented about the commencement of the house of Sui, (A.D. 581); it expanded sensibly under the Táng dynasty (A.D. 618 to 904); increased very much under the five small dynasties (A.D. 907 to 960); and at last arrived at its perfection and greatest development under the Sung dynasty (A.D. 960 to 1278).

With respect to movable types, a learned Chinese of the middle of the 11th century, whom I have constantly had occasion to quote, though he certainly does not mention the precise date of their invention, yet positively makes it reach back to more than 300 years before Fung Yingwáng, to whom many Chinese writers (and after them many European savans) have given the honor of this discovery. One may also be allowed to suppose that this invention was already known and in use before A.D. 593, since they say that the Emperor commanded at that very time [*alors*] to print with plates of wood. If this had been an art altogether new, they would not have omitted to make known its origin and its author.

Impressions from Engraved Plates of Stone [en creux].

The discovery of this process, which had its origin intermediately between the invention of stereotype plates of wood, and that of movable types of baked earthenware, has not been known, so far as I can learn, by the French missionaries, nor by any of the learned in Europe.

About the middle of the second century of our era, they first began to engrave the ancient texts upon stone, in order to preserve their accuracy (which might be altered every day by the ignorance or negligence of copyists); but it does not appear that at this remote period they had any idea of making these engraved plates serve the purpose of reproducing and multiplying the principal monuments of Chinese literature:—

"In the annals of the Eastern Han dynasty we read in the biography of Tsai-yung: In the fourth year of the period Hi-p'ing [A. D. 175], Tsai-yung presented to the Emperor a memoir in which he begged him to revise, correct, and accurately determine, the true text of the six Canonical Books. He wrote them himself in red, upon tables of stone, and commissioned the most skillful artists to engrave them. They placed these tables on the outside of the gates of the Great College, and the literati of every age came daily to consult them for the purpose of correcting their sample manuscripts of the six Canonical Books."

The characters of these engraved texts were not reversed (when written), and consequently could not serve for multiplying copies of them, since, after the impression, such characters would come to be reversed. The sole use of these plates was, as we see, to answer the purpose of preserving the accuracy of the texts. Under several of the following dynasties these same plates were successively reproduced and copied, sometimes only in one form of writing, but occasionally in three different styles of character. Historians tell us that students were allowed one year for studying the six books in each form of writing, and that at the end of three years they ought to be in a condition to read them fluently in all the three forms. It was only towards the end of the Táng dynasty that they commenced engraving the texts upon stone in *reverse*, in order to print white characters on a black ground. Yü Yang-siunthus expresses himself in his *Archæological Miscellany*, entitled *Tsikan-lo*:—

"During the troubles which arose at the close of the Táng dynasty, Wan-lin opened the imperial tombs, and seized upon the books and pictures which had been shut up there. He took the gold and precious stones which ornamented their bandages and coverings, leaving the latter however on the spot. Thus it was that the autograph manuscripts of the most celebrated men of the dynasties Wei and Ts'in (and which the Emperors most sacredly preserved) came to be scattered about, and to fall into unworthy hands. In the 11th month of the 3d year of the period Yungchi [A.D. 983], the Emperor Tai-tsung commanded by a decree, to engrave upon stone, and thus to reproduce by means of pressure, all the manuscripts of the kind which he had been able to buy and collect. They were printed by the hand, to avoid their being soiled by the ink."

* The author wished to say, that after having inked the stone and extended the paper upon it, they passed the hand over the back of the paper, by which means it received a uniform impression. At this day the Chinese make use of a soft brush, and thus obtain a more regular print.

In the Encyclopædia intitled *Chi-pau-tee-chái*, vol. X, is the reprint of a small work in two books, in which are most minutely described all the ancient inscriptions, and all the autographs of the most celebrated men, which were printed in this manner (that is to say in white on a black ground) from the year A. D. 1143, to A. D. 1243. I have had the honor to present to the Academy a funeral inscription thus printed on stone, and which, for the elegance and perfection of its characters, does not yield to the most beautiful editions printed with plates of wood.

Impressions of Movable Types between A. D. 1041 and 1049.

In the *Mung-ki-pek-tán*, 夢溪筆談 vol. XVIII. p. 81, we read the memoirs of Chinkwoh, who received his Doctor's degree A. D. 1056 (Bibliothèque Royale, Fourmont's property, No. 394, vol. 24) :—

"They printed with engraved plates of wood at a period when the Tang dynasty [founded A. D. 618] had not yet lost its splendor [alluding to the employment of stereotype plates of wood under the preceding dynasty]. After Fung Ying-wang had commenced printing the *Wú King*, or canonical books, it became an established custom to publish by the same process all the books of law, as well as historical works. In the period Kingyá [between A. D. 1041 and 1049], one of the common class of people named Pi Shing, by trade a smith, invented another mode of printing by means of plates called *As-pen* or movable plates [i. e. formed of type], which expression is still employed to this day to designate the plates used at the Imperial printing establishment in the *Wú-ying* tien palace at Peking. The following is the description of his process :— He took some very fine plastic clay, of which he made regularly formed plates, about the thickness of the pieces of money called *tsien* or cash, and upon these he engraved the characters in most frequent use. For each character he made a separate seal or iron plate, and afterwards baked them in the fire to harden them. He then placed on the table an iron plate, which he covered with some very fusible cement, composed of resin, wax, and lime.

"When he wished to print, he took a frame of iron, divided within longitudinally from top to bottom [for the Chinese write from above, downwards], by bands of the same metal, and then laying it upon the iron plate already covered with cement, he arranged the types in it, placing them towards the right, one against the other. Each case, filled with types thus arranged, formed one plate. This plate was now placed near the fire so as to melt the cement a little, and then with a plate of wood well planed [an *agathe*] he pressed strongly upon the collection of types which, being sunk into the cement by this means, became level and even as a whetstone. Were it only to print two or three copies of the same work, this method would neither be convenient nor expeditious; but when it was required to print tens, hundreds, and thousands of copies, the operation proceeded with very great rapidity. They generally prepared two iron plates and two frames or forms, so that whilst printing with one of the two plates, the other might be supplied with its proper composition, and the printing from the former being finished, the latter, already prepared, replaced it immediately. They thus alternately made use of the two plates, and the printing of each leaf was effected in the twinkling of an eye.

"For each character they had always many similar types, and as many as 30 proofs [i. e. 30 duplicate types] of the most frequently used characters so as to be able to reproduce such words as might be found many times repeated in the same plate. When not making use of these duplicates they preserved them wrapped up in paper. The characters or types were classified according to their tones, and all those of the same tone were disposed in one particular case. If by chance he met with a rare character which had not been prepared beforehand, he engraved it immediately, baked it with a straw fire, and could thus make use of it in a minute. The reason which deterred the inventor from making use of wooden types was, that the tissue of wood, being sometimes porous, sometimes hard, if once impregnated with water, would have been nervous; moreover, the types would have stuck to the cement in such a manner that they could not have been removed again so as to serve for a new combination. It was much better therefore to make use of types of baked earthenware. When he had completed the printing of one plate, he heated it again to melt the cement, and then with the hand cleared away the types, which separated of themselves without retaining the smallest particle of cement or dirt. When Pi Shing died, his friends inherited his types, and still preserve them most carefully."

We see by this last sentence, that the inventor of movable types in China had no immediate successor, and that printing was continued as formerly, with engraved wooden plates. This very natural return of the Chinese to their ancient mode of printing was certainly not owing to the imperfection of Pi Shing's process, but to the nature of the Chinese language, which, being destitute of an alphabet (consisting of but a small number of signs [characters] with which one could compose every kind of book), put the printer to the necessity of engraving very many more types than there were different words, and of having (according to the division of sounds into 106 classes) 106 separate cases, each filled with an enormous number of types many times repeated, the search for which, their setting up in forms, and their distribution again after printing, necessarily required a considerable time. It was therefore more easy and expeditious to write, or cause to be written, as is now done, the text one

wished to print, paste this text upon a plate of wood, and thus make the white portions distinctly visible to the engraver. Since this period (1149) to the present day, the Chinese printers have continued in general to print from wooden plates, or from stereotype plates of copper engraved in relief. But under the reign of the Emperor K'ang-hi, who mounted the throne in 1662, some European Missionaries, who enjoyed great influence with this monarch, decided upon engraving 250,000 movable types in copper,* which served to print, under the title of *K'ü-kin Tü-shü*, a collection of ancient and modern works comprising 6000 octavo volumes, and of which the Royal Library of Paris possesses many considerable portions: (as, *The History of Music*, in 60 volumes; *The History of the Chinese Language, and of its Characters and Writing in different ages*, in 80 volumes; and *The History of Foreigners known to the Chinese*, in 75 vols.) In elegance of form and beauty of impression, this edition rivals the finest works published in Europe.

There exists in the Imperial palace of Peking an edifice called *Wü-ying tien*, where, since 1776, they have printed every year, a great number of works with movable types, obtained, as in Europe, by means of engraved punches and matrices. The *Bibliothèque Royale* possesses many editions of an admirable finish and beauty, which bear the seal of this printing establishment, whose types have received from the Emperor the elegant name of *T'ü-chin*, 聚珍 or "Congregated Pearls."

The official report which precedes one of these editions, discovers to us a very interesting fact, the observation of which may possibly give birth in Europe to some experiments and results of serious importance. Our punches of steel and matrices of copper entail great expense, and are exposed to rapid deterioration by oxidation. The Chinese have guarded against this double inconvenience by engraving their punches from hard and fine-grained wood (at a cost of from 5 to 10 centimes each type), and make use of these for striking the matrices in a kind of porcelain paste, which they then bake in a kiln, and in which they afterwards cast the printing types with an alloy of lead and zinc, and sometimes even with silver.

It remains for us to know how they manage to succeed in *justifying*† (as they say in the language of founders) matrices of such material. One may be allowed to suppose however that the *justification* of these matrices is such as to leave nothing to be desired, since the typographical results which we have before us are of a nature to satisfy the most competent and fastidious judges. (For example, the edition in small text of the *Shwui-king Chá*, or "Book of Rivers, with a Commentary," which has been sent to M. Arago by the author of the present notice.) I shall not conclude this article without explaining the motive which determined the Emperor Kienlung, in the year 1776, to found the printing establishment for movable types in the *Wü-ying* palace. This illustrious monarch having published an edict in 1773 for engraving on wood, and printing at the expense of the state, 10,412 of the most important works of Chinese literature, a member of the Financial Board named *Kin Kien*, considering that it would require an enormous number of plates for printing this vast collection of books, and that the expense of engraving would be immense, proposed to the Emperor to adopt the system of printing by movable types, and submitted to him the models of these types arranged upon the plates, and accompanied with all the necessary instructions for the engraving of the punches in wood (see above), the striking of the matrices, the casting of the types, and setting them up in forms.

The Emperor approved of this project by a special edict, and ordered these

* Some years afterwards they committed the great mistake of melting and destroying these 250,000 copper types. Of this much-to-be-regretted fact we are informed in the preface of a small work on Agriculture printed more slowly by the same process in the Typographical establishment of the Imperial palace called *Wü-ying-tien*, of which we now proceed to speak more in detail.

† To *justify* a matrix, is to make it perfectly square and of the standard size and thickness, so that the types cast shall be exactly of the same height, &c.

10,412 works to be printed according to the plan of Kin Kien ; and an analytical and descriptive catalogue of them, extending over 120 octavo volumes, was published by Imperial authority. There is a copy of this precious work in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, and in the 89d vol. p. 53, we have gathered the preceding details. In later times, the printing by movable types called *pai tsz'*, or compounded characters, has made sensible progress in China; and in the course of another generation, the Chinese will very probably altogether give up the use of engraved plates of wood. We have in Paris many large works published by this process; for example "A Treatise on the Military Art," (*Wé-tsiem-haou-pien*), in 24 vols.; "A Tonic Dictionary of the names of Towns," (*Li-tsi Ty-lí Yau-pien*), in 16 quarto vols.; "a Geographical Description of the Globe, by European, Chinese, and other Oriental authors," (*Hsi-kwoh Tü Ché*), in 20 quarto vols., &c. These editions, it is true, are far from possessing the same elegance as those which have come from the Imperial presses; but they are very perfect, and far more correct than those which are produced by wooden plates, the Chinese authors and editors having adopted our custom of revising the proofs of the text until they appear altogether free from typographical errors.

NOTE.—The translator of the above paper, for the sake of illustration, has made a small set of movable clay types, and the impressions taken from them are such as to afford ample proof that with a good material and a little experience it would be very easy to prepare either types or matrices by the original Chinese method, at a much less cost than by the steel punches and copper matrices now in use.

ART. V. *Fifteenth Report of the Medical Missionary Society's Ophthalmic Hospital at Canton, for the years 1848 and 1849.*

By Rev. P. PARKER, M. D.

IN reporting from year to year, the operations of this Institution, a primary object is to furnish the members of the Society and the friends of its cause, in a compendious form, the means of judging of its prosperity and influence, at the same time giving prominence to such cases as are of special interest to the profession, and to others calculated to illustrate the moral bearing of medical missionary operations.

The whole number of patients admitted up to 31st of Dec. 1849, was 34,598, of whom 3,663 were received in 1848, and 4,341 in 1849. The table of diseases at the close exhibits the variety that has been presented, from which a *selection* is given in detail.

It is perhaps too obvious to require remark that the labor and responsibility involved in the care of so many, and such serious cases, have not been small; but it is a source of unfeigned gratitude that the continued Divine blessing has signally crowned these labors and responsibilities, and the confidence and gratitude of Chinese of all grades, as manifested in former years, has exhibited no abatement. The former Imperial Commissioner Kiyng, since his return to Pe-

king, has sent to his old friend and physician for professional advice. And his successor, in office, Sü Kwáng-tsin, with all his national prejudice, and policy hostile to foreigners, on a public occasion, made honorable and complimentary allusion to this Institution. Persons from the offices of the high provincial dignitaries, the Governor-general, the general of the Manchus and others, have availed of the benefits of the Hospital. Patients have been received from different and distant provinces of the Empire, and in one instance, as will be seen, a gentleman came a journey of two months from Chehkiáng to obtain surgical aid. An impression has obtained in some instances, among foreigners, that the Chinese are ungrateful; to correct that impression, as well as to illustrate character and sentiment, the report will be illustrated with translations of scrolls and tablets presented by various patients. A notice of the religious exercises, and the wide distribution of Christian books, will be found in the conclusion.

The nature of some of the cases, in the view of the general reader, might consign them to journals designed exclusively for professional men, but the report would be incomplete without them, and it is apprehended, no well informed mind will suffer from their perusal. For convenience of reference, the number of each case as it stands on the records of the Institution is inserted.

Escape of an Intestinal Worm from the side, and perfect recovery.

Early in 1848 I was called to see at the Lungkí Hong, a lady upwards of forty years of age, a near relative of Cháng Tien-tsiuen ("Young Tingqua"), one of the principal Chinese merchants. No description can convey an adequate idea of her pitiable condition. The skin and cellular tissue over the left iliac region, for a space of six or eight inches in diameter, had sloughed away, leaving the muscles and the spine of the ilium exposed; extensive ulceration and sloughing had taken place along the spine. At one point, about midway, in a line drawn from the umbilicus to the crest of the ilium, the abdominal muscles were perforated by the disease, and that a portion of the contents of the bowel escaped through an aperture, like an artificial anus, was apparent to more of the senses than one.

In view of the condition of the patient, her feeble pulse, emaciated frame, and the extent of the external ulceration and sloughing, the most unfavorable prognosis was pronounced, and the friends were assured that to palliate the symptoms, and render her remaining days as comfortable as practicable was all that could be promised. They readily concurred in this opinion, but desired whatever was possible to

be done. The wound was carefully cleansed with castile soap and warm water, remaining sloughs removed, a solution of nitrate of silver applied to the surface, the pain of which was arrested by the application of milk when it could be borne by the patient no longer; emollient poultices were applied for a time; the bowels were gently acted upon by blue pill and colocynth, rest at night procured by morphia, and a nutritious diet prescribed.

For some time I saw the patient daily or every other day, dressing the parts as above described, and perceiving decided improvement, it was proposed that she be brought to the Hospital, where she could be attended to more conveniently, and receive the constant care of my senior pupil. This was cheerfully acceded to. After remaining at the Hospital some weeks, her daughter, who had been in constant attendance, thought she had become so familiar with the mode of dressing the sore, that if furnished with the means she could do it at home as well as in the Hospital. The request was granted, and the family—mother, daughter, nephews and servants, went back to the country. As the supply of medicines, particularly the solution of nitrate of silver (which was much extolled) and simple cerate became exhausted, more were requested, and favorable reports from time to time of convalescence of the patient were made. On a recent occasion, in which a number of foreign gentlemen and ladies met several Chinese ladies at a picnic in the vicinity of the Factories, the wife of the Chinese merchant above-named was one of the party, and recognizing the “Doctor,” alluded to the case of her relative whom she represented as being well and able to walk.

Baffled in accounting satisfactorily for the origin of this serious malady, with the hope of obtaining more information, the following account was obtained from her son.

“In February, 1847, my mother had a sore suddenly occur upon the abdomen, hard as a nut, without redness or tumefaction. At the expiration of one year the noxious properties of the sore made a great ado, and the pains and distress were difficult to be borne. We requested the physician of the village to see her and examine her pulse, who applied medicinal plasters, and the skin and flesh were altogether destroyed, even to exposing the bone [of the ilium], and the disease became nearly incurable. I had been aware of the skillful hand of the American Doctor, but [my mother] being a country lady, together with the circumstance of her severe illness, was induced to hesitate and delay coming to the provincial city for treatment. Sub-

sequently I was obliged to Mr. Morss, an American merchant, for urgently recommending her coming to Canton to be treated without delay. Mr. Morss is an intimate friend of my brother (Young Tingqua), who ordered me to tell my brothers to take our mother and bring her to Canton, when I respectfully requested Dr. Parker to see her, and was obliged to him for washing the parts and removing the sloughs from the sore with his own hand, and applying medicines several times daily for more than ten days in succession, after which she returned to the country, where she confined herself to his medical plasters, and in one month after a *worm* came out of the mouth of the ulcer, ten inches and more in length! It was of a yellow color, destitute of limbs or eyes. The two extremities were black, and upon its belly were black lines. On cutting open the belly with a sherd of porcelain, *more than a hundred little worms came out*. After pulling out this worm, the ulcer daily improved; after one month the orifice closed up, in two months it was perfectly well, and the surface afterwards became smooth as usual. For all this we are indebted to the skillful hand of Dr. Parker and his efficacious plasters, and still more to Mr. Morss's urgent recommendations of the Doctor. I and my mother are verily grateful for the favor of creating her anew (i. e. restoring her to health) which to our last breath we can not forget.

"Taking a drawing of the dimensions of the worm, I present it for Dr. Parker's inspection."

"Bedewed with favors, Chang Kiun-sung and others present their compliments."

It can not be doubted that an intestinal worm was taken from the side of this patient, but that this was the cause of the malady, is not so clear, and the real origin of it remains a question difficult to solve. The nature of the affection, and the perfect recovery, are both remarkable. Professor Dunglison however, remarks (*Practice of Medicine*, Vol. I. p. 195), "Some have asserted, that the intestinal canal is occasionally perforated by worms; but if it has ever happened, it is an extremely rare occurrence (J. P. Frank, J. Cloquet, Stokes). More commonly, an ulcerative process has been established in the intestine, through which the worms have escaped." So far as the maxim *omne vivum ex ovo* is concerned, the presence of "more than one hundred little worms" found within the large one "pulled out" of this woman's side is one *fact*, at least, against its accuracy, and clearly in favor of the conclusion to which distinguished physiologists and naturalists have arrived, viz. the *regular generation of entozoa*.

Cases of Lithotomy.

A note from a patient from whom a calculus was successfully extracted five years since is here given as introductory to the following cases.

"On a former occasion (1845), I was indebted to the 'great nation's arm' from America for extracting a calculus. By simply administering one golden pill, the dangerous disease was instantly expelled, and by his assistance the drought-withered vegetation (i. e. the patient) was vivified, so that he may be compared to the [ancient] Pien Tsioh. I am heavily laden with (a sense) of his exalted goodness, and I not merely bear upon my head his kindness, [weighty] as the mountainous *Hwá* and *Lui* (said to be the loftiest mountains of China), but I have received his no slight favor. I respectfully present him these ten fowls and hundred eggs, as a slight manifestation of my heartfelt gratitude, and prostrate pray he will be pleased to receive them. His younger brother, Yieh Kiuen, of the district of Sz'hwui, knocks head."

No. 26,600. Feb. 1st, 1848. *Stone of extraordinary size in the prostate gland and bladder.* *Liú Lienmau*, a fishmonger of the city of Canton, æt. 25. When he first came to the Hospital, was much emaciated, and scarcely able to walk or stand erect. On sounding, found a calculus of unusual magnitude, and from his great feebleness, doubted his ability to sustain an operation. After remaining a short time he absented himself, probably shrinking from the operation, till forced by several months' more pain to return to the Hospital. He was then enjoined to keep quiet as possible, and under the use of tonics and a generous diet his general health had perceptibly improved, when on the 25th of October the stone was extracted by the lateral operation. It occupied the position of the prostate gland and neck of the bladder; it was of a pyramidal form, the base towards the perinæum, about two inches of the apex was within the neck of the bladder. It weighed 6½ ounces,—its circumference horizontally was 7½ inches, and vertically 10 inches; its corresponding diameters were 3 and 4 inches. The external incision was made very free, yet the extraction required a strong arm and forceps of the largest size. The calculus appears without section to be of two distinct formations, the original nucleus in size and shape resembling a pear, is of a dark brown color, and polished surface; around the base of this a distinct formation had accumulated, resembling the triple phosphates. Though the new accretion was for the most part smooth, there were sharp coral-like protrusions on the side towards

the rectum. The following woodcut represents the size and shape of the calculus, a portion of the upper part being fractured off.



The patient sustained the operation with fortitude. In the evening he was very comfortable, his countenance was placid, complained a little of a sense of lameness from the restraint of the limbs during the operation, but to use his own expression, "felt light." He was reminded that the favor he had obtained was from God, to which he seemed to yield a cordial assent.

Oct. 26th. The patient passed a comfortable night, Pulse 88. No fever, or local pain of consequence; good appetite, and the urine free from blood. He was visited by his mother, who seemed quite overjoyed, and was only prevented by force from knocking head at my feet, as she exclaimed "you have saved my son; thanks to the doctor, thanks to God our Heavenly Father." She had received her first correct knowledge of the latter by the religious instruction communicated at the Hospital.

Oct. 27th. Removed the canula from the wound, and changed the position of the patient from the left to the right side, when he expressed himself as being more comfortable than previous to the operation.

Oct. 28th. Pulse 84. Removed him from the operation table to his bed, and as the pulse was a little quickened, an ounce of oil was administered, and in the afternoon a more generous diet of rice and fish was allowed him.

Oct. 29th. Pulse 80. No headache or fever since the operation, or cystitis, to speak of, as indicated by ropy pus. The water free, and the patient cheerful and happy. Nov. 1st. Patient continues to do well; some discharge of pus from the wound, but not from the bladder. Without an unfavorable symptom, he rapidly advanced to full convalescence, when on the 21st of November, in twenty-six days, the wound was thoroughly healed and the patient perfectly well. His feelings will best be conceived, when it is reflected that he had suffered from this stone *ten years*. Subsequent to his discharge from the Hospital, his poor widowed mother came to my residence with some little tokens of her gratitude (as a pair of fowls and a basket of eggs), for what she again termed "the saving of her son," and renewed her attempt to prostrate herself before the instrument, but was directed to make her acknowledgments to the Source of her obligations. She was furnished with an assortment of Christian books, from which it is devoutly hoped she and her son may come to a saving knowledge of revealed truth. The young man has become stout and healthy, and frequently revisits the Hospital. Probably but few calculi of the same magnitude have ever been successfully extracted whole. A year subsequent to the operation he presented two scrolls, with the following sentiments, the original expressed in verse.

耶 穌 濟 世 傳 天 下
伯 解 奇 方 救 萬 民

"Let the [merits] of Jesus, the Savior of mankind be promulgated throughout the world.

"You deliver from all diseases, and by extraordinary means save myriads of people."

"Liú Lien-mau presents his compliments."

No. 26,796. Feb. 28th, 1848. *Calculus of the triple phosphates*. Chung Ping, æt. 33, of the district of Tsingyuen in this province, had suffered for years from this painful disease. After presenting himself, he was absent till the commencement of warm weather, when, as his pain was not excessive, the operation was postponed till the heat of summer had passed, and on the 6th of Sept. the stone was successfully extracted by the lateral method. The calculus was symmetrical, of an oblong oval form, and for the most part smooth. Its circumferences were $3\frac{1}{2}$ and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and its diameters $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches; weight, one ounce and ten grains. The operation was entirely successful; in seventeen days he passed his water naturally, and in about a month was

discharged well. His certificate, exonerating the surgeon from all responsibility in the event of an unfavorable result, is here introduced as a specimen of the written indemnities given before serious cases are undertaken, and which are said to be valid in Chinese law.

"*Agreement.* I, Chung Ping, thirty-three years of age, of the district of Tsingyuen, in the department of Kwángchau, being afflicted with stone, have several times sought medical aid, yet without avail. Now, fortunately I am under obligation to Dr. Parker of America, for employing his knife, and extracting it, and when cured, not merely I, one person, will be bedewed with his favor, but a united family will be grateful for his great kindness. Should the mountain from its height, and the water from its depth, be impassable (i. e. should the result be fatal), it shall not concern the Doctor; all will acquiesce in the will of heaven. Lest oral evidence be invalid, I make this written agreement, and deliver it to the Doctor to hold as evidence.

"Táukwáng, 28th year, 6th moon, 5th day (5th July, 1848).

(signed) Chung Ping."

No. 26,802. February 28, 1848. *Stone of the lithic acid formation.* Chung Awei, æt. 27, is a laborer of the village of the White Lotus pond in the district of Pohlo and for several years has suffered from calculus. After undergoing the usual preparation on the 31st of May, assisted by Dr. Marjoribanks, Rev. Mr. Speer, and Dr. Rowe, extracted the stone by the lateral operation, glistening with minute crystals. It resembled an almond in shape, measured $2\frac{1}{2}$ and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches circumference, its diameters were 1 in. and $1\frac{1}{2}$; its weight 4oz. and 1sc. On examination after the operation, it was found that the rectum had been wounded; the sphincter muscle was consequently divided immediately. No unusual hemorrhage attended the operation. The urine did not flow as soon as is common, but in an hour or two it found its way through the canula, and no unfavorable symptoms supervened. In eight days the water ceased to pass through the wound. June 16th, the patient left his bed for the first time, and walked across the room with assistance, and no water escaped by the wound though in the upright position. It healed rapidly and perfectly, and no permanent inconvenience attended the accident, as the patient recovered the natural power of the reunited sphincter muscles.

During his residence in the hospital, he was an attentive listener to the preaching of the gospel; previous to the operation he assured me that he worshiped Jesus, and consistently with this profession, he was heard to cry unto God, under the sufferings of extracting the calculus.

No. 28,502. July 17, 1848. *Large calculus of lithic acid formation.* Kwoh Awei, *æt.* 40, of the district of Sinhwui, at present a butcher in Canton, had suffered from stone for several years, but unlike most persons afflicted with this complaint, was rather corpulent. On the 13th September, a week subsequent to case 26,796, a stone was extracted resembling in shape, and almost in size, the seed of a mango. It measured 7 *in.* in its largest, and 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ *in.* in its least circumference. Its transverse and longitudinal diameters, were 2 inches, and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It was of a pale reddish color, sparkling with crystals, and its surface for the most part rough like sand paper. It weighed two ounces, two drachms and one scruple. It was extracted whole. A rough woodcut has been made by the Chinese carvers, which represents its exact size and general appearance.



After the first few days he suffered very little, and notwithstanding instructions to the contrary, soon commenced changing his position from side to side. In about ten days the water passed naturally, and in thirty he was well. The day after the operation, his mother and several of his children came to the hospital, and remained with him till he was nearly recovered. He seemed to be in easy circumstances, for he was able to command whatever could contribute to his comfort. When expressing his gratitude to God, and his instrument, he observed that the mouths of eight children depended upon him for food.

Living in the vicinity of the Foreign factories, he often leaves his stall to run in and see what is passing in the hospital. He is more robust and corpulent than ever, and is very ready to encourage others who

have a similar ordeal in prospect to the one he has passed. Subsequent to his recovery he presented a pair of scrolls with a statement of his case, containing a poetical statement, of which the following is a translation.

"In the cyclical year *wúshín* (A. D. 1848), I had been afflicted with the stone disease for more than a year, and every [Chinese] physician having been unable to affect a cure, I subsequently repaired to Dr. Parker, the celebrated American physician, and begged him to cut and extract the stone, and in some ten days and more I was well, and have therefore written these scrolls, to manifest the sentiments of my heart.

"Not only according to true principles do you disseminate your skillful art:

"But, still more, in your emerald satchel you possess an assortment of wonderful prescriptions."

"Your younger brother, Kwoh Awei, of the district of Nanhái, presents his compliments."

No. 29,015. Dec. 11th, 1848. *Calculus, triple phosphates*: Ngáu Cháu, æt. 51, of the district of Kauyáu in the department of Sháu-king, had been afflicted many years with stone. He was much emaciated, a copious discharge of ropy mucus had existed for a long time, and his constitution was so impaired that I declined to operate. To palliate his distressing symptoms was all that could be promised. After remaining several months, he proposed if he could not be operated upon to return home and pursue the palliative treatment there. This he was advised to do. But in a couple of months or so, he renewed his importunity for the extraction of the stone, which was again declined. The injection of the bladder with diluted nitric acid (two drops to an ounce of water) was commenced, with attention to his general health. Under these means there was a mitigation of his more urgent symptoms, yet his sufferings were insupportable, and a brother came repeatedly a distance of twenty miles, to join him in his urgent solicitations, and against the decision of an unbiased judgment they prevailed. On the 17th of Oct. 1849, the stone was extracted, measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 in. in circumference, and weighing 1 ounce. The hemorrhage was excessive, apparently from the neck of the bladder, and only arrested by filling the wound with a pledget of lint saturated with the tincture of muriate of iron, a silver catheter being previously introduced. Healthy suppuration was never established in the incision, and a few days subsequent to the operation, a large and hard protuberance appeared in the region of the stomach. This however subsided in eight and forty hours, and hopes were entertained for his recovery. But about the ninth day he declined rapidly, and died on the eleventh

During his long residence in the hospital he was one of the most attentive listeners to religious instruction upon the Sabbath and at the evening services with the patients. He also received the special attention of the Rev. W. Speer, who several times, before and after the 17th, conversed and prayed with him in his room alone. From the spirit he exhibited throughout the last weeks of his life, there is some reason to hope the instructions imparted were not in vain.

No. 30,158. Dec. 11, 1848, *Calculus, lithic acid formation*. Liú Tsioh-wí, a farmer, æt. 21, of Tsang-ching in this province, was admitted to the Hospital at this date suffering from stone, which on the 28th Feb. 1849, was successfully extracted. It measured $3\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 inches circumference, and its diameters were $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches; it weighed five drachms. There was considerable hemorrhage from one of the hemorrhoidal arteries, which was arrested by the application of mattico, suggested by W. S. W. Ruschenberger, M. D., who assisted on the occasion, and by whom this valuable addition to the materia medica was first introduced to the notice of the profession in America, as an efficient styptic. The patient perfectly recovered in about six weeks.

No. 30,637. Feb. 26th, 1849. *Calculus, triple phosphates*. Li Akiáu, æt. 33, of the district of Tsingyuen, a laborer. In the month of March, by the lateral operation, operated and extracted a stone five and a half inches by four in circumference, of a flattened oval form and regular, weighing about one ounce and a half. The only circumstance deserving particular notice in this case was the excessive induration and rigidity of the neck of the bladder. The incision through the prostate gland and neck of the bladder was of the usual extent, that is, sufficient to admit the finger before removing the staff. The forceps were introduced with some difficulty, the stone was grasped at once, but in extracting it, the neck of the bladder seemed as inelastic as an iron ring, and nearly one third of the calculus fractured off under the pressure of the forceps, the fragments for the most part passing out before the principal portion, so that few remained to be syringed out of the bladder. Some inflammation followed, but soon yielded to the influence of calomel in small doses, and mucilaginous draughts. The patient perfectly recovered in about five weeks.

No. 31,191. Nov. 24th, 1849. *Calculus, triple phosphates*. Lín Chinyung, æt. 26, of the district of Pwányü. On the above date the stone was extracted, the patient being under the influence of chloroform. As he revived, he asked when the incision was to be made, and was answered by showing him the calculus. It measured

2½ by 4½ inches circumference, its diameters 1¼ and 1½ inches; its weight was one ounce and three grains. The loss of blood was not over three ounces. The recovery was rapid and complete. The tidings of his success soon reached his companion in suffering who had previously disappeared (on the occasion of the fatal termination of the case of *Ngú Cháu*), and nerved him to return, and on the 2d Jan. 1850, a stone was extracted from the prostate gland and neck of the bladder, three inches in length, and seven in its longest circumference weighing one ounce. This patient was also under the influence of chloroform, and as he awoke from his state of insensibility, and saw the calculus, held up his thumb with a smile, exclaiming in his broken English, *num-pá wan* (No. 1.). The details of this case, which has been perfectly successful, are reserved for the next report, to which in the order of time it belongs.

Cases of Gunshot and other Wounds.

No. 28,307. July 4th, 1848. *Wound of the abdomen, and protrusion of the bowels.* Li Hung of the district of Sinhwui, a lad eleven years old, the only child of his parents, running along the street on his way to the market with a bowl in his hand, tripped and fell upon the bowl, the fractured edge of which perforated the abdomen on the right side, in a horizontal line a little above the umbilicus, so that the bowel escaped to the extent of a foot. This occurred at 7 o'clock, P.M. At half past 9 o'clock, he was brought to the hospital. The protruded viscus had become distended with flatus, and being strangulated, exuded blood and serum, and was quite livid. After protracted and unsuccessful endeavors to return the bowel, assisted by Dr. Marjoribanks, I enlarged the semilunar aperture with a bistoury, and reduced the intestine. Fortunately very little hemorrhage followed the incision, which was made upward and inward to the extent of about one third of an inch. After waiting sufficiently long to ascertain that nothing was to be apprehended from hemorrhage, the wound was united by sutures and adhesive plaster, and a compress and bandage were gently applied. A calomel and rhubarb aperient was administered. The next morning the pulse was upwards of 100, but after a natural evacuation in the afternoon, it rapidly fell to the natural standard. From this time not an unfavorable symptom occurred, and in ten days the wound healed, and the lad perfectly recovered.

Gunshot wounds by Pirates. On the evening of 9th July, 1848, a passenger boat from Hiángshau to Canton was attacked by pirates. Boats of this class are employed by the dealers in cotton, to bring

large amounts of specie to the city, and are well armed to defend themselves against pirates. This boat had swivels of foreign manufacture, loaded and manned, and the matches were lighted. But sailing before the wind in a moonlight evening, the men were asleep at their guns, when a pirate came up astern of her unobserved, and fired a shot, aimed, apparently, at the helmsman, which passed through the body of a man near him. The boatmen were instantly at their guns. The helmsman brought the boat into the wind, when a broadside was fired into the piratical boat, sending a number of the men into the water. The engagement was brief and spirited, but successful on the part of the assailed, who reported that but five oarsmen were seen in the bright moonlight, working at the pirate boat when they parted. Five men belonging to the passenger boat were brought to the hospital the next morning, probably at the instance of the government, as a linguist came to seek admittance for them, each having received an iron slug or shot. They were entered upon the records as follows :

No. 28,506.	Lí Atsí, æt. 23.	Ball entered the groin.
„ 28,507.	Lí Ayú, æt. 31.	„ „ left breast.
„ 28,508.	Cháu Awú, æt. 25.	„ „ at the ankle.
„ 28,509.	Lí Asz', æt. 15.	„ „ right arm.
„ 28,510.	Hwáng Akwáng, æt. 53.	„ „ mastoid process.

In the case of the first, the ball entered just over the arch of the pubes, a little to the left side, and passing in a horizontal direction, fortunately without injury to the femoral artery which ran very near its course, lodged beneath the *vastus externus* of the right thigh, where it was found, cut down upon, and extracted on the 17th inst. In that of Lí Ayú, the ball entered over the third rib, glanced and passed downwards beneath the pectoral muscle, two inches below the point of entrance, where it was found and dislodged on the 18th inst. Cháu Awú received the shot below the internal malleolus of the right foot, which was extracted at the centre of the heel on the 10th. In the case of Lí Asz', the shot passed through the right arm, external to the humerus, a little below the deltoid muscle, and was extracted on the opposite side, also on the 10th. Hwáng Akwáng received the iron a little below the right mastoid process, which passed along the base of the cranium, lodged near the cervical vertebræ at a depth of three and a half inches, and was extracted on the 15th, after dilating the wound with a bistoury and directory to the bottom. The five men all recovered in due course without any permanent injury, three of whom, subsequent to their discharge, have returned with grateful acknowledgment of their good fortune.

No. 29,351. Sept. 19th, 1848. *Gunshot wound.* Chin Asán, æt. 24, of Sinhwui, the gunner of a passenger boat of Kiángmun, was shot by pirates on the evening of the 20th instant. An iron grape shot an inch in diameter, entered the left side just over the fifth rib, passed along the rib, backwards and over the spine, and lodged beneath the integuments in the opposite side at a point nearly corresponding to that at which it entered. Assisted by Dr. Ruschenberger of U. S. N., the ball was cut down upon and extracted. Poultices were applied, and an antiphlogistic treatment was adopted; copious suppuration followed, the lungs suffered sympathetically to a considerable extent, but in six or eight weeks the patient perfectly recovered.

Subsequent to his return home, the proprietors of the line of boats to which he belonged presented their acknowledgments, by the presentation of these two scrolls.

江門渡拜題

濟世青囊有秘篇

回春藥圃無凡草

花旗國伯駕大國手鑒

Translation. "The following couplet is composed, and with compliments presented, by the Passenger-boat company of Kiángmun, for the inspection of the celebrated physician, Dr. Parker, of America. [From the winter of disease], you restore the spring of health; and possessing in your emerald satchel,* books unknown to others, you [are able] to benefit the world."

No. 29,352. *Gunshot wound, fatal.* Chin Aho, of Shunteh, æt. 32, a sailor belonging to the same boat as Chin Asán last mentioned, was mortally wounded in the shoulder. The ball passed through the upper third of the humerus, producing comminuted fracture of the whole upper third of the bone, and dividing the brachial artery. He survived his arrival at the hospital only about an hour.

* Here is an historical allusion to a celebrated physician of antiquity who is said to have carried his prescriptions in an emerald pocket by his side.

No. 30,328. Jan. 2d, 1849. *Gunshot wound.* On the evening of the 1st Jan., a passenger boat on its way to Canton, when a little above Whampoa, was attacked by six piratical craft containing over one hundred men. The engagement lasted two hours (the report of the guns was heard distinctly at Canton), when the pirates were dispersed by the timely assistance of a well armed chop-boat, laden with cotton, that came to their aid. Yen Awáng, 33 years old, of Kweishen in the department of Weichau, belonging to the boat, was wounded by a splinter, about four inches in length, and three fourths of an inch broad, that passed through the left arm near the brachial artery, yet without injuring the blood-vessels, and entering the side, hit upon a rib, glanced downwards perpendicularly, and lodged between the ribs and the muscles, where it was found and extracted on his reaching the hospital the next morning. Six of his fellow-boatmen were severely burnt by the fire-balls from the pirates, but all perfectly recovered at the hospital.

Cases of Fractures and Dislocations.

No. 27,375. 1st May, 1848. *Fracture of the thigh.* Ngáu Yáukiú, æt. 22, of the district of Sinhwui, by the falling of a spar on board of a junk, fractured his thigh at the superior third. The bone was set by Kwán Atò, and the case treated by him exclusively and successfully, and the patient discharged well in about six weeks.

No. 30,992. 2d April, 1849. *Fracture of both bones of the leg.* Chin Ashin, æt. 32, of the district of Shunteh, had simple fracture of the tibia and fibula. This case was also satisfactorily treated by my senior pupil.

No. 34,000. Nov. 7th, 1849. *Dislocation of the os humeri.* Ho Alin, æt. 20, of the district of Nánhài, fell and dislocated the right shoulder forwards, placing the head of the os humeri upon the pectoral muscle. The dislocation occurred some hours previous to my seeing him at 11 p.m. The patient was under apprehension that his injury was irreparable, but his despondency was soon exchanged for joy on finding, in a few minutes, the dislocation reduced, and the use of his arm restored.

Cases of tumors, and other morbid growths.

No. 27,231. 17th April, 1848. *Hypertrophy of both breasts,* of ten years' growth, successfully removed under the influence of chloroform. Lú-shí, æt. 42, of the district of Nánhái, first presented herself at the hospital, April 17th; and when about to operate upon her, after a few weeks' preparatory treatment, her impatient opium-smoking hus-

band suddenly summoned her home. In the course of the last summer, her husband died, and the woman returned and renewed the request to have her burden removed, which had increased nearly one third since she first presented herself.

On the 24th Dec. 1849, in the presence of Dr. Bowring and several other gentlemen, assisted by Dr. Marjoribanks and my senior pupil, the left breast, measuring two feet, two and a half inches in circumference, and weighing $4\frac{1}{2}$ cabbies (about 6lbs.), was removed in three and a half minutes. When she came to the operating table, she was under high nervous excitement, which was rather increased by the first application of chloroform, and being a Romanist, invoked the name of the Virgin Mary as well as of the Savior. But very soon after the second exhibition, she became quite insensible, and the following day stated that she was only conscious when the sutures were applied after the breast was removed.

In one month after, the right breast, measuring two feet, and weighing $5\frac{1}{2}$ lbs., was removed in three minutes. She came almost instantly under the influence of chloroform, which was administered at her own request. At first she seemed in a state of pleasurable excitement, chanting or singing, till she became silent and motionless. At one time she seemed to choke with spasms, and resembled a person in apoplexy, but shortly after the operation was completed, and the sutures applied, she revived as one awakes from sleep, with a natural expression upon her countenance. She complained rather more of the wound than is usual when chloroform is not administered. In one month she was discharged perfectly well.

No. 27,976. 12th June, 1848. *Lipoma of both cheeks.* Hwáng Ahau, æt. 50, of the district of Pwányii, manufacturer of artificial flowers, had a singular affection of both cheeks, resembling lipoma of the nose. The morbid growths on either side were of the same size, about ten inches in circumference, and hung pendulous from both cheeks presenting a very singular appearance. The only inconvenience occasioned was from their weight. Shortly after presenting himself at the hospital, he was seized with fever, and went home, and has not since returned.

No. 28,592. 10th January, 1849.—*Glandular tumor, and ligature of the primitive carotid.* Tánshí, æt. 48, of the district of Sinhwui, had a tumor on the right side of her neck, a growth of sixteen years, measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot in circumference. The tumor originated beneath the primitive carotid, which was carried out of its position as the tumor increased. The carotid artery was preternaturally large,

and carried over the tumor on the trachial side, and lay imbedded in a groove, to which its sheath was found to adhere. The jugular vein was separated from the others for four inches, and lay on the opposite cervical side. On the 10th January, assisted by Dr. Marjoribanks, and Dr. Startin of H. C. steamer Phlegethon, and the Rev. Mr. Speer, the tumor was extirpated. The operation was commenced with the endeavor if possible not to divide the artery, but although it was superficial for the first three or four inches from the clavicle, at the point at which the external and internal branches divide, both branches dipped into the tumor itself, and the external was opened in the progress of the dissection. However the hemorrhage was in a great measure commanded by pressure, while the primitive carotid was ligatured. The divided branches also required a ligature. On resuming the dissection, the tumor on the cervical side was punctured, when a dark sanious fluid gushed forth, causing one of the gentlemen assisting to exclaim that "the jugular was opened," but immediately it was perceived that the tumor collapsed, and that it was a portion of its fluid contents that had escaped. The tumor was found firmly attached to the ramus and angle of the jaw, by an almost cartilaginous union, which was severed by the scalpel. The operation was a severe one, and the loss of blood considerable. The patient, however, rallied very well, and passed as comfortable a night as could be expected under the circumstances. Some tumefaction took place in the course of the night, below the clavicle, and the patient suffered from cough, either from catarrh occasioned by exposure and the application of cold water during the operation, or from sympathy of the parts, and it was some weeks before she recovered her natural voice. She complained chiefly of a sense of coldness on the right side of the face and head. Two of the smaller ligatures came away in about sixteen days, but the principal one not until the thirtieth. The patient was discharged in about six weeks. She has several times revisited the hospital; has recovered her voice, and regained in a great measure the natural feeling in the right side of the head, and is in good health.

No. 30,087. Dec. 11th, 1848. *Molluscum pendulum*. Cháng Shin, æt. 49, of the district of Nánhai, had his face and person covered with mollusca, the cutaneous protuberances varying from the size of buck-shot to that of an ounce bullet, but upon the left arm there was one of an oblong oval shape extending above and below the elbow, about one foot in circumference. It was perfectly superficial, and was successfully removed by Kwán Atò.

No. 30,563. Feb. 19th, 1849. *Malignant fungoid tumor.* Lí Akí, æt. 54, of the district of Shunteh, had a tumor situated upon the lumbar region, and adhering firmly to the spinous processes. It was of thirty years' growth, and about fourteen inches in circumference. Though ulcerated and of a fungoid appearance, it was not suspected to be of a malignant nature. The original tumor was removed, but in a few months recurred; a second operation was performed, removing every trace of the disease, when in parts contiguous and before apparently healthy, it soon returned with increased malignity.

No. 30,621. Feb. 26th, 1849. *Fungoid tumor.* Chúshú, a Manchu, æt. 54, had a fungoid tumor of the size of an orange, situated upon the back near the right scapula and spine. The tumor was readily and successfully removed. Before leaving the hospital, the patient made repeated solicitations to be allowed to send an artist and take the portrait of the surgeon; his importunity was at length acceded to, and a portrait taken in water colors, by the side of which on the same canvas was the following inscription in poetry, and an account of his case, and what he had seen in the hospital.

"What man is that? America's noble and disinterested man, who does to others as he would that others should do to him. His country is different from ours, his feelings are the same. In all distresses and diseases, he feels the sorrows and joys of others as though they were his own. Those cases which require the use of instruments, and which are difficult to others, are easy to him. He cherishes a mind that is divine, and bears the visage of Budha; a full halo of glory surrounds his deeds, and he deserves immeasurable longevity. Parker's meritorious virtues are innumerable as the sands of the ever flowing river. I denominate him a "Yé-sú." What say you, yes or no?"

In addition to the poetry, he next proceeds to give the following statement:—

"In the second month of the year of the cycle *ki-yú* (1849), I had had a tumor upon my back in an ulcerated state, I was also afflicted with an hemorrhoidal affection, to which the (Chinese) physicians with difficulty applied their hands, when I went to Dr. Parker for treatment, and was healed with speed divine. Moreover, I have in person seen him heal other men, and although their maladies were such as would baffle Lí Í and Pien Tsioh,* there were none with which he did not succeed. Furthermore, possessing the influence of the

* Two celebrated physicians of antiquity.

example bequeathed him by Jesus, he delights in doing good, never tiring, and loves other men as himself. I have therefore taken this his portrait, and respectfully composed a few verses in order to keep in memory my constant sense of gratitude: as I stand before it, I remember him with respect and esteem. With the utmost sincerity, respectfully composed by Chúshú, styled Tsingtien."

The exceptionable sentiments were pointed out, and the desire expressed to substitute for an answer to the question, "What man is that?"—"one who has come to China from afar, desirous of the future happiness foretold in the 3d verse of XIIth of Daniel."

No. 30,575. 19th Feb. *Glandular tumor within the mouth removed by ligature.* Tán Asán, æt. 46, of Sanshwui, had a hard tumor of five or six inches circumference, attached by a peduncle to the inside of the mouth, opposite the buccinator muscle. Kwán Atò, the senior pupil, succeeded in removing it speedily and perfectly by means of a ligature.

No. 31,200. 30th April, 1849. *Steatomatous tumor.* Shin Ko-hau, æt. 32, of Pwányü, a seller of poultry, had a steatomatous tumor situated on the inside of the right knee of six years' growth. He was very much emaciated, had a cadaverous expression of countenance, and the tumor over a foot circumference, was ulcerated at the apex. Around the ulcer extensive sloughing soon commenced, rendering it necessary to extirpate the tumor without delay, or healthy integument sufficient to form the flaps would not remain. Accordingly on the 9th May, it was removed; for the most part union by the first intention followed, and in a fortnight, the poor man, who a few weeks previous could move only with difficulty by the aid of a staff, and who himself regarded his case as hopeless, returned to his family perfectly well and happy.

No. 31,614. 28th May, 1849. *Case of a gentleman who came a journey of more than a thousand miles to submit to a surgical operation.* Sü Fú, æt. 48, a gentleman of the province of Chehkiáng, had a steatomatous tumor of nearly one foot circumference situated upon his left cheek. He had heard of the Hospital through friends who had visited Canton, and he observed that he had come a journey of sixty-two days to avail of its benefit. He seemed quite affected when informed that it could be safely removed. After a few days' rest, and preparatory treatment, the tumor was extirpated. As he seemed of rather delicate constitution, it was decided not to administer chloroform but to apply it by means of two strips of muslin over the tumor where the elliptical incisions were to be made. However, these were scarcely applied, when the patient became fully under its constitutional in-

fluence. The operation immediately proceeded, the tumor was extirpated, and the arteries—unexpectedly numerous and large—were tied. The patient awoke from the lethean sleep with slight sickness, but it soon subsided. He suffered comparatively little, either during or subsequent to the operation, and on the 4th of July was ready to commence his long journey home. The evening preceding his departure, he presented a note expressive of his gratitude, of which the following is a translation.

“Presenting myself before the bench of Dr. Parker, the celebrated American physician, bowing my head to the earth, I beg leave to return thanks for his favor.

“I, your inferior, am obliged to you the venerable doctor, for healing my disease, for which my sense of gratitude is difficult to name. I am also under obligations for your superabounding humanity, inasmuch as whatever I have asked, you have been ever ready to bestow, which to eternal ages I shall not forget.

“Now upon the fifteenth of this month (4th July, 1849), I am to proceed with my friends to Kweichau; and after returning home, I shall every day burn incense and light candles, and bowing my head to the ground, return thanks to the deified Jesus, and to God, the Majesty of Heaven. I shall, moreover, write their names upon cards, and will widely disseminate them among all the people, in order to make some return for their great favors; and life after life, age after age, my sense of gratitude will not be slight.

“With solemnity I write this [acknowledgement], and reverently thanking you, respectfully present my wishes for your golden tranquillity. Worshipfully, your inferior Sü Changfú.”

This gentleman was an attentive listener to Christian instruction during his residence in the hospital, and it was painful to perceive from this note how imperfect the views he had formed of religion. His departure being unexpectedly delayed a day, it afforded an opportunity for correcting his error, and imparting to him further instruction, and impressing upon him that the *heart* alone is required in the worship of the true God, and not the burning of incense and candles as in the worship of idols. It has been suggested by an intelligent Chinese, that the epithet “deified Jesus” had been suggested by his understanding of the divine and human nature of Christ. This case is of interest as illustrating some of the difficulties in imparting Scriptural truths to the heathen mind.

No. 32,196. July 2d, 1849 *Tumor one foot in circumference surrounding the middle finger.* Kwáng Sú, æt. 41, a farmer of the district of Sinhwui, had a tumor surrounding the middle finger of the left hand. It formed a perfect sphere, and measured just one foot. There existed a varicose state of the veins of the arm. The venous arch on the back of the hand was twice its natural size. Under the influence of chloroform, the tumor was removed by disarticulating the finger at the metacarpal joint. On dissection, the tumor was found to be of a hard glandular, or semi-cartilaginous structure, quite homogeneous throughout, and adherent to the bone. The tip of the finger and its nail were just discernible. One artery, and the principal vein, both required a ligature. In about one month, the wound healed, leaving him a useful hand.

No. 32,222. 2d July, 1849. *Large scirrhus of the breast of a young man.* Fung Pih-hú, æt. 20, of the district of Sinhwui, had a scirrhous affection of the right mamma of six years' growth. The young man was extremely emaciated, extremities œdematous, countenance cadaverous; the breast had long been ulcerated, and was beginning to slough, and it was manifest that if space would be found sufficient for the scalpel to pass between his disease and the grave, it must be without delay. Notwithstanding the thermometer ranged at 90° and upwards, with a desire of affording him his only chance of recovery, on the 4th July I proceeded to the operation, not without apprehension lest he might not survive. The gland was extirpated in about one minute, and the arteries secured as speedily as practicable. It measured 23 inches in circumference, and weighed a little short of three pounds. There was not sufficient healthy integument to cover the base when removed, and a space of two inches in breadth at the widest part between the flaps, required to be healed by granulations. The patient rallied remarkably well. The œdema subsided entirely in a few days, the general health improved, and in six weeks the patient was discharged comparatively well.

MISCELLANEOUS.

No. 31,763. 4th June. *Prolapsus uteri of ten years' continuance.* Hwáng shí, æt. 53, of Canton. This woman had been incommoded by the complete prolapsus of the womb for the above period, yet she was robust and otherwise apparently quite well. From many years' exposure, the surface appeared more like the skin of the palm of the hand than it did like a mucous membrane. At the apex there was a small healthy ulcer. The organ was replaced without difficulty.

CHLOROFORM.

My acknowledgments are due to H. M. Schiefflin, Esq. of New York, for an abundant supply of excellent chloroform, accompanied with the pamphlet of Dr. Simpson of Edinburgh upon this new anæsthetic agent. A brief allusion to this remarkable agent which the nineteenth century has brought to the relief of the afflicted is all that is here necessary.

The quantity of chloroform I have used with adults is about one drachm, *gently* inhaled from a sponge surrounded by cloth lined with oil paper to prevent evaporation. In some instances, a second application has been required.

Previous to receiving this chloroform from New York, I had failed in several instances with a vial obtained elsewhere, to get the patient under its influence. It was given to the lad, No. 28,807, but had he been told that the design was to destroy him, he could not have resisted it more violently. He said it was like scalding water. The same complaint had been made by others, but it was probably attributable to the quality of the article, no such effect being particularly noticed from that now in use.

Reports of disastrous effects from this agent have produced caution in its use, never administering it when predisposition existed to affections of the lungs, heart, or head. In the eight or ten instances in which I have employed it, *no unfavorable consequences have followed*. It has not been till recently that I have ventured to call in its aid in lithotomy, and that in the last two cases. In the first of these, before the patient became fully under its influence, there were momentary convulsions, but the man retained no recollection of them afterwards, and as already stated the sight of the calculus was his first intimation that the ordeal was past. In the second, the patient came speedily under its influence, without spasm, cough, or nausea, and awoke from its effects as out of sleep. In cases Nos. 31,465 and 27,931, had a spectator come into the room in the midst of the operation, he would have supposed in the first that the patient was dead, and in the other that she was dying, yet no deleterious effects followed.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES, DISTRIBUTION OF SCRIPTURES AND TRACTS.

Divine service has been held every Sabbath at the Hospital at half past one P.M. The number of auditors has varied from twenty-five to seventy-five. The excellent Evangelist Liáng Afah continued his assistance up to the month of June last, when his whole time and strength were required by the London Missionary Society, whose de-

voted missionary he is and has been for many years. Since that period it has been my happiness to enjoy the assistance of Mr. S. W. Williams each Sabbath. During a part of the past two years, a religious service has been held with the patients two evenings in the week, at which a portion of Scripture was read and explained, concluding with prayer. In these services, as well as frequently upon the Sabbath, I have enjoyed the coöperation of the Rev. William Speer. Each Monday, on which new patients are admitted, seldom less than one hundred, and often one hundred and fifty persons, are present, and the assembly is addressed, explaining the objects of the Institution, and presenting a summary of the great doctrines of revealed truth, after which they are presented with a Gospel, a Christian tract, and a form of prayer, as stated in the last Report. About 10,000 volumes have been distributed, a portion of which have gone to other and distant provinces, under circumstances calculated to secure for them a favorable reception; but 30,000 could have been distributed equally well, had I possessed them.

In June last a case of deep interest occurred, illustrating the power of truth. The work of the Holy Spirit was signally manifested in a lady afflicted with cancer of the face. Her physical malady was beyond the power of human skill. She was a woman of superior intelligence and read Chinese with facility. After she had been sometime in the Hospital, during which she had attentively read the Gospel, and listened with solemnity to the explanation of its doctrines, both upon the Sabbath and during the week, the Evangelist called one day and with much joy informed me that this patient, to use his own guarded expression, "believed a little." He was requested to be assiduous in making her acquainted with the Gospel; he replied, "No fear; she now believes she has an immortal soul, is convinced of the sinfulness of human nature, and understands the vicarious atonement of Christ, and is anxious to avail of His salvation." The emotions awakened in contemplating her feelings are more easily conceived than expressed. A person of her intelligence, at the age of forty years, for the *first time* grasping the sublime idea of immortality, and realizing the overwhelming thought of being a sinner against God, and yet, her solace in the knowledge that there is forgiveness through the atonement of Christ!

I soon visited, and conversed with her, directing her to the 14th chapter of John, and observed that many had come to the hospital afflicted with grievous maladies, and had gone away happy in their perfect recovery, yet without embracing the Savior who was there made known

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In June last a case of deep interest occurred, in which the work of the Holy Spirit was signally manifested. The patient was afflicted with cancer of the face. Her physical condition was beyond the power of human skill. She was a woman of advanced age, and could read Chinese with facility. After her admission into the Hospital, during which she had attended the religious services, she listened with solemnity to the explanation of the Scriptures on the Sabbath and during the week, the Lord was pleased to bestow wisdom and with much joy informed me that she had received the Holy Spirit. In a guarded expression, "believed a little while ago," and was assiduous in making her acquainted with the Scriptures, and free from all fear; she now believes she has received the Holy Spirit, and is anxious to avail herself of the opportunity of contemplating her Redeemer. A person of her age, and in her situation, to be thus possessed. A person of her age, and in her situation, to be thus possessed. A person of her age, and in her situation, to be thus possessed.

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to them: but still more blessed her lot, though the cancer could not be cured, if she sincerely embraced the Savior, for then in immortal health, she would before long be in the everlasting enjoyment of one of the many "mansions in her heavenly Father's house."

Her disease making rapid advances, she was in a few days after, advised to return to her family, carrying an assortment of books such as alone contain the elixir of life. I have seldom seen more convincing evidence of the influence of the Holy Spirit upon a Chinese mind, and it is my humble hope and sincere prayer, to meet her in a better world. I learn that she has since deceased.

A young Manchú soldier has attracted particular attention. He stated that it was relief afforded to a friend, and his hearing of the benevolent design of the Hospital that first excited his curiosity to become acquainted with the new religion. The fact of a foreigner coming from afar to heal the sick gratuitously he could not understand. He attended, unobtrusively, the services upon the Sabbath, week after week, and this first attracted my notice; upon inquiry he informed me he was a Manchú, belonging to the garrison in the city of Canton. Finding he took more than ordinary interest in the doctrines he had heard, he was invited to call at my residence for free and unrestrained conversation respecting them. The invitation he cheerfully accepted, and has often repeated his visit. The Christian books presented him, he read with great interest, and has often expressed his full conviction of their excellence and truth: and that 'secretly, from fear not of the Jews,' but of the Manchús, he worshipped only the living and true God, at the same time expressing his dissatisfaction with the false religion of his country. He is apparently amiable, and I doubt not sincere in his intellectual belief of the Gospel, though as yet he has not the moral courage to profess it publicly.

The following letter in Manchu, from his wife, who also professes to believe in the Savior, addressed to Mrs. Parker then in America, and translated by the husband into Chinese, may here be quoted, being probably the first letter ever addressed by a Manchu to a foreign lady.

"Your younger sister addressing Mrs. Parker, wishes her all tranquillity and ten thousand blessings. Your younger sister is under obligations to the venerable Teacher (Dr. Parker) for his compassion and love to us in teaching and preaching to us the doctrines of Jesus, the Lord and Savior of the world. From this time forth, it will be my aim to hold fast his religion. Meditating upon and revolving in my mind the moral excellence of Mrs. Parker, I write this note, and respectfully present my compliments, wishing her health and happiness;

and moreover, offer my regards to her honorable family, relatives and friends, deairing for them perfect tranquillity.

“ Your younger sister bowing, presents her respects.

Canton, 25th September, 1849.

Nuon Ta-taou.”

It is a constant source of gratification to witness the living evidences of the Divine blessing upon the Medical Missionary cause in the persons of those whose lives have through its agency been instrumentally prolonged for years. Now, one and another calls, who five or ten years' since, by a surgical operation were delivered from evils fast hastening them to the grave; then, another, who *fifteen* years since was on the border of dissolution from an affection which, without foreign aid had terminated speedily and fatally, is distinctly before the mind.

After the experience of fifteen years, the cause of Medical Missions, whether as it respects its divine origin or its peculiar adaptedness, as a means to the introduction of the Gospel and its blessings into China, has not diminished in my view of its importance. Confidence, friendship, and influence, have thus been acquired, attainable in no other way so successfully. It is an occasion of unfeigned pleasure to witness the success and influence of kindred institutions, the Reports of which have been read with gratification.

In 1841, the Bishop of London expressed his conviction of the benevolence and wisdom of medical missions, which he very justly remarked, were sanctioned both by the precepts and example of the Savior himself; and it is a pleasure to know, that the Church Missionary Society of England has at length affixed the seal of its approval to the cause, by the appointment of the Rev. W. Welton, B.A. of Cambridge, and for some years a practitioner in England, its medical missionary to Fuhchau.

The systematic efforts of the Medical Missionary Society of Edinburgh, to enlighten and awaken the public mind generally, and that of the Profession particularly, betoken good for the cause. A volume of Lectures upon the duties of the latter, delivered in that city the last year, by some of the ablest of the distinguished faculty of that metropolis, deserves a place in the library of every medical man in Christendom, and will richly repay perusal. Sir Henry Hallford and John Abercrombie, names ever to be remembered in this connection, have passed from the stage, but fortunately their mantle has fallen upon others. Soon may the number of duly qualified medical missionaries, commensurate with the demand for them, come forth to this inviting field, where is ample scope for all their talent, faith, and holy enterprise.

TABULAR LIST OF DISEASES.

<i>Diseases of the eyes.</i>		1868.	1869.			1868.	1869.
Granulations	15	73		Ranula			2
Entropia	262	26		Elongation of pendulum palati	1		2
Ectropia		9		Aphone	2		2
Trichiasis	5			Salivary fistula	24		16
Lipitudo	67	65		<i>Diseases of the Organs of Circulation.</i>			
Xeroma		4		Neve maternæ	3		2
Excrescence of eye-lids...	1			Aneurism	1		3
Tumor of the orbit		1		Hæmoptisis	35		10
Tumor of the lids	2	2		Phthisis pulmonalis			1
Noli-me-tangere of the lids.		1		Bronchitis, chronic	71		177
Mucocele	2	3		Pleurisy	1		
Ophthalmia, acute	101	115		Asthma	2		4
Ophthalmia, chronic	729	597		<i>Diseases of the Abdominal Organs.</i>			
Ophthalmia, strumous	2	1		Gastritis	1		5
Ophthalmia, purulent	5	11		Gastrodynia	46		79
Ophthalmia, variola	6	6		Diarrhea, chronic	15		11
Ophthalmitis	6	3		Dysentery			5
Exophthalmia	4			Fistula in ano	18		34
Pterygia	144	143		Prolapsus ani	5		4
Nebula	355	439		Hemorrhoids	10		6
Leucoma	6			Dyspepsia	24		38
Ulcer of cornea	20	9		Ascites	107		97
Cornitis		1		Anasarca	24		44
Cataracts	117	114		Marasmus	2		4
Glaucoma	2	4		Worms	26		47
Myosis	21	2		Hepatitis	34		15
Mydriasis	13	8		Abscess of liver			1
Muscæ volitantes	6	1		Enlargement of spleen ..	28		6
Amaurosis, partial	6	13		Hernia inguinal	35		47
Amaurosis, complete	58	65		Hernia, ventral	1		1
Fungus hæmatodes	1	2		Hernia, umbilical	2		2
Loss of one eye	44	62		<i>Diseases of Genital Organs.</i>			
Loss of both eyes	42	60		Amenorrhœa	1		5
Staphyloma, cornea	54	56		Chlorosis	1		3
Staphyloma, iridis	2	1		Closed vagina after birth			
Staphyloma, sclerotica		1		of a child			1
Iritis, chronic	4	6		Stricture urethræ	3		1
Onyx		2		Prolapsus uteri			2
<i>Diseases of the Ear.</i>				Cancer penis	16		5
Deafness	55	51		Phymosis	11		13
Otorrhea	9	5		Chronic cystitis			2
Deaf dumbness	3	2		Hæmaturia			3
Rent ears	20	11		Gravel	1		3
Ulcer of the ear	2	17		Urinary calculi (stone in			
Polypus of the ear	2			the bladder)	23		31
<i>Diseases of the Face and Throat.</i>				Hydrocele	23		58
Coryza	1			Impotency	1		2
Glossitis	1	2		Fungus of the testicle	5		1
Laryngitis		2		Schirrous testicle	2		1
Tonsillitis	2			Gonorrhœa	7		3
Ulcer of fauces		1		Bubo			3

	1848.	1849.		1848.	1849.
Syphilis.....		14	Periostitis.....		2
<i>Diseases of the Nervous System.</i>			Caries of os femoris.....	1	2
Hysteria.....	1		Caries of tibia.....	1	4
Paralysis.....	2	7	Caries of humerus.....		1
Hemiplegia.....	11	2	Caries of scapula.....	1	
Neuralgia.....		3	Caries of lower jaw.....	2	2
Epilepsy.....	4	13	Necrosis.....	2	1
Convulsions.....	1		Curvature of spine.....	15	8
Hydrocephalus.....	3	2	Disease of antrum maxil-		
Cephalalgia.....	20	40	lary.....	1	1
Spina bifida.....		1	Dislocation of radius and		
<i>Cutaneous Diseases.</i>			ulna.....	2	1
Warts.....		1	Dislocation of lower jaw..	1	2
Maculæ.....	9	2	Dislocation of os humeri...		1
Lepra.....	6	13	Dislocation of femur.....		1
Acne.....	3	3	Exostosis of mastoid process	1	
Tinea capitis.....	4	11	Exostosis of lower jaw....		1
Tetter.....	2	5	Paronychia.....	8	6
Herpes zoster.....	1	1	Anchylous of elbow.....	2	2
Scabies.....	17	31	Contraction of tendons....		6
Psoriasis.....	3	9	<i>Preternatural and diseased Growths.</i>		
Inpétigo.....	35	28	Nasal polypus.....	14	7
Lichen circinatus.....	97	137	Tumors, steatomatus.....	3	19
Noli-me-tangere.....		1	Tumors, sarcomatous....	7	22
Elephantiasis of the legs..	6	8	Tumors, glandular.....	34	19
Elephantiasis of the vulva..		1	Tumors, fungoid.....	1	2
Keloids.....	1	1	Tumors, erectile.....		1
Ichthyosis.....		1	Tumors, abdominal.....	16	10
Various.....	5	11	Tumors, encysted.....	21	6
<i>Constitutional Diseases.</i>			Carcinoma of the breast..	18	3
Rheumatism.....	223	457	Carcinoma of the face....	2	4
Arthritis.....	21	17	Schirrous breast.....	6	3
Lumbago.....		2	Hypertrophy of the breasts.	1	1
Fever, intermittent.....	17	26	Abscesses of the breast... 2	2	1
Measles.....		1	Imperforate anus (congenital)	1	
Opium mania.....	3	3	Imperforate vagina do.	1	1
Abscesses.....	71	47	Lipoma of the nose.....	1	
Carbuncles.....	1	1	Lipoma of the cheeks.....		1
Ulcers.....	121	196	Injuries (various).....	14	20
Gangrene.....		3	Burns from gunpowder &c.	11	15
Erysipelas.....		2	Wound of the abdomen...		1
Scrofula.....	131	163	Wounds, incised.....	3	3
Goitre.....	6	3	Wounds, gunshot.....	10	5
<i>Diseases of the Osseous System.</i>			Epulis.....	4	2
Morbus coxalgia.....	14	4	Harelip.....	6	7
			Club-foot.....		1
			Finger bitten off in a quarrel	1	2

TABULAR SYNOPSIS OF THE TABLE.

	1848.	1849.
Diseases of the eye.....	2122	2143
Diseases of the ear.....	91	86
Diseases of the face and throat.....	31	25
Diseases of the organs of circulation.....	113	197
Diseases of the abdominal organs.....	378	446
Diseases of the organs of generation.....	94	151

Diseases of the nervous system.....	41	70
Cutaneous diseases.....	189	264
Constitutional diseases.....	504	921
Diseases of the osseous system.	51	45
Preternatural and diseased growths.....	177	156
Totals.	4001	4504

By the Treasurer's account, Dec. 31st, 1847, there was a balance to the credit of the Society, of \$4611.31 from which subtract \$1107.51, the current expenses for the year 1848, and \$975.69, those for 1849; together with a balance of \$525.40 due P. Parker as per last Report (in all \$2608.60), leaves a balance in the treasury at Canton of \$2002.71. Besides these expenses, sums have been paid for medicines and instruments in New York out of funds of the Society in the hands of Messrs. Olyphant & Son, who hold a balance of between eight and nine hundred dollars.

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ART. VI. *Letter regarding the word used for God in Chinese.* By  
A LOOKER-ON.

*To the Editor of the Chinese Repository,*

SIR,

MAY a *Looker-on* throw out a suggestion? I read in Locke's *Essay on the Understanding* (Book III, chap. 9., Art. 5.), these words: "Words having naturally no signification, the idea which each stands for must be learned and obtained by those who would exchange thought, and hold intelligible discourse in any language." Now *preaching* is the divinely appointed means of spreading the Gospel; if a missionary, therefore, carefully explains what he means by the word, it can not make any great difference whether he use *Shàngtí* or *Shin*. I greatly doubt whether the strict accuracy of signification sought for in the Chinese language exists in any language, unless it be in the Hebrew, in the one great name *Jehovah* (which will surely not be excluded from the Chinese Scriptures). I am quite certain that it does not exist in the English, for we find excellent scholars disputing whether the word *God* is a generic term, a relative term, or a proper name (Query, may it not be all these at different times?), and coming to conclusions so widely different that ordinary readers are rather puzzled to know what to think. If, therefore, we are content, in English, with such uncertainty, may we not also bear with a little in Chinese?

The early Christian writers used the word *Deus*, and yet neither do we now, nor did the early Christians by mistake worship Jupiter or Vulcan : the inspired Apostle himself used Θεός, but I much doubt whether he was ever supposed to allude to Ζεύς or Ἀπόλλων. Indeed it may be questioned whether it is possible for *any* heathen nation to have a word accurately describing Him that filleth heaven and earth with His presence : would it not, therefore, be the best course to select one, or even *two*, of the words that come nearest the correct idea, using such precautions by notes or verbal explanations, as to prevent mistakes ?

I have the honor to be, Sir,

May 9th, 1850.

Your obedient Servant,

A LOOKER-ON.

[*Note.* —The inquiry of a Looker-on must, in our view of this question, be answered in the negative ; we suppose he himself would not, either in English or in Greek, indiscriminately use two words as the translation of *elohim* when applied to god, and the same should be the rule in Chinese, since two generic terms for the same thing must breed confusion ; especially when, as in this case, we are obliged, by definitions of a new and stricter character, to convey a new idea to the native word, and limit its signification to Him, who is a jealous *elohim*. Moreover *Shangti* is a proper name, while *shin* is a common name. If our correspondent will apply his own suggestion to the English or Greek versions of the Old Testament, he will, we think, perceive the difficulty of rendering the word *elohim* into Chinese by both the terms proposed.—*Ed. Ch. Rep.*]

ART. VII. *Journal of Occurrences: departure of H. E. John W. Davis; ceremonies observed at Canton by the authorities upon the empress' death; last edict of T'aukwáng; bounties conferred by the new emperor; notices of his family; epidemic at Canton.*

THE *American commissioner to China*, H. E. John W. Davis, left China on the 24th inst, by the P. and O. str. Pekin to return to the United States. His successor had not been appointed by the last accounts, and Dr. Parker acts as chargé ad interim. A service of plate was presented to Mr. Davis on his departure by his countrymen residing in Canton.

OFFICIAL rites in mourning for the empress-dowager were observed at Canton on the 3d of March. The directions for the ceremonies were issued on separate sheets, a handbill having previously been circulated announcing the date of the arrival of the news, and the time when the period of mourning for her majesty was to commence, and the offices to be closed. The detail of these funeral rites is given in the following papers, for which we are indebted to the China Mail.

*Forms observed upon receiving the news of the death of the Empress at Canton; printed and circulated on three separate sheets:—*

1. Upon the receipt of the news of the death of Her Majesty the Empress Dowager, a grave matter, the fringe (and buttons) are taken off the caps, and white clothes are put on.

When the imperial notification of the same comes down the river the officers, civil, and military, will all be in waiting in the pavilion of Jih-kin, at the 'T'ien-tan' má-t'au.\* Two Li sang† (marshals or chaplains) hand out the tí teng‡ charged with the notification, who will land with it raised high in his hands, and lay it on the dragon litter.

The assembled officers hereupon fall on their knees, and looking upwards raise a cry of lamentation until the notification shall have been carried past them, when they rise and follow the officers appointed to lead the procession to the principal entrance of the Examination Hall where they file in before the litter and take their places, the civilians on the east, the military men on the west side, in the proper order of their respective precedences: then again they fall on their knees, and lift up their hands, waiting until it shall have been laid in the Hall, into which they then follow it. The Li sang cry aloud, "Marshal the ranks!" and this done, the officers perform the ceremony of bowing down thrice, and knocking the head nine times.

The Li sang next cry out, "Salute the notification, and bear it to its place." The officer deputed approaches the litter, salutes the notification, and bears it to the table on which the incense sticks are burning.

The Li sang cry aloud, "Let all raise the cry of lamentation!" When their wailing is ended, the Li sang cry, "Present the Notification!" upon which the proper officer comes to the front of the table, and lifting the notification high in both hands, presents it to their excellencies the Governor-general and Governor, who receive it on their knees and hand it to the provincial treasurer, who in like manner receives it kneeling and hands it to the secretary, who takes it to the Tsz'wei Hall, where it is copied and sent to the press for publication.

The Li sang then cry, "Let the officers put on their mourning," and as soon as they have changed their attire, they take their places on the east and west. "Form in ranks;" and when this is done they fall down and bow the body thrice and knock the head nine times. As soon as they rise, the Li sang say, "Raise the cry of lamentation;" and when their wailing is ended, they break off again to the east and west, and remain seated on the ground for a short time.

The Li sang then cry, "Let the several ranks (i. e. the right and left) retire;" and they all withdraw to a public hall (devoted to such purposes), where they pass the night, abstaining from meat and all carnal indulgence.

In the first watch of the following morning they repair in order to the Examination Hall, into which the Li sang usher them before daylight to perform the same ceremonies as on the previous day. After these they retire as before, and in the last period of time preceding the evening watch return to the Hall, and go through the same forms a second time. These processions and lamentations last three days, after which each officer returns to his official residence, certain of them being deputed to burn incense, and keep a solemn vigil before the yellow table in the Hall. All wear white until the twenty-seventh day from the commencement of their mourning, when they again repair in order to the Hall before daybreak, are again introduced by the Li sang, and fall down thrice and knock nine times. When their wailing is ended, they put off their white apparel and remove the incense table, and each officer returns to his office.

From the moment that the news reaches the provincial city, all official signatures, dates, &c., are written in blue ink, and the impression of the seals is blue. No drums are beaten, there are no sitings in the courts, and a blue valance is hung from the chair and table of the officer (in lieu of the ordinary red one) until the expiry of the term of twenty-seven days.

Beside the above ceremonies a dispatch has been received from the Board of Rites ordaining that one hundred days of state mourning must elapse before any one may shave his head.

2. The following are the regulations for the banquet to be served to the dead, and the rules of lamentation during the three days:—

The officers, civil and military, stand in two ranks, the first east, and the others west, facing inwards.

The Li sang cry, 'Form in ranks;' and as soon as the ranks are formed 'Draw the dragon curtain, Serve tea [to Her Majesty].' Two attendants carry the tea-table up the middle aisle, and

\* T'ien-tan' má-t'au, the landing-place of His Majesty, in honor of whom the alcove or pavilion here mentioned is said to be called Jih-kin, the Sun, or the Day is at hand.

† Li sang.—After the triennial examination in the larger districts there used to be twelve graduates, and in the lesser eight, chosen to act as Yuh-sang: four under-graduates were also selected in the larger and two in the smaller districts, to act as chaplains on grand ceremonial occasions. They seem now to be paid by government, who hire them as the occasion demands. The ancient method of appointing them is said to have fallen into desuetude.

‡ Ti-t'ang; there is at Peking an office subordinate to the Board of War, known as the Ti-t'ang ya-man, composed of sixteen military officers of the rank of captains, who are charged with the transmission of intelligence to the outer provinces, to the ten prefectures of Chihli, and to the head of the Canal Department: that of the Elvers being included in Shantung. The Governments-general of Yunnan and Kweichow, and of Shensi and Kansuh, have but one representative at the capital. In that of the Two Kiang, Kiangsu and Nganhwei have but one, Kiangsi another. These employes appear to be all natives of the provinces or governments, for whose postal communications of an official nature they are severally responsible. In the provinces there are twenty officers of corresponding rank and title, but differently distributed. In Canton, for instance, there is a chief and an assistant, by whom the report would be brought to the notice of the supreme authorities.

ascend [to the space over which the curtain is hung] by the steps on the eastern side, while one with empty hands comes up the centre and ascends by those on the western side (to assist the others;) when the table is set down, they all retire by the same flight that they had ascended, and wait under the ledge of the canopy of the shrine, with their arms folded across the breast, until the table is to be removed. Another attendant now brings in a wooden basin, and another a silver bowl or tea-cup, with which they follow the Governor-general and Governor up the eastern stair of the dais to the red shrine (which is open above), where they pour out tea on their knees and hand it to their excellencies; they then retire where the others are standing, and wait with their hands joined across the breast for the tea cup. Their excellencies advance and set the tea (before the tablet representing the late Empress on her throne). When this is concluded, the Li-sang cry, "Resume your places;" the officers bow and prostrate themselves thrice and nine times; and when they rise, the Li-sang cry, "Take away Her Majesty's tea;" whereupon their excellencies approach the table and reverently raise the cup, which they bear by the eastern steps to the attendants, who retire with it raised reverently in the hands. The two attendants before mentioned then come by the east, and with the third who ascends by the west, reverently remove the table, after which they file off as before by the centre aisle.

Their excellencies having resumed their places, the Li-sang cry, "Serve the repast to Her Majesty;" three attendants mount the dais by the east end west as before, and having laid the table, retire and wait in the same place and attitude as those who served the tea. Four others then bring a wooden tray up the central aisle, and one rice, and mount the dais by the east, and serve it to their excellencies (who will have preceded them on their knees); one then brings water, another a spoon, and a third chopsticks, all of whom mount the eastern stair and present these things on their knees to the Commissioners of Finance, Justice, and the Salt gabelle, who hand them to the Governor general. The attendants then retire to the entrance, where they stand with their hands folded across the breast; they next go to the burning chamber (where large fires of bamboo are lit as in the palace at Peking), to wait for the soup and rice bowls. When their excellencies have received the rice, the three Commissioners take the water, spoons, and chopsticks, and carry them in their proper order raised up, and lay them on the table.

This done, the Li-sang cry, "Resume your places and pour out wine to Her Majesty." Two attendants bring the libation table up the middle aisle and mount the dais by the east, while one, empty-handed ascends by the west; when the table is placed, the two retire as they came, and wait under the canopy of the shrine; the one retires to the entrance. They next repair to the burning chamber, where they receive the tripod (of tutenague); one attendant receives the sacrificial vase, and one the wine vessel out of which it is poured; all then move up by the east in the suite of their excellencies to the wine table, before which they fall on their knees and wait until the libation is poured. The Li-sang then exclaim, "Let all kneel down;" whereupon the whole of the officers fall on their knees, and at the first libation bow their heads to the ground, and perform the same ceremony at the second and third. They then rise up again, and the bearers of the vase and wine vessel retire by the east with these. The Li-sang then call aloud, "Kneel down and raise the cry of lamentation;" this over, "Strike the head against the ground, strike the head, strike the head." They then rise and the same cry is repeated by the Li-sang, and the same ceremony performed by the officers a second, and again a third time. The Li-sang then call out "Let Her Majesty's repast be taken away!"

Upon this their excellencies, with the three Commissioners, go up to the front of the table and take the soup, the rice, and the tea down the centre aisle to the burning chamber. The Commissioner of Grain comes to the table at which the libation has been poured out, takes the tripod and raising it reverently in his hands, carries it down the centre aisle to the burning chamber, whither the rest of the officers follow him. The Commissioner of Finance puts himself at the head of the nine attendants who have been standing with their arms folded across their breasts; they file off east and west, and severally remove the wooden tray, the banquet table, the table (a lower one) of the libation, and retire with them; the Treasurer then stepping to his place again, in the burning chamber, the Li-sang cry, "Pour on the flame;" on this their excellencies and the three Commissioners pour the soup and the rice upon the flames, and the Grain Commissioner the wine. The Li-sang then cry once more, "Let all fall down upon their knees, and strike the head! strike the head! strike the head!" and when the officers have risen again, "Let fall the dragon curtain,—after which all return to their place in the ranks.

3. A third paper directs that on the day of their mourning all officers shall repair before dawn to the Examination Hall, where the Li-sang will introduce them as before, and after they have knelt thrice and struck the ground with their heads nine times, at the word of command, will say, "Raise the cry of lamentation;"—and when the wail is ended, "Change your dresses of white,"—"Remove the incense table,"—"Let every officer return to his residence,"—"Let no drums be beaten,"—"Let no one hold his court" for one hundred days.

The common people have felt very little interest in these ceremonies, for they are not thought worthy by the magnates of the land to participate in them.

*The last edict of T'aukwang* is dated Feb. 25th, the day of his death, and it is not improbable that it was actually issued near or upon that day. It would be desirable to be able to add some biographical notices of the late monarch, but our information on this point is very meagre. In vol. X, pp. 88-98, will be found a variety of papers and notices connected with his

accession and person. His majesty belonged to the fifth generation of the royal family called Mien 綿 (see Vol. XII., page 22, for an explanation of the rules of naming) his own name being Mien-ning 綿寧; the last character of the two was ordered to be contracted to 寧 when used by the common people, the other form being too sacred for any other use than his majesty's name. This singular freak of pride (almost impossible in any other language than the Chinese) began with Tsin Chi-hwángti, B. C. 249; the number of characters which have been altered on this account is very few, seven or eight in all, for the custom did not become common until the Tsing dynasty. Mienning was not the son of the late empress-dowager, but we are informed in the China Mail that she preferred him to Mienkái, her own son, to succeed Kiáking, and that he was at that time the eldest surviving son of that monarch, by one of his concubines.—His Majesty has been noted among his people for his filial duty to the late empress, and for his domestic virtues generally, though the reported violence to his eldest son in 1832, which caused his death, rather militates against such a reputation. He evinced great cruelty to the prisoners taken by his troops in Li, when repressing the disturbances caused by Jehanguir, being himself, it was said, present at their execution. The general opinion of his subjects has been on his side in relation to his numerous efforts to repress the opium trade, though individually they never seemed to suppose they could do ought to assist him by each one refraining from using the drug.

His two half brothers, Mienkái and Mienyti, have not, so far as we know, held posts of any influence even in the imperial clan, and the latter, and only one now living, was degraded some years ago from his rank as *limoóng*, but has since been restored; the rumored troubles in the palace upon the late change of the crown have been ascribed to his intrigues.

The manner in which H. M. Táukwáng smooths over the war with the English in the following paper, has rather excited the sneers of the people, who take occasion to compare the denunciations he issued in 1840 against the rebels and barbarians with the remarks now made in 1850. That war did not, however, weaken the loyalty of the people to any perceptible degree, though it did much to destroy the notion of the invincibility of the imperial soldiers. The following paper is called *Tá king Hwóngti wei cháu* 大行皇帝遺詔 *lit.* the Testamentary proclamation of the Augustus who has gone the great journey; it is in some respects a singular document.

He who received in course from Heaven the decree to be emperor, proclaims saying:—We, grateful to our imperial father, the emperor Jin-tsung-juí (Kiá-king), protected and supported by his abounding grace, for the transmission of the 'divine utensil' (the throne), have held the reins of government full thirty years. Looking up and meditating upon the orders of our sainted ancestors, and primarily that we might reverence heaven and imitate our predecessors, we have regarded the diligent governance of our beloved people as of the highest importance. Seeing that our virtue was but small, durst we do otherwise than vigorously attend to business in the morning, and in the evening seriously reflect on our actions, indefatigable throughout the day? For this, from the day we ascended the throne till now, we have ourself perused and examined all memorials and papers, and have personally held audience with our ministers, and appointed them to their several duties, so that the day declined before we ate, and our attire was always plain; [in this manner] like a single day have the thirty years passed, nor have we presumed to take any respite or relaxation to ourself. We have also personally set an example of economy and retrenchment to the empire.

From the commencement of our reign, we have sent out orders written by Ourself, warning above all things against gaiety, licentiousness, covetousness

and selfish desire of gain; and interdicting idle shows and inordinate fondness for the best, and whatever would in the least induce profusion and extravagance. Statesmen and people throughout the realm have been alike cognizant of this.

Since the little fools on the western frontier were chastised and quelled by our troops, at which time peace was soon made, we presumed not to vaunt our martial prowess; till afterwards, in relation to a matter of trade on the maritime frontier in the southeast, a trifling dispute arose, but, like the good men of ancient times, who regarded love to man as a prime virtue, how could we [even then] bear that our innocent babes should be exposed to the horrors of war? We therefore waived our trifling dissatisfaction, and entered into an important compact, whereby we both tranquilized our own borders and compassionated those from afar, as has been the case now for ten years, instantly causing the hurtful flames [of war] to die of themselves, and our people and the foreigners to trade with each other in harmony. In this, we certainly exhibited the inexpressible affection we have for our beloved people, and to this day the world has worthily judged of our intentions in it.

When overwhelming calamities by flood or drought came, we blushed for Ourselves, that we had involved our people in such constant misery and toil, and we spared not to make special disbursements of aid from the provincial treasuries to rescue the people from their afflictions and diseases. When our officers have requested us to remit arrearages or grant aid, there has been no case in which we have not copiously rained our favors and largesses upon them; we have never hoarded our delicacies, nor been niggard of our aid to those suffering from famine and flood, as all, both at home and abroad, will bear witness.

During the thirty years we waited upon the late empress-dowager, delighting in her pleasure and ministering to her happiness, we never were remiss in due respect, nor have we failed in observing the last rites due her. In all these points, our shortcomings are small indeed.

Our own personal health has usually been vigorous, but about the spring and summer of last year, we felt suddenly indisposed; and though we took increased care of our health, it has never been reestablished. When returning to the palace last January, we were distressed to hear of the departure of the late empress-dowager, and our sincere grief has injured our health, so that we have gradually become weaker and poorer; lately, our breathing has become more difficult, and the violence of disease daily increases; yet when we reflect that we have been thirty years upon the throne, and our age is now sixty-nine, why should there be any repinings? Mindful of the paramount importance of providing for the succession, we have timeously thought of the choice of one of excellent goodness, who will assume this great responsibility. Accordingly, about 6 o'clock this morning, we specially called in the controller of the Imperial clan, the high ministers who wait before us, the high officers of the Council, and the high chamberlain, and gave them our personal commands in writing, ordering that they should set Yihehó, my fourth son, upon the imperial throne, and further requiring these high officers all with united heart and zeal to support him, and have no regard for any other [claimant]. Since announcing this our pleasure, half a day has passed, and our spirits are gradually wasting away: is it not from heaven? The heir-apparent has exhibited a humane and filial disposition, and he is well established in virtue, rectitude and generous feelings, so that he will doubtless be equal to receiving the charge now intrusted to him. Let him mount the throne as emperor in order to continue our great line.

Whereas Heaven has created this people and set over them a shepherd, let him incessantly show his carefulness, diligence, solicitude and exertion; thereby he will learn the tempers of men and comfort his people; and perpetuate our mighty dynasty. As to the best way of marking the disposition of men, let him observe for himself, as in a clear mirror, or as by an even balance, their beauty and deformity, their merits and defects; remembering that it is only by impartiality that he can become able to adopt proper and beneficial measures. And we desire that all the civil and military officers within and beyond the realm be spotlessly pure in heart, each one diligently exercising the duties of his station, that by their assistance the reign of our imperial successor may be exceedingly



glorious; then will our content be increased. Let the mourning be taken off according to the old regulation, after twenty-seven days have transpired, and let this announcement be proclaimed throughout the empire, that all may hear it.

A number of papers have been issued from the capital relating to the demise, one of them giving directions respecting the religious ceremonies to be observed towards the departed monarch. His *midu k'ü*, or temple designation, the name by which he is to be worshiped in the hall of ancestors and called in history, is *Süen tsung Ching hüdngti* 宣宗成皇帝 our munificent ancestor, the emperor Perfect. When the emperor's corpse is to be carried to Moukden to be laid in the sepulchre of his fathers, does not appear. Notice has also appeared requiring the character *紆* 紆 in the emperor's name to be contracted to 紆, when employed in common writing, but as it is a character seldom used, it will not often require to be thus mutilated.

The edict of accession was issued on the same day with the preceding, and is almost word for word like the same proclamation issued by T'aukwáng in 1820, as given in vol. X, page 89, from which we infer that the proclamations and usages connected with the demise and accession of the emperors are all done according to "old custom." Part of this paper was given on page 231, and we now insert the remainder, containing the recital of the various privileges and favors conferred by Hienfung. Those marked with an asterisk are identical with the favors conferred on T'aukwáng's accession; there were only twenty-two articles in that paper.

\*1. To all the princes and dukes of every grade, both in the capital and beyond it, let gracious gifts be conferred.

\*2. To all the princesses of the blood, and those nieces and cousins farther removed [than daughters], let gracious gifts be conferred.

\*3. Let all the Manchu and Chinese officers, civil and military (down to a township magistrate and an ensign), be advanced one step.

\*4. To all civilians, of whatever grade, in addition to conforming to them the rank or step they at present hold, let the nominal title or acting office they may now exercise, be conferred upon them.

\*5. Let the sons of civilians at the capital above the fourth rank, and in the provinces above the third rank, and of all military officers above the second rank, receive the same title as their fathers, and each officer enter one son at the (*Kwoh-tsz' kien* or) National College.

\*6. Let all civilians below the fourth rank, and military men below the third rank, who have been suspended or disranked, but still retained in office, and those whose salaries have been retained, or who have been fined, or otherwise punished according to their delinquences, be restored to their rank, and their fines remitted.

\*7. Let the number of [successful] candidates at the next examination for (*tsinsz'* or) Doctor be reported to Us by the Board of Rites with the request that it be enlarged; at the next provincial examination for (*k'üjin* or) Master, let the number of [successful] candidates be increased 30, 20, or 10, according to the size of the province; and let the number of [successful] Manchu and Mongol candidates be increased six, and of the Chinese bannermen three.

8. Let the number of (*siütsii* or) bachelors who may succeed at the next examination in each province be increased seven, five, or three, according to the size of the district.

\*9. Let the Masters by purchase (*kiensang*) of the National College, and the student candidates for employment, have a month's vacation.

10. Let the bachelors in every superior and inferior department, district, and military post in the provinces, each be promoted one privilege.

\*11. Let every person throughout the provinces who has been distinguished for filial duty, incorruptibility, morality, and integrity, be reported to Us that

they may presently receive a button of the sixth rank as a personal decoration ; and let them be in readiness for our orders ; but let none be reported who are not fully known, for there must not be an excessive return.

\*12. Let officers be dispatched to offer the accustomed sacrifices at the tombs of all former emperors, at the birthplace of Confucius, the five mountains, and four rivers.

\*13. Let all criminals, whether officials, government clerks, soldiers, or commoners, except such as have been convicted of these ten crimes, viz., treason and sedition ; of the murder of parents or grandparents ; of a husband or master by wife, concubine or slave ; of a family of three innocent persons ; of mutilating or destroying persons, for bad purposes ; of planning or threatening murder, certainly involving life ; of making poisonous preparations ; of diabolical charms against life ; of putting up noxious medicines for poisoning people ; of violent robbery, and of magical incantations, which truly are capital crimes ; also all soldiers guilty of desertion or of harboring runaways ;—be pardoned, if their offenses were committed before the 25th of February, whether they have been accused or not, and convicted or not ; and if any person charges those now pardoned with these crimes, they shall themselves suffer as if guilty of the same offense.

\*14. All convicts banished to 3000 or 5000 *li* distance, who have fulfilled three years at the place of their exile, and have conducted themselves peaceably and obediently, and all banished convicts over 70 years, are permitted to return home.

\*15. Let all Manchus, all members of the Imperial household, and men of the five banners who wear robes, who have speculated in the public moneys, and who are now sued for the recovery of the deficiency, if it be found that they really are destitute of property, be excused of repayment after investigation ; and those who are responsible for, or bear a part of the repayment, or are involved in the case, all be released from further implication.

\*16. All civilians who are required to pay up the deficiencies in the public moneys, and all sons and grandsons who are now held responsible for the peculations of their fathers or grandfathers, are released from all claims after an examination has been made.

\*17. All officers and soldiers in the army, who in consequence of going on service, or by reason of disasters, have overdrawn their pay and rations, are released from repayment.

\*18. Let all privates in the army, who have already distinguished themselves for bravery, or have retired from service by reason of wounds or age, receive extraordinary consideration, and examination be made as to the favors and largesses they should receive.

\*19. Let all persons in the provinces who have five generations of descendants living, or those who have seen seven generations, receive in addition to the usual legal tablet, some largess and favor after proper examination.

\*20. Whereas agriculture is the basis of the country's prosperity, let the local magistrates in every department and district always grant favors to all diligent husbandmen and those who labor in the fields, that the imperial bounty be made known.

\*21. Except the robe-dressed, and all under majors, down to horsemen in the five banners [of the household troops], let the Manchu, Mongol and Chinese bannermen, both horsemen, artillerymen, and footmen, all receive a month's pay.

\*22. Let every soldier and subject above seventy years of age have a man to cherish and take care of him, who shall be exempt from body-service ; and let every man who is above eighty years receive a button of the ninth rank ; above ninety, a button of the eighth rank ; above a century, a button of the seventh rank ; and those of one hundred and twenty years, a button of the sixth rank ; let all persons over a century be separately reported, that an honorary portal be erected for them, and money granted.

\*23. Let all charitable institutions for the support of widowed and orphan persons both male and female, who have no one to support them, with all diseased or deformed persons, who have no one to speak for them, be borne in mind by the local officers, and their wants provided for at all times, that they fail not of a home.

At this distance from the capital, little is known of the new monarch, of his person, his character, or his habits. Some of the people say he is likely to do honor to his country, others remark that he will find great difficulty in freeing himself from the influence of Kiyng and his clique, and a third party ask how can such a novice and youth wield a sceptre surrounded with so many duties and responsibilities. A variety of rumors prevailed in Canton, during the first part of last month respecting the proceedings in the palace one of which was that his uncle Mienyü had made a desperate effort to remove Yihchü, and seize the vacant throne himself, and had set the palace on fire to consume all its inmates at one fell swoop; and did so far succeed as to destroy Yihchü's wife and one of his younger brothers, but the heir apparent escaped. We think there are grounds for believing that a fire occurred about the middle of February in some part of the Forbidden City, and that Yihchü's wife died not far from the same date as the empress-dowager; but we add the rest of the rumor chiefly that it may be and by be compared with the real circumstances, if they should ever be ascertained. We suppose the following proclamation of the district magistrates of Canton relating to the reported disturbance was issued chiefly to find favor with their superiors. It however shows the care the officials deem it necessary to take when the effect of such rumors can be at all disastrous.

Fung, acting chief magistrate of Nánhai, and Shau, chief magistrate of Pwányu, make proclamation as follows:—

Whereas in the 12th moon of last year, from a want of proper precaution, the library in the apartments of the sixth son [of his late Majesty] caught fire, several buildings were consumed in the flames; but they were in due time extinguished, neither was there anything remarkable in the occurrence. In the 1st moon of the present year, His Majesty, the Emperor, with the flight of the Dragon mounted the throne: his youthful vigor of mind, his intelligence, his humanity, his piety, rendering his accession a real blessing to the government and people of his empire, he has ordained that the next year shall be called the first of the period Hienfung [Universal Plenteousness]. The nations along the many shores of the sea, within and beyond his frontiers, thence auguring regularity of the seasons and years of abundance, might have indeed congratulated themselves on the prospect of an endurance for evermore of the tranquillity at present prevailing. It has, however, come to our knowledge, that certain lawless fellows have had the audacity to mold the particulars of the abovementioned fire into a story of sedition, and have printed an account of this, of which several copies have been hawked about the streets. It is but too probable that the rustics of the villages in their ignorance may have their minds unsettled by these. And whereas it will be found that all persons viciously propagating what is noxious, or writing placards calculated to excite or unsettle the minds of men, are liable to summary decapitation, the law against them being of the highest severity, no trifling with it will be tolerated.

We have given orders to our police to make strict search for all who are taking a chief part in these fabrications, and to seize them and the workmen who cut the blocks, that they may be punished with the utmost rigor. It is farther our duty to issue a proclamation, and we therefore call upon you, the soldiers and common people throughout our jurisdictions to abide in peace, attending to your vocations, and sharing in common the blessings of this reign. And we promise, if you will apprehend and bring before us any of the above class of disaffected vagabonds who may be fabricating these noxious reports, or printing or selling the same, that, upon their conviction we will richly reward such as have been foremost in their capture. Beware of allowing your minds to be unsettled by them, and thus exposing yourselves to charges of a grave nature. Do not disobey this, but tremble and respect it! A special edict. Issued on the 17th April, 1850.—*China Mail.*

*Epidemic in Canton.* There has been considerable alarm felt among the citizens of Canton during the past few weeks, owing to an unusual number of sudden deaths, which the superstitious, ignorant people have ascribed to a want of harmony between the elements. In order to restore their kindly influences, they have celebrated the festival of the dragon-boats a month in advance, it being firmly believed that when the drums of the dragon-boats sound an epidemic flees. The disease seems to be more like the Asiatic cholera than any other, cases of bilious fever also occurring, but our information is very unsatisfactory as to its virulence or the number of cases. Rumor has doubtless exaggerated the truth.

## CHINESE REPOSITORY.

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ART. I. *Notices of the Sagalien river, and the island of Tarakai opposite its mouth.*

LIKE all the large rivers in the Chinese empire, the Sagal'en is called by many names during its long course, and it is not easy to decide which of them should be adopted. The Russians call it the Amur after it passes out of their territories at Ft. Baklanova; the Chinese know it as the Heh-lung kiáng from that point till it joins the Songari, after which they call it the Kwantung to its mouth; and the Manchus name it the Sagalien úla, which we adopt, chiefly because it flows through their territories. The word *Amur* or *Yamur* is derived from the Ghiliaks, a tribe found between the river and the Hing in Mts., in whose language it signifies the Great river, or Great water; *Heh-lung kiáng* means Black-Dragon river in Chinese, and *Sagalien úla* means Black river in Manchu, but why this term is applied at all does not appear.

This stream is among the great rivers of the world, and the sixth in point of size in Asia, the Yángtsz' kiáng, the Yellow, Oby, Lena, and Yenisei, alone excelling it in length. Its basin extends from the 109th to the 143d degrees of east longitude, and from the 42d to the 55th degrees of north latitude; its waters are drawn from an area of not less than 700,000 square miles, an extent of country nearly as large as Buenos Ayres, four times the size of France, seven times that of Prussia, and more than equal to all the states of the American Union south of the parallel of Lake Erie and east of the Mississippi river. This comparison of superficies is however the sole feature of resemblance, for in respect to population, productions, civilization, climate, and position, there is no similarity between them; and our know-

ledge on all these matters in the vast basin of the Sagalien is exceedingly meagre and doubtful. This whole region lies on the northeastern slope of the table land of Central Asia, and this river carries off most of the superfluous waters between the Desert of Cobi and the Pacific, north of the Ala-shán and Corea; while at the same time it affords the means of knowing more of its geographical features and the nature of its productions.

The headwaters of the Sagalien rise in the Burkan-kaldun or Kentei mountains, 肯特山, a spur of the Altai, which branching off southerly from the main chain, east of the R. Selenga, forms the watershed between the central and eastern parts of the Plateau on its northern side, and constitutes the boundary between the Tsetsen and T'uchétú khanates. The two streams which flow from the Kentei Mts. take their rise nearly in the same meridian ( $109^{\circ}$  E.), about 120 miles from each other, the Onon 敖嫩河 being on the north side near the Russian frontier, and the Kerlon 喀魯倫河 on the south. This region is celebrated in Mongolian history as the place of the birth and early life of Genghis khan (see d'Ohsson's *Histoire des Mongols*, Vol. I. page 30). The Onon runs easterly for about 160 miles, and then northeast for nearly 320 miles, mostly in Russian territory, till it joins the Ingoda at Goroditch, in long.  $115\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , 80 miles above the town of Nertchinsk.

In this part of its course, it receives the Kioursou 科勒蘇河, the Agoumtza, the Onon-borzis, the Ounda, the Aga, and many smaller streams, nearly all of which are north of the Chinese frontier. The Ingoda rises in the mountain range which incloses the basin of Lake Baikal on the east, and after running almost due north to the town of Tchitinsk, collecting the drainings on its eastern declivities, it turns eastward, receiving the contributions of the Tchita and Ourioungui rivers, in a course of about 400 miles, and joins the Onon. Their united waters take the name of the Shilka, and flow in a north-eastern direction for 250 miles to long.  $121^{\circ}$  E., and lat.  $53^{\circ} 23'$  N., at Fort Baklanova. The Shilka is joined by the river Nertcha, at the town of Nertchinsk, and by the T'cherná at the town of Koularak, about 175 miles further east. From this point to its junction with the Arguni it forms the boundary between the Chinese and Russian empires.

The other great source of the Sagalien, called the Kerlon, is larger than the Onon. It rises in about lat.  $48\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  in a part of the Kentei Mts. lying east of the town of Kurun, called the Bayencharuk 巴彦集魯克山, along whose eastern sides it flows south and southeast

for about 100 miles, when it is turned northeast by a range called Tarkan Mts. 達爾罕山 and pursues a solitary course for 320 miles through the wilds of the Desert, losing its waters and name in Lake Húrun in lat. 49° N. and long. 116° E. It receives only a few tributaries near its head, and the only settlements along its banks are a few Mongolian hamlets; the road from Kurun eastward into Manchuria keeps along its valley.

Lake Húrun or Kúlun 呼倫池 occupies a depression about 210 miles in circuit in the Desert through which the Kerlon runs; it receives the waters of the river Ursun 鄂爾順 on its eastern shore, a large stream which flows west and northwesterly from the western acclivities of the Sialkoi or Inner Hingan Mts., taking its rise under the name of Kalka R. 喀爾喀 in a small lake in lat. 48° and long. 121°, and running about 140 miles into lake Pir or Puyur, a sheet of water nearly as large as Lake Húrun, lying about 65 miles south of it. The stream flowing from L. Húrun, is called the Arguni or Arguni 額爾古納, and forms the boundary between China and Russia for nearly 400 miles till joins the Shilka. Within this distance, it receives the waters of a score of rivers, of which the Kailar 喀勒爾, which runs in from the east just as it leaves the lake, the Keng, and the Tazimour, are the largest. There are many Russian settlements on the Arguni, one of which, Nertchinsk or Nipchú, is celebrated for the treaty signed there in 1688. The Chinese government maintains a few troops at Húrunpir to oversee the frontier, but almost the whole of the Chinese territory drained by the rivers here mentioned is a howling wilderness, over which the Kalkas and other Mongols pasture their herds, or wild beasts roam; on the Russian side the country is lower, the temperature higher, and the population incomparably greater. All these streams, after leaving the mountains flow through a level country, but the fact that their sluggish waters are covered with ice nearly half the year, and on the same latitude as Warsaw, too, shows the inhospitable climate of these bleak wastes.

After the junction of the Shilka and Arguni rivers, the united stream takes its well known names, and rolls on to the Pacific a magnificent river, swelled as it approaches the ocean by the contributions of many affluents. At first the Sagalien runs nearly east, but after a course of about 100 miles in lat. 53°, it meets a long spur of the Outer Hingan Mts., and gradually turns southeast, forcing its way through the defiles of the Outer and Inner Hingan ranges in a succession of rapids till it reaches the plain east of the mountains at its most southern point

in lat.  $47\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  N. Before it turns south, the river receives ten tributaries into its bosom from the left, some of them large streams; the Cholokchi 卓魯克齊河 is the first large one west of Ft. Baklanova; then succeed the Kerbechi 格爾必齊 about 140 miles long; the Or 鄂爾 and Aldekan 鄂爾多昆 each about a hundred miles; the Ursu 烏爾斯 about 200 miles, the Poronda 波羅穆克 of 200 miles, the Elgue 額爾格 of 300 miles, and the Pirtan 巴爾坦 of 280 miles in length. All these bring down their waters from the solitudes of the Yablonnoi Mts.; the only inhabited spot noted in this region being the post of Yaksa 雅克薩 on the main trunk between the Ursu and Poronda (see Chi. Rep., Vol. VIII., page 417). After passing long.  $124\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , where it turns southerly, the Sagalien washes the base of the mountains for nearly 200 miles, receiving only one tributary of any size during the whole distance, viz. the river Humari 瑚瑪爾河, which rises in the Iliful Mts., 伊勒呼里山, and courses along the northern base of the Sialkoi Mts. in lat.  $59^{\circ}$ , till it joins the main stream in lat.  $51\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  and long.  $126^{\circ}$ . The town or post of Oloussou-mutan 烏魯蘇木丹 is situated near the junction.

As the river turns the base of the mountains, one of its largest confluent, the Tchikiri 精奇里 comes in from the northeast, bringing the superfluous waters of a region fully thirty thousand square miles in extent, almost as unknown and more desolate than the centre of Africa. The numerous branches of the Tchikiri rise in the mountains on the frontier of Russia, and join each other one after another till their united waters flow into the Sagalien at Aihom 愛渾 in lat.  $50^{\circ}$ , an old military post now superseded by Sagalien hotun, or Hehlung king ching, the chief town of the immense commandery of the same name. The names of the largest branches of the Tchikiri are the Silimpda 西林穆迪 and its confluent the Yanna 陽奇尼 and the Kintou 欽都, whose headwaters are as high as the parallel of  $55^{\circ}$  N. The nomads who find a precarious subsistence in these dreary wilds belong to the Tungusian race, and are known under various tribal names. The Humaris live about the river of that name and northward to the frontier; while the Ghiliaks roam eastward between the Tchikiri river and the spurs of the Hingan called Koshi 科色 and Yang 陽山; the Ducheri and Gogooti tribes are found further south near Aihom and easterly beyond the Songari. They all trade in peltry and fish at the Chinese posts, but acknowledge allegiance to no one.

Between Sagalien hotun and the junction of the Songari, a distance of about 230 miles, the valley is much compressed, and the river receives no confluent of any size except the Tcholanki 卓倫奇 on the north. The Songari joins it in lat.  $47\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  and long.  $142^{\circ}$ , nearly doubling its volume of water. This great tributary is formed by the union of the Songari, the Nonni, and the Hourha, whose united valleys cover an area of upwards of 200,000 square miles. The Songari 松花河 (i. e. Fir-flower river) rises in the Chángpeh 長白山 on the frontier of Corea in lat.  $42^{\circ}$ , and flows northerly and westerly through the commandery of Kirin, receiving the contributions of scores of small streams as it winds its way along the edge of the deserts of Inner Mongolia, till after a course of about 250 miles it joins the Naun or Nonni 嫩河 at Pétune in lat.  $45\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ .

This last stream is the largest branch of the two, and somewhat resembles the Ohio. It rises not far from the Humari river in lat.  $53\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , just south of the Sialkoi mountains, which here take a complete circuit, and inclose the basin of the Naun on three sides; the river flows nearly due south about 400 miles to its junction with the Songari, fertilizing and communicating with one of the best portions of Manchuria. Its branches are numerous, but none of them are large, except the Toro 陀喇 and Tchol 綽爾 near its junction. There are several settlements in this valley, of which Merguen and Tsitsihar, the capitals of the two commanderies of the same name, are the largest; the inhabitants are mostly Daiiris or Dagooris, who live both by the chase and agriculture, and who have given the name of Daurian to the Yablonnoi or Outer Hingan mountains, over which they roam for food.

After the junction of the Naun and Songari, the united stream, under the Chinese name of Kwantung 混同 (i. e. Mingled Union) flows northeasterly about 380 miles, receiving in this part of its course several tributaries, of which the Hurha 瑚爾哈河 is by far the largest. The town of Pétune 伯都納 is the dépot of trade between this region and Peking; further east are the towns of Larin 拉林 Altchucu 阿勒楚喀 and Tchulgue or Hurun 呼蘭, all of them at the mouths of rivers of the same name, and San-sing 三姓 or Miao at the junction of the Hurha. This last named stream rises in the Long-White Mts east of Kirin, and runs due north about 200 miles, passing through lake Puní 布尼 in its course, just as the Jordan flows through the Sea of Galilee, till it joins the Songari; the town of Ninguta in the commandery of that name is the largest settle-



ment. Very few of the stations on the Songari which figure on Arrowsmith's map are inserted in the large Chinese map of the Empire.

The Chinese consider the Kwantung the largest of the two at its junction with the Hehlung, and the united stream carries that name through to the ocean, a distance of about 520 miles in a N.N.E. direction. This part of the Sagalien is unknown to Europeans; it incloses many islands, and receives many confluent into its bosom, of which the Usuri 烏蘇里 is the largest. This river is separated from the Hurha by a spur of the Long-White Mts. called Harhar 喀爾喀 and Plakan 畢喇彥; its three headstreams all rise in the Sihata Mts. 錫赫特 not far from the ocean; one of them flows through lake Tapaccu or Hinkai 興凱湖, a sheet of water in lat. 44°, more than a hundred miles in circumference; the Mouren 穆林 and Noro 諾羅 are the largest affluents of the Usuri;—but of the productions, the soil, the inhabitants, and the climate of its valley and streams, we know nothing certain. After the junction of the Usuri, the Sagalien rolls on its vast volume of waters to the ocean, confined by the Sihata Mts. or Efitshin Alin on the east, and the Hingan or Daurian Mts. on the west, almost to its embouchure. The Henkon 興滾 and the Kerin 格楞 are the largest affluents on the northern banks; the post of Gidatka 集達特噶 is situated near the mouth of the Henkon, at the head of the estuary formed by the great body of water here poured into the ocean. The embouchure is about lat. 53° N. and long. 140½° E., upwards of 1330 miles from the headwaters of the Kerlon in a direct line, but fully 2300 if we include all the windings—making the Sagalien about the same size as the Nile.

Pallas examined the natural history of this river to some extent; the fish are specifically different, but bear great resemblance to those found in Europe; the most common kinds are two species of carp (*Cyprinus leptcephalus* and *labio*), barbels, the beluga or white sturgeon, and a kind of trout (*Salmo oxyrhynchus*.) Crawfish, smaller and smoother than the European, occur in the Shilka and Onon; the pike is yellow and spotted like the Indian species. Pearl oysters are found in the Onon; in some places the Chinese government protects their fishing; the common barnacle grows to a large size.

The entire basin of the Sagalien is divided by the Inner Hingan range west of the R. Naun into two parts, quite dissimilar in their character. The western part may be considered as a portion of the Desert of Gobi; the air is very dry about the Kerlon, Argunai and Onon the greatest part of the soil is sandy and sterile, unfit for agri-

culture except in the bottoms; and rain and snow are far from abundant. The elevation has never been ascertained, but the fact that in the latitude of Paris ice is seen in the streams nearly half the year shows that it must be great. The country about the Ingoda is less severe, and when the Cossacks conquered the tribes dwelling here a century since, they found them cultivating the land to a great extent, perhaps more than it is at present, as their exactions obliged whole tribes to migrate into Chinese territory, and settle in and about the valley of the Naun.

The country east of the Inner Hingan has a less elevation, and though the ranges dividing the valleys of the Naun, Songari, Hurha, Usuri, and Sagalien, attain a great height, these rivers flow through arable tracts, and a higher temperature prevails. Forests of oak, hazel, linden and cherry, replace the fir and larch of the Humari, and crops of barley, rye, wheat, hemp and buckwheat furnish food for man, with meadows for cattle. The policy of the Chinese government in banishing criminals to these regions, and compelling them to cultivate land, has tended to improve the region and its nomadic inhabitants. Chinese civilization has hardly extended to the Pacific shore, and the tribes there are probably no better known to the geographers at Peking than they are to us.

The Ghiliaks constitute the largest tribe, and range over the whole region between the Sagalien and the Hingan, living by fishing and hunting. Cottrell says the Russians from Yakutsk occasionally meet them in hunting, but little is known of their origin or language. The Humari, Solons, Ducheri, and other tribes mentioned on maps, are we think branches of this greater one, called Fiatta or Fiyaks 費雅喀 by the Chinese. Their country was conquered by the Cossacks early in the seventeenth century, and a fort built at Yacsa or Albasyne, to overawe the tribes and collect the tribute or *yussak* of furs. The position of this post was favorable, the country sheltered by the Daurian Mts., the climate temperate, and soil fertile, but the Russians were obliged to retire beyond the Shilka.

The lands cultivated when the fort was occupied still produce grain. The Chinese now collect the peltry from these hunters at Sagalien hotun. The tribes upon the Usuri, and between it and the ocean, are collectively called *Yüpi Täh-tsz'* 魚皮達子 or Fish-skin Tartars by Du Halde, and subdivided into the Orochi, Bichi, Fiyaks, and Kiching; but too little is known of them to render these distinctions of the least value. They are all described by the Chinese as "tribes who pay tribute of martin furs."

Opposite to the mouth of the Sagalien lies the island of Tarakai; its shores have been visited by a few navigators, as La Peyrouse, Broughton and Krusenstern, but it is still nearly terra incognita. The island is included in Chinese maps as a portion of the empire, but Langsdorff says that the Japanese officials whom he saw on its southern coasts exercised entire authority over the fishermen living there; this part of the island he says is called Tchoka or Karasto, and Kita Yesso 北蝦夷 or Northern Yesso by the Japanese, who did not seem to know its size. It is named Sagalien on European maps, but without any just grounds; the appellation Tarakai is probably given to the shores opposite the mouth of the Sagalien by the Fiattas, and from them adopted by the Manchus, who have settled there. This island extends from lats.  $49^{\circ}$  to  $54^{\circ} 20'$  N., about 600 miles, varying in width from 120 miles at Cape Patience to 25 miles north of the Bay of Aniwa; its area probably exceeds 30,000 square miles, making it about the same as Ireland, and one-fifth more than Ceylon. The sheet of water separating it from the mainland, called the Channel of Tartary, is 200 miles wide at its southern end, and runs up to a narrow strait about 40 miles wide below the mouth of the river. It is known that the water poured out by the Sagalien all flows northward, but the deposit of silt has not yet formed an isthmus along this narrow strait, and the natives cross in boats. The communication by land may probably be completed at  $52^{\circ} 30'$  N., in course of time, and the passage by boats is even now greatly obstructed by sea-weed. The shores on the western side are low, but hills and mountains are seen inland. Plath has collected most of the notices of this island which we insert in the following extract from his *Geschichte des östlichen Asiens*, Vol. I., page 21.

"At the mouth of the Sagalien, and along the greater part of the east coast of Manchuria, there is a long island Tarakai, generally but improperly called Sagalien.<sup>1</sup> We mention it here, although only half of it is subject to China and the Manchus.<sup>2</sup> The captain of the Dutch vessel "Kastrikum" Marten de Vries, who visited the southern part of it in 1643,<sup>3</sup> was the first to bring any knowledge of the island to Europe. The Jesuits in Peking<sup>4</sup> also gathered some information from the surrounding people. But as their imper-

1. *Sagalien angga chada*, the "Black-mouth's rocks," is the Manchu name of some rocks at the mouth of the Amur, and very improperly this was turned to Sagalien, i. e. Black, to be the name of the island. (Klaproth, *Asia Polygl.* p. 301.) Other names of the island are Karasto with the Japanese, Tchoka with La Peyrouse, or Oku Jesso, Great or North Jesso.

2. The other half belongs to Japan; see Golownin, Vol. II, p. 151, and foll.

3. In Witsen *Nord en Oost Tartarye*, Part II, p. 50 and foll.

4. See Du Halde, T. IV., p. 14, and foll.

fect information was completed by mere suppositions,<sup>1</sup> the shape of the island on the old charts was totally misdrawn. La Peyrouse and Broughton were the first to examine the southwest coast, and the former has furnished some interesting information on it. Krusenstern afterwards explored the whole east and northwest coast, so that only eighty or a hundred miles on the mouth of the Sagalien remained unexplored. Up to the present time there is no connection here with the mainland, and the former opinion of travelers, that Tarakai is a peninsula, is disproved.<sup>2</sup> The Japanese Mamia Rinsoo visited the straits in 1808, and laid it down, and a party commissioned by the emperor of Japan afterwards again in 1810 surveyed it, and fixed the situation positively. Since then, the name of the Straits of Mamia has been adopted.<sup>3</sup> It is generally frozen up from December till March.

Tarakai is long and narrow. It begins at the north with two small promontories, Cape Maria (lat. 54° 17' N., long. 217° 42' W.)<sup>4</sup> and Cape Elizabeth (lat. 54° 24' N., long. 217° 13' W.), runs down on the western side in almost a straight line, barring a few out-bays, whilst it extends its breadth on the east side down to Cape Patience (lat. 48° 52' N., long. 215° 13' W.),<sup>5</sup> in such a measure, that the breadth here is 2½ degrees, to only half a degree on the north. After this, however, the land falls in, forms a large bay, the bay of Patience,<sup>6</sup> and continues only on the west side in a small narrow line until it ends in a fork at Cape Crillon (lat. 45° 54' N., long. 218° 02' W.)<sup>7</sup> and Cape Aniwa (lat. 46° 02' N., long. 216° 29' W.)<sup>8</sup>

The whole length therefore is 572 miles at its farthest extremity, the breadth varies from 25 to 175 miles.<sup>9</sup> The interior is entirely unknown, only the coast has been visited in some places. La Peyrouse pushed on to 51° 29' N.; he found the coast as thickly wooded as that of Tartary. He landed at the Salmon river (50° 54'); the vegetation here was more vigorous than elsewhere. Celery and cresses in abundance, plenty of pines and willows, not quite so frequent were oak, maple, birch and medlar trees.<sup>10</sup> The Bay d'Estaing (lat. 48° 50' N.) and the Bay de Langle, where they landed before, offered the same aspect. Garlic and angelica were frequently seen growing on the borders of the woods. Everywhere on the coast abundance of fish, so that they killed with sticks twelve hundred salmons in one hour, and cod-fish as many as lasted the whole ship's company for eight days.

1. See Malte Brun's Précis, Vol. III. p. 458 and foll., and others.

2. La Peyrouse, Vol. III. p. 54 and foll. & p. 83.—Broughton, p. 299.—Krusenstern, Vol. II. p. 245, &c. Doubts of Malte Brun, Vol. III, p. 461 &c., and others.

3. Siebold in the *Nouv. Journal Asiatique*, 1829, No. 18, page 393

4. Krusenstern, pp. 207 and 208. The longitude is west of Greenwich.

5. Krusenstern, p. 177.

6. Krusenstern laid down the north point of the bay in lat. 49° 19'; page 127.

7. Krusenstern, p. 81. La Peyrouse, Vol. III. p. 83, gives lat. 45° 57' north, and long. 140° 34' east of Paris.

8. Krusenstern, page 112. La Peyrouse has lat. 46° 3' north.

9. See the chart of Sagalien in Krusenstern's atlas, plate 73.

10. La Peyrouse, Vol. III, page 50.

The same in the Bay de Langle, thousands of salmon; also herrings and other fish. All they saw of wild animals were skins of bears, martins, and sea-wolves.<sup>1</sup> Therefore fish and some roots form the only nourishment of the inhabitants. Down below at Cape Crillon, the whales begin to be found; there are many on the east coast, but none on the west coast.<sup>2</sup> Krusenstern found such a quantity in the Bay of Aniwa that the ship was entirely surrounded by them, and he could only with great caution reach the shore. In the Bay of Patience he saw perhaps a still greater quantity.<sup>3</sup> We extract only a few observations from Krusenstern, who continued the explorations where La Peyrouse had discontinued them, as generally speaking the character of the country is the same all over. Sea-lions, seals and phoca were couching on the rocks, and the huge lumps of flesh turned their round heads out of the water, and began a terrific roaring.<sup>4</sup> In the Bay of Aniwa, fish were so abundant that they took them out of the water by buckets, and hence the only nourishment again consists of fish. Oysters and crawfish abounded, the game has not yet been disturbed, no trace of cultivation of the ground or training of animals. On the east coast they saw thickly wooded hills, with fine luxuriant green and woody valleys. Whales and seals were playing round the ship. The summer begins very late, as has already been mentioned; on the 21st May they had deep snow, and the thermometer fell to the freezing point; a little more north (49° 19'), they met even icebergs on the 23th May.<sup>5</sup> On their return from Kamtschatka (18th July), they saw a sandy inhabitable shore with stunted fir and pine trees, alternating with the loveliest valleys full of luxuriant green, and hills with fine impenetrable woods.<sup>6</sup> Particularly on the northern extremity, the most charming scenery with grass and pine forests was met with. Reindeers grazed on the shore. The northwestern parts of Tarakai in general showed many advantages over the southwestern part. There is also some agriculture; the rivers are lined with the most impenetrable bushes and weeds, which again harbor vast quantities of fish. Fish are the only nourishment of the inhabitants, and dogs their only companions.

The condition of the aborigines of Tarakai seems to be even more degraded than that of the inhabitants on the continent, and their masters, the Manchus and Japanese, do little to elevate them. The notices of the island in the General Statistics of China are very meagre, and add nothing to the preceding; we insert all that relates to it.

“ In the seas attached to Sinsing, east of the mouth of the Kwantung, is a large island extending for a thousand *li*. In it there is the Pokpih 博和畢 and fifteen other rivers, with the Toksuto 克圖 蘇圖 and three other mountains. The Fiattas dwell in the north,

1. La Peyrouse, pp. 31, 35. 2. La Peyrouse, Vol. III. pp. 87, conf. page 107.

3. Krusenstern, p. 91, Langsdorf, Vol. I. p. 485 and foll.

4. Langsdorf, Vol. I. p. 475.

5. Krusenstern, p. 122, conf. page 130. Langsdorf, Vol. I. p. 483, &c., and 483. Golownin, Vol. II. p. 7. 6. Krusenstern, p. 195 and foll.

the Kuyiks in the centre, and the Orunchun in the south; they are ruled by the Colonial Office at Peking, and under the immediate government of the authorities at Pétune. The productions are rice, millet, cattle, sheep, martin skins, &c. The Orunchun and Solontafurs bring in a tribute of martin skins, but it is not required of others who do service. Each man is required to bring in one martin skin; out of the whole, 500 are selected of the best quality, and a thousand of the second sort, the remainder being assorted in three qualities."

La Peyrouse saw many skins and furs among the people on the coast. On the Chinese maps, three tribes are represented as occupying the island, the Fiatta in the north, the Kúyiks 庫葉 in the centre, and the Orunchun 鄂倫春 in the south. Many small rivers flow from the ridge of mountains in the centre, several peaks of which are named. Otongki 阿當吉 In the south, is probably Peak Bernizet of La Peyrouse; Yinkaching 音格繩 and Tatama 塔塔瑪 are portions of the same range as Peaks Mongoz and Martiniere of La Peyrouse, whose summits Krusenstern describes as lost among the clouds, and covered with snow in May. The river Neva named by him is probably the Tatama ho. In the northern part is Toksuto Mt. 圖克蘇圖山 part of which received the name of Peak Espenberg from Krusenstern. The country between these ranges is represented as level.

The bay at the mouth of the Sagalien is about fifty miles wide; and probably quite deep. It is a sort of cess-pool to the river, in which much of its sediment is deposited. The Chinese maps notice a range of eight islets on its southern side, and two larger ones called Churka 楚爾庫 and Yapokli 野布格里, while on the northern side are two others, Aisin 委辛 and Cholhat 楚魯哈達; all these, and the settlements on Tarakai, are under the jurisdiction of the officers at Gidatka situated on the river Sagalien. It is not improbable that some arrangement has been made between the Manchus and Japanese authorities in respect to the jurisdiction of the whole island, one which probably leaves nothing for the freedom of the aborigines.

These few particulars relating to the great artery of Manchuria, and the island opposite its mouth, only show how meagre is our information relating to them. The coast too, from Corea north to the Sagalien, has never been thoroughly explored, though few or no inhabitants were seen at the few spots where La Peyrouse landed. The whole of this coast, about two thousand miles long, the shores of Tarakai, and

the Sagalien up to Miao where the Songari joins it, offers a most inviting field of exploration to the navigator, the geographer and the naturalist, fully equal to any not yet investigated. We hope it will not long remain unvisited by some of the national ships of Great Britain or the United States in these waters. With a small steamer and a tender, the entire circuit could be made in a few months; the latter vessel remaining on the coast to investigate, while the steamer took her way up the unknown waters of the Sagalien, examining its capabilities and productions, and learning what manner of people dwell on its banks. We do not read of any rapids or falls which would prevent a steamer proceeding up as far as Pétune, but this and all other particulars can only be learned by exploration.

For further notices, see Krusenstern's *Voyage round the World and Recueil des Mémoires*; Langsdorff's *Voyages*; Broughton's *Voyage*; La Peyrouse; Ritter's *Erkhunde*; Plath's *Geschichte*; Penny *Cyclopædia*, Art. *Tarakai*; Malte Brun's *Geography*; Müller's *Memoir on the Amur*.

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ART. II. *Medical Missions*. 1. *General Report of the Hospital at Kan-à-fau in Canton, from April 1848 to Nov. 1849*. By B. HOBSON, M. B. Pp. 57.

2. *Report of the Committee of the Chinese Hospital, Shànghái, from January 1st to December 31st, 1849*. Pp. 18.

At all the missionary hospitals now opened in China, religious services form a regular part of the exercises, not only on the Sabbath but during the week; and no serious difficulty has been experienced in any of them in bringing the patients to conduct themselves orderly during their attendance on these services; much less have any persons declined to receive assistance from the physician because they were required to conform to this regulation of the hospital. It must be a matter of sincere thankfulness to every wellwisher of the Chinese that these hospitals have been made the medium of imparting so much religious truth, as well as relieving so great an amount of human distress, and the details given in the two Reports quoted above show that the medical and religious duties of the hospitals are conducted with great prudence and harmony.

Dr. Hobson commences his Report with a summary of his practice at Macao and Hongkong during the years 1840-1845, when he had charge of the hospital of the Medical Missionary Society in those places, in which period upwards of fifteen thousand patients passed

under his care. The Reports already published in the the Repository furnish detailed particulars of these efforts, up to the time when Dr. H. left for England in August, 1845. On his return in 1847, he renewed his efforts to open a hospital in Canton out of the precincts of the Factories, and resigned his charge of the hospital at Hongkong and connection with the Medical Missionary Society, "that he might endeavor in a quiet and unobtrusive manner, by friendly intercourse with the people and healing the sick, to obtain a permanent locality in the midst of the Chinese at Canton, and help to pioneer the way for other English missionaries to settle there." His success is thus stated:—

In April 1848, after considerable difficulty in meeting with a house, one was at last obtained in an eligible situation, and at a moderate rent (for Canton) of 35 dollars per month; in the district of Kam-li-fau, about a mile and a quarter northwest of the Foreign Factories; without the city walls (and not *within* them, as has been reported in the Medical Times), in the midst of a large and respectable family neighborhood; with a good water entrance in front, and a constant thoroughfare in the street at the back. As considerable repairs were necessary before it could be rendered habitable (for it had previously been used as a *pack-house*), only a part of the house was rented at first on trial, as a Dispensary, by which plan the fears of the people were not suddenly excited, and their goodwill was obtained. In June, the house was taken possession of, and no trouble arose out of it, except that at a subsequent period my landlord's son, a subaltern in the army, was beaten by his superior officer, for not promising to expel me. He refused to comply, asserting that he had only acted up to the letter of the Treaty, and that the people around were quite favorably disposed towards me. His superior officer gave him ten days to think upon the matter, and threatened further punishment on non-compliance. The poor man showed me the marks of the bamboo on his thighs, and he and his mother intreated me to send in a remonstrance to the British Consul, to prevent his receiving further indignity from this unprincipled officer. The Consul then acting thought it proper to refer the matter to H. E. Sū, the Governor, as a violation of the Treaty, and required that not only should my landlord's son be left alone, but that the officer in question should be punished. Sū in reply gave a very unsatisfactory excuse for the conduct of this military officer, whom he said he had examined. This interference had the effect of establishing me more securely; but as I expected, my landlord's son was punished for another alleged offense, and cashiered the army—another specimen, among thousands, of the injustice of the Chinese government.

Since this date, there has been no opposition experienced by Dr. Hobson from his neighbors, nor have we heard of any further trouble given to the landlord. In order to show the manner of conducting this hospital, we make a few extracts from the Religious and Medical details, selecting such as best illustrate the characters of the patients.

On the 1st of April, 1848, a Dispensary was opened for the first time in the western suburbs of Canton, and was visited every alternate day for two months; the first day there were but four patients; the second, upwards of twenty; and after that never less than a hundred.

Finding the experiment to be successful of commencing with a dispensary, I had the premises fitted up for a dwelling-house, chapel, and hospital, and on the 8th of June I removed into it with my family, in the open day, without



opposition or difficulty. On the first Sabbath following, the little native church was assembled, and the day was sanctified by prayer and by the celebration of the Lord's Supper. There were four male and six female communicants; Liáng A-fáh conducted the service, and it was felt to be an interesting and solemn season.

Arrangements were now made to receive patients three times a week, viz., Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. Tuesday was appointed to be the day for surgical operations. The average attendance of new and old cases on these three days, during the whole of June and July was 200 each time.

The second Sabbath was observed by the public preaching of God's word by our aged Evangelist, Liáng A-fáh; 230 persons of both sexes were present, the females sitting on reserved seats by themselves. There was much coming in and going out, talking and smiling at the strange sight of preaching, singing, and praying to an invisible Being, without priest, altar, or sacrifice. Many, however, were attentive and listened with approval.

The third Sabbath was rainy, and only fifty persons were present. On the fourth there were about two hundred, who were quiet, and listened with some degree of attention to the doctrines delivered. The fifth was also well attended. On the sixth Sabbath, July 16th, there was a very full congregation; there were about sixty women, of whom fully one half were of the more respectable class. Most of the women sat in a side room with Mrs. Hobson and child. Altogether, including those who only remained a short time, there were from two hundred and fifty to three hundred persons present. There was more noise than usual this day, caused by the chattering of the women, the crying of children, and playing of some boys at the door. Some were very quiet and attentive, but the greater part came evidently from curiosity alone to see the foreign lady and child, for several of the women who were not in the side room were raising their heads high to look over the blinds, or through the crevices to get a sight of them. To give a single illustration of the ignorance and indifference of the people to what appears to us so sacred and important:—on one occasion, a woman, during the time of preaching on the Sabbath-day, held up her child to the reading-desk, and in a loud voice requested medical aid for her child at once, and could not be easily persuaded to sit quietly down and wait awhile, till the explanation of the sacred Book should be concluded. Her sudden intrusion and earnestness much amused the congregation. The child had nothing seriously the matter with it. Others would occasionally stand up and peep over our shoulders to observe what we were reading, look about with a staring gaze, smile, and then sit down. Others, if any tracts were on the table, would make a rush to seize them. On another occasion, some small-footed ladies walked in during service, and I rose up to beckon them to a seat as they passed by; in a moment they moved away from me under evident alarm, their trepidation and awkward motions occasioning a laugh.

On Monday, July 17th, at half past six; A. M., there were already several patients waiting for medical advice, and at half past nine when we began the day's duty by the Evangelist addressing the sick, there were then a hundred and twenty persons. Two hundred tracts were distributed, also a form of prayer (specially prepared for them) was given to each patient. The women and men were admitted alternately, fifteen or twenty at a time. The chief diseases prevailing were acute and chronic ophthalmia, and their sequelæ; rheumatic neuralgia; fever; dropsy, and various forms of scrofula. The inspection was completed after six hours. Whilst I was healing in the dispensary, the native preacher was exhorting and distributing books in the waiting-room. The total number of applicants, new and old cases, was 284:—160 women and 124 men.

*July 18th.*—This day an interesting old lady, a Roman Catholic, called to see Mrs. Hobson. Tea and fruit were presented, after which I had a long conversation with her on religious subjects. She was baptized at the age of sixteen. Her husband was not living; she expressed herself deeply grieved that during life he cared not for the true doctrine. She hoped, however, that the cleansing of fire in hell would render him fit for the service and enjoyment of heaven. She asked for an explanation of the difference between our religion

and the *Tian-chü Kidu*—the term used by the Roman Catholics for the Christian religion—which was given. She asked, did we read, or rather repeat the *King*—the Sacred Book? I explained the nature of private, social, and public worship. She asked, had we many converts?—I said, very few. Why?—Because the Chinese were very hardened and wicked, and because we did not baptize any without some good evidence that they were true Christians. She strongly confirmed the truth of the first point, deeply regretting that it should be so, and highly approved of the second. She asked about confession; she said she confessed once a year to a spiritual father, a foreigner from Macao, who dressed in Chinese costume—did we do so? I said we confessed daily not into the ear of man but unto God, the Searcher of hearts and the Pardoner of sin; the Scriptures taught us so. We then conversed on the Sacraments—our term for the Lord's Supper she did not understand: she had another term. I described the ordinance as we read it in Corinthians, and justified the use of wine. She took the cake once a year. She knew five native priests, whose she said were all good men; she called them *shin fu*, spiritual fathers. They had no church or chapel in Canton, they had wished to build one, but the neighborhood would not suffer its erection; the one formerly in use had been pulled down by the authorities. She did not know how many Catholics there were in Canton. Her son was studying English to become an interpreter; he was not an idolater, but could not become a Christian, he said, and continue in business. The old lady can read her religious tracts a little, sometimes attends our services on the Sabbath-day, and is in many respects superior to the generality of her countrywomen.

#### Insanity.

Considering the phlegmatic temperament and temperate habits of the Chinese, it might be anticipated that this malady is not of frequent occurrence; and I think future inquiry will prove that insanity prevails to a much less extent in China than in Europe. It has been rarely mentioned in the lists of diseases treated by the medical missionaries, and on referring to the Golden Mirror of Medical Practice, a standard work in China, I find a very meagre description of the symptoms, cause, and treatment of this disease. Idiocy is properly distinguished from lunacy, and this latter is divided into two kinds *kuoing* and *tien*; the first (*mania*) belongs to the *ying* principle, with an excess of fire or excitement; the second (*dementia*, incoherent madness) partakes of the *yin*, with fluidity in excess, a state of depression; there may be a transition of one into other.—Lunatic asylums are unknown in China.

Several young and grown up persons, idiotic from their birth, have been brought for treatment, some of them with remarkably formed heads, flattened on one side, smaller than natural, or conical; but during eight years of practice among the Chinese, I have had an opportunity of witnessing only two cases of insanity. They were both men about 40 years of age, one residing in the suburbs near the northern gate of this city, and the other on the river side. The former case exhibited the usual symptoms of incoherent madness. He was chained by one foot and hand to a large block of granite; and his wife and mother were in the greatest terror when I proposed he should be unloosed for a time, for the chains were evidently galling to his flesh. They said he would kill them, or set the house on fire; he had been mischievous when his hands were free, and was often furious if displeased. He was incessantly chattering to himself; his chief theme was money and the gods. It appeared that his mind had been much depressed by losses in trade, and the death of his children. When questioned by me mildly and firmly, he gave a rational reply, but immediately after relapsed into his usual state of incoherency. He seldom took food, and still more rarely slept. His mind seemed wholly absorbed with a succession of confused and imperfect ideas unconnectedly expressed. His head was hot, general circulation languid, and body emaciated. He was visited twice, and under treatment a month, but with no permanent benefit. Large doses of opium were borne at first with advantage.

The second was a mild case of Mania. He was occasionally furious, but had little to say. In reply to questions, he would sometimes answer rationally,

other times he would only move his head significantly at his irons. Purgatives and blisters had a very happy effect; after a few days he was quite restored to his usual health. By trade a cannon founder, and addicted to free living.

*Poisoning by Opium.*

Applications to rescue persons from suicide by opium have been very frequent. Unfortunately, however, they are often made too late. When I arrive with all speed at the house, by chair, by boat, or on foot, the patient is usually just dead, or in articulo mortis. An affecting case occurred last month. At 11 p. m., I was urgently requested to go to a street in the sixth ward, distant about one mile and a half. A sedan was provided, and I was carried there with great haste through the narrow streets, with torches leading the way; when we met with any impediment, the chair-bearers called out—"Make way! Very important business! Saving a man's life!"—on which the foot passengers moved away right and left. All the hurry, however, proved of no use. The young man had expired. His wife with tears and lamentations intreated me on her knees to save her husband's life, and she could scarcely believe that he was really dead, though the strongest ammonia put into the eye made no impression upon it. This young man had swallowed a large dose of the extract of opium to relieve himself from the misery of seeing his wife and son dying before him for want of food. He was by trade a silk weaver, and had latterly been quite unable to get any employment.

*Record of Four Cases that were Recovered.*

One was an old lady, the wife of one of the official linguists, who had swallowed in a fit of anger a quantity of opium to prove her innocence of a charge that she was the cause of her daughter-in-law's hanging herself the day before (to whom I had been called, of course too late to save life). The pump was promptly applied, which removed the opium from the stomach, and in a few hours the old lady was as well and blithe as ever.

The second case was that of a young woman who had swallowed a large dose of opium from jealousy. She was quite insensible when I reached the house. The use of the stomach pump was completely successful, and its effects much astonished the bystanders. Some said I was a second *Wá To* (an ancient physician now deified), and that I had the hand of a Budha.

The third case was a man about thirty-five, who in the absence of his brother had broken open his money-chest, and stolen out of it 200 dollars which belonged to another party, intending to replace it by the gains he expected to realize by gambling with it. He however lost the whole during one night, and in the morning, from vexation and chagrin, determined to destroy himself by opium. He dissolved half an ounce of the strong extract in a little hot tea, and secretly swallowed it. When I saw him, his face and lips were livid, pulse feeble, respiration low, pupils almost insensible to light, and it was scarcely possible to rouse him to sensation. The stomach was soon emptied of its contents, the pump being kept in operation till a colorless fluid was ejected, which with the injection of warm water with a few drops of ether in it, restored color to his face, and in a few minutes he could answer slightly when violently roused, and swallow a little tea. It was evident from his soon relapsing into the lethargic state that a considerable portion of the opium had been absorbed into the system; by careful watching for some hours, dashing water on his face, keeping him roused by dragging him about between two men, and other expedients, torpor at length disappeared.—This man was bent on self-destruction, and I heard some days after that he had drowned himself in the river.

I may here refer to a spectacle that I witnessed in Macao, the impression of which will not soon be erased from my memory. Before me, in a small room of a house of ill-fame, among the Chinese settlements, was a tall, well dressed man lying upon a bed quite dead; near his side lay a young woman in a partially insensible state, who, on our attempting to introduce the tube of the stomach pump, violently resisted, and with her hands firmly grasped the clothes of the deceased man, and all our efforts were unavailing to induce her to relax her hold, or to swallow the least portion of fluid containing emetic sulphate of zinc. Her eyes were red, face flushed, and pulse quick. She had vomited

most of the opium ; the rest had been absorbed into the blood, and produced this state of mania. After a time, the stimulating and narcotic effects of the drug passed off, and she was restored to her usual health. It appeared from her account, that early in the morning they had each dissolved 2 drams of extract of opium and drunk it off—finding they could no longer live together on earth, they resolved to die together, hoping to be reunited in the other world. The man left a wife and six children.

The fourth case was that of a young woman, whom my assistant Awing restored. He was called early, and succeeded in expelling the poison by the use of the stomach pump—a fact which it is very pleasing to record.

I apprehend we should find that suicide among the Chinese is very frequent. Feuds and jealousies in families, and distress and poverty among the working classes, are the chief causes. Women usually resort to hanging, and men to opium.

One case is mentioned of a patient afflicted with dysentery who hired a boat for himself, and moored it near the hospital ; the treatment adopted was successful, and in order to show his gratitude for the aid received, he sent \$14 to be expended in assisting needy in-patients with rice and fuel. Such cases are very rare, and we think it would not be amiss for the superintending surgeons of the missionary hospitals to encourage those of their patients who are able to give, to do something in this way, in order to perpetuate and extend the benefits they have received. That the Reports already published exhibit few instances of substantial gratitude from the patients is not, we are willing to think, wholly owing to the indifference and selfishness of the Chinese, but somewhat to the general impression that no pay can be given, as well as that nothing is expected. Dr. Hobson closes his Report with an account of his assistants, one of whom, Chan Atsung, accompanied Dr. Parker to the United States, and was taken back into the hospital at Macao on his return ; but such was the force of bad habits and bad company, that all the efforts to reclaim him were ineffectual, and he died miserably from the combined effects of opium smoking and poverty. Another, Chan Apün, after receiving a thorough medical and English education, left the hospital to act as interpreter in a mercantile house in Canton ; while a third, San A-on, proved indolent and unfit, and returned home to Cochinchina. Such drawbacks and disappointments are to be expected, yet we think the results of medical education are such as to encourage to continued efforts on the part of the superintending surgeons.

The number of patients recorded in the hospital books at Kam-I-fau during the whole period embraced in this Report is not given ; the average number who attended on each reception day in the summer of 1848 was 250 ; in the winter it was about a hundred ; and during the year 1849, it did not vary much from 150. The reasons for this falling off are thus given :—

1st. The notion of my healing powers was rated extravagantly high. Many came with the expectation of being cured at once, as if by some miraculous means, by a look, or a word. Or if they had no such thoughts, they entertained the opinion that I possessed profound knowledge of the pulse. For nothing was more common than for my patients, especially the women, to place before me their hand, first the right and then the left, for me to feel the pulse, and then ask me, Doctor, what is my complaint? When shall I be well? What is to be my diet? These were posing questions, and the reader can imagine the disappointed hopes of many, when honestly told that this disease was beyond my skill, that that malady required some months of persevering treatment, that I could make no rash promises of certain cure in so many days, &c. This disclosure, and the subsequent discovery of the incurability of many of their chronic diseases, cooled down high expectations, and gradually lessened the number of applicants for medical relief. I am now seldom teased with these questions, but a firmer confidence on the part of many is increasingly manifested.

2d. Many applied with some slight ailment to satisfy their curiosity, and to afford the man opportunity of passing a learned judgment on the foreign doctor's practice to their friends.

3d. The delay which many are subjected to, is often not compatible with their views or their time. Those that come first, are first attended to. They must all take their turn; no difference is made, all are placed on the same footing, and receive equal attention.

4th. Another cause is in the disinclination of some to hear what they call *kong-shé*, *kong-kí*, a discourse upon religious books and ancient customs; the erroneous idea generally prevails that we merely teach foreign doctrines which are unsuited for them as well as unnecessary, since they have the sublime doctrines of their own sages; the humbling truths of the Gospel are likewise distasteful to their self-righteousness.

In the year 1848, the female patients greatly out-numbered those of the other sex. This year it has been the reverse, the male having exceeded the female patients. Formerly there used to be noise, talking, and laughing during the religious exercises. This year there has been a pleasing change; the numbers have lessened, but the good order and quietness of those who attend are now habitual. The same remarks apply to the public service held every Sabbath morning. The congregations have diminished to 130, to 100, and sometimes to 80, and on wet days there are not over a dozen or two; but there is now, usually, as much order and stillness as in a country congregation in England.

We close these extracts with one from the concluding remarks of Dr. Hobson, and no additional observations of our own would increase the impression they are calculated to make, or strengthen the conviction that efforts like these deserve the encouragement of every friend of China and humanity.

On looking back upon the past sixteen months, there appears much to be grateful for. A missionary living with his family among a heathen population, and surrounded by so many that are viciously disposed,—the preservation experienced of life and property, and the freedom likewise from all molestation and harm—are surely to be attributed to the gracious protection of God. Thousands of the poor and wretched have been healed of their sicknesses; many have received sight and hearing; pain has been assuaged; fears of a life of misery have been removed, and much suffering has been prevented by a timely operation. The institution has proved a benevolent one, and is in some measure appreciated, we hope, by the multitudes who have received the gratuitous aid that it affords. To the afflicted poor (and for them it is chiefly designed) it has been, and it is hoped will be, an unspeakable blessing. Many faithful discourses have been preached; frequent religious conversations have been held, and thousands of copies of Christian tracts have been put into circulation.

But we yet wait to see any great results follow these endeavors. Two only out of the long list of patients have publicly confessed Christ to be their Lord and Savior. These, with a few hopeful inquirers after truth, may appear to be a very small and inadequate return for the amount of religious instruction imparted; for, in addition to the regular attendance and cheerful assistance rendered by Liáng A-fáh, the sick are now, and have been for some months past, favored with the faithful and impressive preaching of the Rev. W. Gillespie, who is well able to command their attention and excite an interest in the truths

delivered. Still, though we wait for the early and the latter rain to fructify this barren soil, it yet is cheering to hear the glad tidings of salvation intelligibly and earnestly made known from week to week, and to believe that in fulfilling the command of our Lord to heal the sick, and say to them that the kingdom of God is come nigh unto them,—the labor bestowed shall not, ultimately, be in vain. May the Lord crown these humble and imperfect efforts of his servants with greater success, to the glory of his name, and the welfare of the idolatrous and benighted people around us.

Dr. Lockhart's Report extends over a shorter period of time than the preceding, and as it is not very long, we insert the whole of it, feeling assured that it will repay perusal. A notice of this Hospital was given in the last volume, page 506, and we refer our readers to that article for a general view of its operations. We observe, by a reference to the Treasurer's account in the Report, that almost all the expenses of the Institution have been defrayed by the residents at Shánghái.

The work of the hospital has been carried on during the last twelve months as in former years, with the exception of a short time in the autumn, when indisposition prevented regular attendance on the patients, though the hospital was not, at any time, wholly closed. In the last Report mention was made of the fact, that much sickness was the result of wet summers in this locality, and this has been especially the case in the past year: during the whole of the spring and summer months, much rain fell, more than has fallen at these seasons for many years: the consequence was that the ground was kept constantly wet, the cotton planted in the vicinity, and throughout a large district of country around, indeed almost everywhere to the south of the Yang-tsz' kiáng, was destroyed to a great extent, and rice grown in its stead, wherever it was practicable; but even this could not be done in many places, for large tracts of land in the interior were completely under water for several weeks, the rivers and canals not being able to carry off the surplus waters. This state of things had a very injurious effect on the health of the inhabitants, who suffered severely from sickness; bilious remittent fever and dysentery being the most prevalent forms of diseases; and from these diseases large numbers of the natives died. Many of the European residents suffered from the same diseases, and some deaths occurred among them in September and October; dry weather however set in early in the autumn, which materially tended to destroy the seeds of disease; and as the frost commenced, both Chinese and Europeans rapidly regained their health.

Notwithstanding the circumstance of the past autumn being so unhealthy, it is not sufficient to cause this place to be considered as on the whole insalubrious; for even in Europe, sickness prevails at times to a great extent; and during the past year, typhus fever and scarlet fever have committed fearful ravages in some places, far surpassing anything we have seen here; and while cholera has been carrying off immense numbers of people in other parts of the world, we have thus far been mercifully preserved from its ravages. It is quite true that ague, diarrhoea, and dysentery afflict the Chinese to a great extent, and debilitate them very much during certain seasons; still, considering the habits of the people, they appear to have as good health as could be expected under the circumstances in which they live. Their cities are always in a most filthy state, being undrained; and all those canals, into which the tide does not rise, are filled with putrid matter of every kind; these are seldom or never cleaned, and it is a subject of considerable surprise, that the inhabitants can live at all among so much filth in the canals, in the streets, and in their own houses. Several Europeans have had to leave Shánghái at various times on account of sickness, and return to their native land, finding that the climate did not agree with their constitutions; but it must be remembered that they are like exotica

in a foreign soil; all can not with impunity remain, and sometimes even those who appear to be the strongest, are the first to fail. It is now six years since the port was opened, and the mortality among the foreign residents has on the whole been below that which usually happens, especially in newly-occupied localities, where there are always many things that militate against the enjoyment of a good state of health.

For the purpose of further extending the benefits of the hospital, a dispensary has been opened at the London Missionary Society's chapel within the city of Shanghai, at the back of the Ching-hwáng miáu or City temple, commonly called the Tea-gardens: this is attended to twice a week, on Tuesdays and Fridays, and the attendance of patients has been satisfactory; many shopkeepers and others, who perhaps could not go so far as to the hospital outside the city, attend here: it is intended that this dispensary shall be continued, if possible, so as to try the experiment fully.

Among the cases worthy of comment, is one of amputation of the forearm, in consequence of severe laceration of the hand and wrist, by the bursting of a gun on board a junk, during an action with pirates. The operation was performed while the patient was under the influence of chloroform: the flaps united by the first intention, making a good stump, and the man very soon left the hospital.

In February last, a man about 27 years old was admitted, who ten days previously had been most barbarously beaten by order of the Chinese officers, to the extent of 100 blows with the smaller bamboo on the thigh and leg of the right side; mortification of the limb had made considerable progress, followed by extreme exhaustion, and he died during the night after his admission. He had been in perfect health up to the time of his punishment, and was a strong robust man of the working class, but the blows had been inflicted as severely as possible, with the edge of the flattened bamboo commonly used, and the parts struck had been so extremely mangled that gangrene at once supervened. There are two bamboos used on such occasions, a larger and a smaller one; they are made from a section or slice of a large bamboo, about three and a half inches wide and five feet long, which is then flattened by having all the joints smoothed down, and the whole instrument is made thick or thin as may be required. With the large bamboo, only 40 blows can be inflicted at one time, at least such is said to be the law; but if the officers wish to punish a prisoner very severely, though the punishment may be directed to be inflicted with the smaller instrument only, still the blows are given with considerable force, and even with the bamboo held edgewise; thus causing most agonizing pain, and inflicting much injury on all the parts that are so struck, namely, the calves of the legs and the backs of the thighs just above the knee, so that 100 such blows frequently cause death. Persons have frequently come to the hospital who have been beaten by the policemen, and in all cases a large slough of skin and flesh has had to be removed, so that the muscles are often exposed; this punishment appears to be frequently inflicted for very trivial offenses, the amount of the punishment depending less on the flagitiousness of the crime, than on the amount of the fee which the offender can pay, while suffering the bastinado. In front of the magistrate's office, prisoners are often seen, whose faces have been shockingly mangled by blows inflicted with a piece of hard leather, like the sole of a shoe; the lower jaw is occasionally broken, and even death caused by the excessive swelling of the neck, resulting from this punishment. Some weeks ago, several men were seen thus exposed after punishment; one of them had his face much injured, and his lips severely cut against his front teeth, which were broken by the blows, and the man had fallen down in a state of syncope.

To show the utter recklessness of Chinese patients regarding their health, the following case may be related. A man came to the hospital, very anxious to have a large tumor taken away, which was situated on the forehead, near the outer margin of the orbit, and being pendulous, was very troublesome to him, and prevented him using his right eye; he was told that it could be easily removed, but that he must stay a few days in the hospital; this he said he could not do, and went away; a few days afterwards he returned, say-

ing, that he had made arrangements with a friend to take his place on board the junk (he being a sailor), and that he could stay as long as necessary. The man was put under the influence of chloroform and the tumor removed; the following day considerable tumefaction of the side of the face came on; this subsided in some slight degree by the third day, when he again said he could not stay longer in the hospital, as the junk was going away; on his being remonstrated with for this deception, he said, that he had only promised to stay, that the operation might be performed, as that was all he wanted; he was told that he would not be restrained from going away if he insisted on it, but that if he must leave, he did so at serious risk to his health, and also to his eyesight, and that he must not suppose that because the operation was easily performed, that therefore he could go about as usual; after much conversation on the subject, he promised to stay, and he was left in the ward in bed; however a few hours afterwards it was found, that he had opened the window, and gone off, taking his bedding with him, and has not since been heard of; and even if he got well, without any untoward accident from inflammation, the wound of the operation, which was four inches long, must, from want of care, have healed very irregularly. This same heedlessness is very frequently manifested by patients with diseases of the eye; they repeatedly apply, being afflicted with severe catarrhal ophthalmia, extensive ulceration of the cornea, &c.; they are attended to, and told that unless they come regularly every day, they will lose one or both eyes. They will attend for a day or two; the disease may perhaps be a little relieved, and then they will not return for five or six days; when the disease having returned with increased violence, and the eye being permanently injured, they are asked, why they did not come every day? and the usual answer is, either that they had not leisure to do so, or it was inconvenient to come so frequently: on being told that their eyes are now seriously injured, and one or as sometimes happens, both, destroyed; they then say, they are sorry they did not do as they were told, but that they had not time to take care of their eyes. This was remarkably shown a short time ago, in the case of a respectable young man, who was in a good situation; he had severe catarrhal ophthalmia, and was told to come for medicine every day; he came for a few days and the virulence was checked; he was then absent for eight or ten days, and at this time the cornea of both eyes had sloughed away, and the eyesight was completely destroyed; he said that he thought his eyes were better; and though he knew, for he had been told, the consequence of irregular attendance, he had business at some distance from Shanghai, and thought it necessary to attend to it, hoping to be able to return at once. In the meanwhile, the disease had returned with increased violence, and now he was completely blind, and bitterly lamented the effects of his folly and inattention.

In the list of patients, a great number of persons are reported who have sought relief from the habitual use of opium; more of this class of patients have been seen during the past year than at any former time, no doubt from the means used having been found useful; many of these applicants have not had resolution of purpose sufficient to carry them through the process of treatment, and have relapsed into the use of the drug, but on the other hand, a large proportion of them are believed to have persevered, and wholly broken off the habit which they had acquired. Among these was a young man, the son of an officer at Hangchau, and himself a candidate for office; he applied at the hospital, and said he wished to stay there till he got well; he had, according to his own account, been in the habit of using eight drams of the drug daily; his health was consequently very much injured by this excessive use of opium, he was wholly unable to fulfill the duties of his station, and thus all prospect of advancement was closed to him, while he remained in this state; he steadily prosecuted the plan prescribed for him, and in six weeks left Shanghai, much improved in health and able to live without using the drug at all; his chief fear on leaving was, lest he should be attacked with ague on his return to Hangchau, and then he did not know what he should do without the opium pipe; however medicine was given to him, and he was encouraged to resist the tendency to return to his former habit, which he promised to do. On his departure, he begged permission to place a tablet in the hospital, expressive of his gratitude for the benefit



he had received: he has since written, saying that he was well, and also sent some of his friends to be relieved as he was. It is the custom of Chinese physicians to prescribe the use of the opium pipe in cases of obstinate ague and rheumatism; and no doubt this means is useful in alleviating distress and pain for a time; but the patient, though relieved of those diseases, is left dependent on opium for the rest of his life; so that the cure is worse than the disease; and in many of the cases, the first incitement to the use of the drug arose from its being recommended as a palliative for the relief of pain or distress of some kind or other, and the habit once acquired, it has become almost impossible to discontinue it.

It may be interesting in this Report to mention the following circumstance. About three miles to the westward of the hospital, at the village called Tsing-yen-sz', there is, in front of a temple, a pit or well, about eight feet square, and ten or twelve feet deep, faced with blocks of limestone, and inclosed by a good substantial paling; there are about three feet of water in this well, and from the bottom bubbles up a large quantity of gas, so that the appearance is as if a large volume of water was being constantly thrown up: the people call it

**海眼** Hái-yen, or Eye of the Sea, and say that the water neither increases nor diminishes, nor ever runs out: the fact is, the water that is in the well is merely drainage, and the gas rises through it; on descending by means of a ladder to the water and holding a light over the agitated surface, the bubbles explode with a light blue flame, which continues all the time light is applied. The gas may easily be collected by means of a bell-glass and bladder; the water has a slightly brackish taste, but small fish are noticed swimming about in it; the gas is no doubt carbureted hydrogen, and probably emanates from a layer of peat or coal at some distance below the surface. The villagers make no use of the water for any purpose, and appeared to be much surprised when the gas was ignited; they did not seem to be at all aware of its inflammable nature.

In concluding this Report, it may be remarked that while the object of efforts such as this, is to alleviate pain and relieve human suffering in various forms, still there is a further object; this is but a means to an end; that end is to show to this heathen people the blessings of the Gospel, and to declare unto them that there is a God who alone is worthy of their adoration; to show them that they are sinners in His sight, and that there is one only way by which they can gain pardon—through Christ who is mighty to save. May the Lord bless all efforts that are made to advance his own glory, and enable us year after year to do more for him, and to be an example before this heathen people of righteousness and truth, that indeed we may be Christians, not only in name but in all sincerity and seriousness.

*Abstract of Observations* by the thermometer, in the open air, in a shaded situation with a southern exposure; the maximum by day, and the minimum for the night, taken by a self-registering thermometer.

| 1849.     | Maxm.<br>by day. | Minimm.<br>by day. | Maxm.<br>by night. | Minimum<br>by night. | Average<br>by day. | Average<br>by night. |
|-----------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| January   | 60               | 30                 | 45                 | 17                   | 46                 | 33                   |
| February  | 63               | 40                 | 48                 | 30                   | 49                 | 41                   |
| March     | 72               | 40                 | 56                 | 31                   | 54                 | 42                   |
| April     | 75               | 45                 | 64                 | 33                   | 61                 | 49                   |
| May       | 87               | 60                 | 68                 | 47                   | 72                 | 58                   |
| June      | 84               | 69                 | 75                 | 60                   | 75                 | 66                   |
| July      | 95               | 73                 | 79                 | 64                   | 84                 | 73                   |
| August    | 96               | 77                 | 80                 | 70                   | 88                 | 76                   |
| September | 89               | 70                 | 77                 | 60                   | 79                 | 71                   |
| October   | 80               | 57                 | 66                 | 37                   | 73                 | 56                   |
| November  | 73               | 46                 | 55                 | 31                   | 60                 | 45                   |
| December  | 72               | 42                 | 54                 | 25                   | 54                 | 37                   |

## LIST OF PATIENTS,

FROM JANUARY 1st, TO DECEMBER 31st, 1849.

The bulk of the above cases are out-patients, some of the more serious cases only remaining as in-patients.

|                                        |     |                                       |     |
|----------------------------------------|-----|---------------------------------------|-----|
| Intermittent fever.....                | 636 | Caries of lower jaw.....              | 2   |
| Cough.....                             | 573 | Destruction of eye from fall on a cup | 1   |
| Asthma.....                            | 236 | Gun shot wound through the liver      |     |
| Hæmoptysis.....                        | 92  | (fatal).....                          | 1   |
| Phthisis.....                          | 39  | Do. hip joint (fatal).....            | 1   |
| Dyspepsia.....                         | 967 | Do. abdomen, hip and thigh....        | 1   |
| Dysentery.....                         | 279 | Do. hand and wrist (amputation)       | 1   |
| Hæmatemesis.....                       | 60  | Do. various parts of body.....        | 6   |
| Hæmaturia.....                         | 6   | Large slough of thighs, after the     |     |
| Jaundice.....                          | 55  | bastinado.....                        | 3   |
| Anasarca.....                          | 91  | Large slough of scrotum, and pro-     |     |
| Ascites.....                           | 30  | trusion of testicle.....              | 3   |
| Rheumatism.....                        | 620 | Do. of nates in children.....         | 2   |
| Rheumatic enlargement of joints...     | 24  | Excessive epistaxis.....              | 2   |
| Scrofulous do. do. ...                 | 7   | Polypus nasi.....                     | 4   |
| Paralysis.....                         | 15  | Popliteal aneurism.....               | 1   |
| Epilepsy.....                          | 26  | Psora.....                            | 280 |
| Opium-smoking.....                     | 734 | Psoriasis.....                        | 200 |
| Suicide by opium.....                  | 1   | Porrigo.....                          | 74  |
| Attempted suicide by opium.....        | 2   | Do. decalvens.....                    | 22  |
| Surditas.....                          | 21  | Do. lupinosa.....                     | 16  |
| Erysipelas.....                        | 4   | Lepra.....                            | 180 |
| Abscesses.....                         | 130 | Elephantiasis.....                    | 16  |
| Do. in theca.....                      | 9   | Leprosy.....                          | 34  |
| Ulcers.....                            | 243 | Tumors of neck.....                   | 8   |
| Hernia.....                            | 53  | Carcinoma of breast.....              | 2   |
| Hydrocele.....                         | 15  | Fungus hæmatodes on neck.....         | 1   |
| Concussion of the brain.....           | 2   | Fungus hæmatodes of eyeball.....      | 1   |
| Wounds.....                            | 92  | Sarcoma testis.....                   | 7   |
| Stabs with knives.....                 | 4   | Catarrhal ophthalmia.....             | 197 |
| Contusions.....                        | 169 | Chronic conjunctivitis.....           | 224 |
| Accidental amputation of thumb..       | 1   | Granular lids.....                    | 360 |
| Burns.....                             | 10  | Do. opacity.....                      | 279 |
| Fistula in ano.....                    | 14  | Do. pannus.....                       | 193 |
| Do. in perinæo.....                    | 1   | Do. leucoma.....                      | 104 |
| Excrescences around anus.....          | 48  | Ulceration of cornea.....             | 164 |
| Prolapsus ani.....                     | 25  | Conical cornea.....                   | 58  |
| Syphilis.....                          | 110 | Staphyloma.....                       | 34  |
| Soft nodes of bones.....               | 6   | Amaurosis.....                        | 22  |
| Fractures of spine.....                | 3   | Cataract.....                         | 18  |
| Do. ribs.....                          | 4   | Hypopion.....                         | 10  |
| Do. ribs and arch of lower jaw         | 1   | Synechia.....                         | 20  |
| Do. of neck of femur.....              | 1   | Irregularity of pupil.....            | 44  |
| Do. of tibia and fibula.....           | 4   | Closure of pupil.....                 | 8   |
| Do. do. compound.....                  | 3   | Hernia iridis.....                    | 6   |
| Do. humerus.....                       | 1   | Loss of both eyes.....                | 46  |
| Do. radius and ulna.....               | 9   | Do. one eye.....                      | 82  |
| Dislocation of shoulder.....           | 2   | Contraction of tarsi.....             | 64  |
| Do. irreducible.....                   | 2   | Fistula lachrymalis.....              | 4   |
| Disease of hip joint.....              | 4   | Trichiasis.....                       | 150 |
| Do. elbow joint.....                   | 1   | Entropium.....                        | 103 |
| Do. shoulder joint.....                | 1   | Ectropium.....                        | 37  |
| Suppuration of knee joint after a fall | 1   | Lippitudo.....                        | 196 |
| Necrosis of part of tibia.....         | 1   | Pterygium.....                        | 176 |
| Destruction of lower jaw.....          | 1   | Malignant ulceration of eyelids ...   | 1   |
| Do. bony palate and nose.....          | 3   | Vaccination.....                      | 40  |

Total number of individual cases

9,172

ART. III. *Mythological account of some Chinese deities, chiefly those connected with the elements.* Translated from the Siú Shin Kí.

*The Wú Lui Shin 五雷神 or Five Thunder Spirit.*

The Temple of the Thunder Spirit is situated eight *li* southwest of Luichau fú. Formerly, the villagers were accustomed to make a thunder drum and a thunder chariot out of hempen cloth, and place them in the temple; and when they held festivals, and spread out fish and pork, loud reverberations like thunder would be heard. In the Old Records it is said, at the beginning of the reign of Táikien of the Chin dynasty (A.D. 578), a woman named Chin, a native of this region, discovered an egg when on the hills, a cubit or so in circumference, which she took home with her. One day, it suddenly burst open with a loud noise, and a boy came out, on whose hand were written the characters *Luichau 雷州* i. e. "Thunder region." She brought him up, and called him Wan-yuh 文玉, but the country people usually called him *Lui Chung*, or Thunder Boy. He also became the chief officer of his own district.

After his death he gave responses, and the people reared a temple and sacrificed to him. Whenever it was cloudy, rain, flashes of lightning, and the noise of thunder, issued from the temple. The monarchs of the Sung and Yuen dynasties repeatedly conferred upon him the title of prince, and called the temple *Hien-chin 顯震* or Thunder Manifestation. During the reign of Tehyú of the Sung dynasty (A. D. 1277), it was changed to *Wei-hwá 威化* or Awful Changes. According to the Supplement to National History, there is thunder in Luichau during spring and summer; but during autumn, it enters the earth, in the form of a swine, and men catch and eat it. Moreover in Yácháu fú in Sz'chuen, on *Yá-uh Shán*, or Tiled-house Hill, there is the *Lui-tung*, or Thunder Cavern; into which if tiles or stones be thrown, a noise like thunder reëchoes.

The *Lui Kung* or Thunderer is usually represented by the Chinese as a human monster with a horned or peaked head, having a cock's bill, and hands and feet like a bird's; he has hold of a cord to which balls are attached, and is drawn in the act of striking with a bolt. There are temples erected to him in most of the large towns in the south of China, the number of persons destroyed by lightning being so great as to lead the people to worship at them frequently.

*The Ticn-mú Shin 電母神 or Lightning Mother Spirit.*

According to the legend, Tung-wáng-kung was playing at the

game of throwing rods with Yuhüü, when once, having happened to miss the mark, Heaven laughed at him, and light issued from his mouth on opening it,—the same which is now called flashes of lightning.

*Fung-péh Shin* 風伯神 or *Eolus*.

He is the same as *Fí-lien* 飛廉 i. e. the Wind Roc. *Yingsháu* says, *Fí-lien* is a divine bird, able to cause windy weather. His body is like a deer's; his head like that of a libation-cup, with horns; his tail is like a serpent's, and his body as large as a leopard's. He is the God of Wind.

*Yü-sz' Shin* 雨師神 or *Jupiter Pluvius*.

He is the same as *Shángyáng*, 商羊 the divine bird. He has but one leg, and is able to enlarge or contract as he pleases. He drinks as if he would swallow the sea. This is the Spirit who controls the rain.

*Hái Shin* 海神 or *Neptune*.

He is also called *Hái-joh* 海若. Tradition informs us that *Chí Hwángtí* of the *Tsin* dynasty made a stone bridge, desiring to span the sea in order to get a view of the sun. *Neptune* afforded his aid in driving the stones to their places; *Chí Hwángtí* begged to see him, and was told, "You must not draw a likeness of me." To this the emperor agreed, but at the interview, some clever ones among his attendants began to sketch his likeness. The Spirit angrily said, "Your Majesty has violated your engagement;" and immediately vanished. His temple is now in *Wantang* district in *Shántung*.

*Cháu Shin* 潮神 or the *Tide Spirit*, also called *Tsz'-sü* 子胥. Men have seen him in his plain chariot with white horses, as he goes forth upon the sea.

*The Divine Prince for opening Roads.*

He is the same as the *Fáng Siáng*, 方相 spoken of in the *Ritual of Chau*. Tradition informs us that the *Yellow Emperor* was accustomed to make tours through all parts of his realm; his chief concubine *Lo-tsú* died while upon the journey, and he commanded his second concubine *Hánjü* to watch and protect the corpse. She bought an image of a warrior to protect her in watching during the night; which was the beginning of this custom. He is vulgarly called *Hien-tau Shin* 險道神 the god of *Dangerous Roads*; the *Tsien-péh shin* 阡陌神 *將軍* Divine General of *Cross-roads*, and the *Divine Prince for opening Roads*. This divine person was a

rood in height; his head was four feet broad; his beard was red, and about five feet long; his face was blue; he wore a curled-hair golden crown, and was clothed in a red war cloak and black leathern boots. In his left hand he held a gem seal, and in his right grasped a square, ornamented halberd. When a bier is carried out he goes before it, and drives away whatever is unlucky and noxious, and all foul devils hide themselves from him. He is the Fortunate Spirit for conveyance of coffins, and has thus been handed down to succeeding ages.

*The Two Generals, Spirits of Doors.*

They are two warriors, Tsin Shuhpáu and Hú Kingteh of the Táng dynasty. According to the legend, the emperor T'áitsung was disturbed by the throwing of tiles and playing with bricks outside of his bedroom, and the hooting of demons and spirits. His women and palaces were all in like manner disquieted. His majesty was alarmed, and informed his ministers. Tsin Shuhpáu stepped forth, and addressing the emperor said, "Your servant has during his whole life killed men as he would split open a gourd, and piled up carcasses as he would heap up ants; why should he be afraid of ghosts? Let your servant, in company with Hú Kingteh, arm ourselves, and keep watch standing before the door." T'áitsung granted his request, and truly, during the night he experienced no alarm, at which he was much pleased, but remarked, "These two men watching all night, had no sleep." He therefore commanded a painter to draw two pictures of men clad in full armor, holding in their hands a gemmed battle-ax, and having a whip, chain, bow, and arrows girt on their loins, with their hair standing on end according to their usual costume. These were suspended on the right and left doors of the palace, and the noxious monsters were abated. Subsequent ages imitated this precedent, and have ever since made Tsin and Hú the guardians of doorways.

*Tsing-i Shin* 青衣神 or the *Azure-robed Spirit.*

The Azure-robed spirit, is the same as Tsántsung, i. e. Silkworm Bush, who, according to the legend, was originally the earl of Shuh (or Sz'chuen), and afterwards became King of Shuh. It was his custom to clothe himself in blue garments, and travel about the country to teach his people the art of raising silkworms. The country people, moved with gratitude for his benefits, erected a temple and worshipped him. These temples were erected everywhere in the western parts, and no one implored his aid in vain; all people called him the Azure-robed Spirit. The district of Tsingshin, in Mei chau in Sz'chuen, is said to have derived its name from him.

*Ling-kwán Má Yuenshwui* 靈官馬元帥  
or General Má, the Oracular Officer.

On examining the history of this old General from first to last, we find that he has thrice manifested his miraculous power. He was originally no other than Chí-miáu-kih-tsiáng (a Buddhist incarnation), who assumed this human body, but Budha, because he destroyed Beelzebub of the Fierce Fire, felt his compassion for him injured, and cast him down into the world. He accordingly, in five balls of fiery light put himself into the womb of Madam Má née Kin; when he was born he had three eyes, from which his title was Sín-yen Ling-kwáng 三眼靈光 the Brilliant Three-eyed. Three days after birth he was able to fight, and slew the Dragon King of the Eastern sea, in order to get rid of this pest of the waters; he then went further, and stole the golden spear of the Great Ruler Tsz'-wí, and committed his soul to the daughter of the prince of fire devils to become her son. She wrote the word *ling* (spiritual) on his left hand, and *yáu* (bright) on his right, and changed his name to *Ling-yáu* 靈耀, and put him under the instruction of the Great-beneficent, Entirely-kind, Unusually-joyful Eminence of Heaven, who taught him the heavenly book, in which he learned everything pertaining to the winds and thunder, to dragons and serpents, to the subjugation of demons and quieting mankind. He then presented him a triangular gold tile, with which he could transform himself into any shape. He then received a commission from Yuh-hwáng Shángtí to rule the spirits of wind and fire, and order the goings and returnings of the wind-wheel and the fire-wheel; he also put at his service the five hundred fire crows belonging to the Holy Mother. He compelled the great King of the Black Dragon to be his auxiliary; and slew the Dragon of the Yángtsz' Kiáng, by which he made the people happy. In repeated difficulties and numerous dangers he showed himself most faithful. Shángtí conferred upon him a signet in his left hand and a sword in his right, with which to rule the southern heavens; in this he was most expansive. He also honored him with the coral-flower banquet, and the Prince royal Golden Dragon acted as cupbearer, in which he showed him great regard. But most surprising, the prince was proud and insolent, which so angered the General that he burned up the passes of the southern heavens, and routed the whole company of celestial generals; then descending to the Dragon Palace [of his father] he gave battle there. Lílau and Sz'-kwáng, with the two genii Ho and Hoh (the Castor and Pollux of the Chinese), then called the prince-royal, and quieted his anger, so that the affair was ended.

Again, he transformed himself, and entered the womb, and five brothers and two sisters were all at once produced from the body of the Demon Mother. He also, on account of his mother, went down into the abyss of earth, thence into the depths of the Sea, and walked into the land of the genii; after that he passed through hell, and the cave of devils; then he fought with Nochá, and stole the fairy peach. He also made an enemy of 'Tsi-tien-tá-shing (or the Monkey King), but Buddha effected a reconciliation. In all these things he showed his filial duty. Afterwards he returned to the left side of the shrine of Kwán-yin, in which he showed his intelligence.

Yuh-hwáng Shángtí considering these merits and virtue to be equal to heaven and earth, sent the General to form part of the court of Hiuentien Shángtí. He showed his love by making him the controller of the west, to answer all supplications of the people for wives, wealth, children and emoluments. To a hundred acts of worship, he gives a hundred answers. Whenever a person is in great straits, or is cruelly oppressed, all his prayers come to Yuenshwui's department, and forthwith are presented at the gate of heaven. His power is like the thunder and his flight like the wind.

*Notes.* The common name of this deity is Hwá-kwáng 華光 or Glorious Light, under which appellation he is frequently worshipped in this part of China, and regarded as the God of Fire. During the autumnal Buddhist ceremonies called *Tá tsidu*, he is implored for protection against fires during the winter. The following occurrence shows the regard paid to him. One of the English officers brought an image of *Hwá-kwáng* from Chinkiang fu in 1843, which he presented as a curiosity to a lady in Macao. It remained in her house several months, and on the breaking up of the establishment, previous to a return to India, it was exposed for sale at auction with the furniture. A large crowd collected, and the attention of the Chinese was attracted to this image, which they examined carefully to see if it had the genuine marks of its ordination upon it; for no image is supposed to be properly an object of worship, until the spirit has been inaugurated into it by the prescribed ceremonies. Having satisfied themselves, the idol was purchased for thirty dollars by two or three zealous persons, and carried off in triumph to a shop, and respectfully installed in a room cleared for the purpose. A public meeting was shortly after called, and resolutions passed to improve the propitious opportunity to obtain and preserve the protecting power of so potent a deity, by erecting a pavilion, where he would have a respectable lodgment, and receive due worship. A subscription was thereupon started, some of its advocates putting down fifty, and others thirty dollars, until about \$1200 were raised, with which a small lot was purchased on the island west of Macao, and a pavilion or temple erected, where *Hwá-kwáng* was enshrined with pompons parade amid theatrical exhibitions, and a man hired to keep him and his domicile in good order.

*Sz' ming Tsau Shin* 司命竇神 *God of the Furnace who gives orders.*

According to the Miscellanies of the Western Region, the surname of the God of the Furnace is Cháng, his name is Shen, and his style is Tsz'-kwoh. His figure is like that of a beautiful woman. His

lady was named Kingki, and bore him six daughters, named Cháh,—they are the *luh kwoei nü* 六癸女 or six virgins. They knew clearly the turpitude of the sins of men; and for a heinous sin they shortened the criminal's life two or three hundred days; while for a slighter offense they thwarted his prosperity during one or two hundred months. Therefore, Tsáu Shin, acting as the messenger between heaven and earth, became fully acquainted with this lower world. At early dawn on the morning of every sixtieth *kichau* day he goes out and ascends to heaven, and then descends to his abode; it is lucky to sacrifice to him on the *kan* 艮 day (i. e. those days which appertain to earth); he has eight spirits under him.

Whoever builds a fire-place in his house, should construct it so that the opening is towards the west; and the four sides should extend nine inches beyond the boiler; the bricks should be laid in fine mortar; when finished, let it not be punched with holes. This is the way to build a proper furnace. The God of the Furnace died on the *jin-tsz'* day, and a fire-place should not be touched on this day. On any day of the fifth month having a *shin* 辰 in it, sacrificing a hog's head to the fire-place will induce gain a thousand fold; but if a dog be used on this day, it will be very unlucky. If a hen's feather fall into the fire-place, extraordinary misfortunes will happen. If a dog's bone fall into the fire-place, the son who shall next be born will be mad; if a white hen be sacrificed on the *ki-tsz'* day of the first month, it will secure success in the rearing of the silkworms. On the *kichau* day of the fifth month, a sacrifice being offered to the Furnace will give a lucky result. To sacrifice to the furnace on the *ting-ki* day of the fourth month, will prognosticate good luck in all affairs.

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ART. IV. *Topography of the province of Sz'chuen; its area, rivers, lakes, mountains, divisions, towns, productions, and inhabitants.*

THE province of Sz'chuen 四川 i. e. the Four Streams is so called from the four great tributaries of the Yángtsz' which water it; the central mountainous districts were known as the kingdom of Kin-chuen 金川 or Golden Streams, in the days of Kienlung, when they were possessed by the Miáutsz'; in early times the region on the river Min was called Shuh 蜀 by which name the province is still



frequently referred to. Lying on the declivities of the lofty mountains and table land of Tibet, Sz'chuen affords a great range of climate, while in the variety of its productions, the facilities of trade afforded by its numerous rivers, and its extent, it ranks chief among the provinces. It is bounded on the north by Shensi, and Kansuh: east by Húpeh and Húnán; south by Kweicháu and Yunnán; and west by Tibet and Koko-nor, from which it is separated by the Yángtsz' kíng and high mountains. Its area is usually reckoned at 166,800 square miles, but its western frontier has been extended to the Great river, and now includes extensive districts occupied by aboriginal tribes. Its superficies exceed those of Kiángsi, Chehkiáng and Fuhkien united; but though the first in point of size, it is only the ninth in respect of population, and the twelfth on the revenue list. This province is one third larger than the United Kingdom, is almost double that of Prussia, nearly as large as Spain or Turkey, and does not differ much from Burmah, Beloochistan, or all the Eastern and Middle states of the American Union, excluding Maryland; the Black Sea also covers nearly the same area as Sz'chuen. Its extreme southern point reaches to lat. 26° N., far into Yunnán, and its northern to 34° N., about 630 miles apart; its eastern limit is in long. 110° 17' E., and its western frontier in 99° E., about 550 miles distant in a straight line.

The climate of Sz'chuen is rather colder than the eastern provinces, owing to its proximity to the mountains, but the level and sheltered plains are warmer than the sea-coasts. It is considered by the Chinese as one of the most salubrious portions of the empire.

The surface of the country in the west is exceedingly rough, where it is traversed by lofty mountain ranges, between which are narrow valleys, with almost always a rapid river running through them. These chains have received the general names of the Yun-ling 雲嶺 or Cloudy Mts., and Siueh-shán 雪山 or Snow Mts., from western geographers, the Chinese writers not applying single names to long ranges. In the north of the province, the Min shán 岷山 forms the watershed between the basins of the Yellow and Yángtsz' rivers; the Kántung ling 甘松嶺 or Sweet-fir ridge, near Sungpwán, is a high peak in this spur of the Yun-ling. West of Kiáng river, not far from Páuning fú is the Kien-mun shán 劍門山, another eminence in the same range; and further east, adjoining the province of Húpeh, is the Wú shán 巫山 or Magic hill. In the extreme southwest, near Patang, is Ningsing shán 寧靜山 a lofty height not far from the

Yangtze' kiáng. Near the junction of the Tátú and Min rivers is the Ngo-mei shán 娥眉山 or Fairy Eyebrow hill; north of it, about fifty miles, is Mung shán 蒙山; and north of Ching-tú fú is Tsing-ching shán 青城山 or Green Citadel Mt. These are all the peaks noted in the native maps, but the whole province is very hilly, and some of the summits rise almost to the limit of perpetual snow.

The rivers of Sz'chuen are so numerous that we can only enumerate the largest ones, with their principal branches. The whole province lies in the basin of the Yangtze' kiáng, which river forms a large part of its western and southern borders, and the others all flow into it from the north. This great stream is called the Plutsu 布壘楚河 after it enters the province in the northwest, until it passes into Yunnan, when it takes the name of the Kinshá kiáng 金沙江, which it retains till it receives the river Min; from thence eastward it is called Tá kiáng 大江 or the Great River. The first affluent of the Yangtze' commencing in the west is the Wúliáng 無量河 or Measureless river, but why this name is given we know not; Li-táng, a town on the road from Tibet lies on its banks. The next is the Yálung kiáng 鴉礮江, a large stream, whose headwaters are drawn from the Bayenkara Mts. in Koko-nor, between the Yellow river and the Yangtze'; it joins the main trunk after a rapid course of more than a thousand miles, through a region very thinly peopled near where it reënters the province; the Ngán-ning ho 安寧河 contributes its waters just above their confluence, but the Yaluug receives few tributaries.

The R. Min 岷河 is the third large stream. It rises in the north of the province in two principal branches, the Tátú and Min, which together drain the centre of the province in a course of about 700 miles; the upper part of the former is called the Tá Kin-chuen 大金山, or Great Gold stream; it joins the Min at Kiánging, and their united waters enter the Yangtze' at Süchau fú. Proceeding eastward, the next river is the R. Loh 雒河, which carries off the superfluous waters of the districts between the Pei and Min rivers; it is about 300 miles long. The fifth large river is formed by the union of the Pei 濟 the Kiánging 嘉陵 and the Kú 渠, whose numerous branches afford access to most of the towns in the eastern parts of the province, some of the sources rising in Kánsuh over 800 miles from the junction with the Yangtze' at Chungking fú. Besides these five principal streams in Sz'chuen, there are twenty other small tributaries of the Great river mentioned on the Chinese maps, but hardly one of them is over a hundred miles in length.

All the lakes found in Sz'chuen are small. One of the branches of the Wúliáng R. called the Toktsu R., flows out of a small lake near Patang, called the Shaluts 沙魯楚泊; and there is another sheet of water in the northwest of the province called Lake Kusha 古雜泊, from which a small stream runs into the Yalung River. This absence of lakes is somewhat remarkable, as the mountain regions of other lands are usually adorned with inland sheets of water.

If the increase of territorial divisions is any evidence of an increase of inhabitants, the population of Sz'chuen has greatly risen since the survey of 1710. It now contains twenty-six departments, comprising 125 districts—more than any other province except Chihlí. In Du Halde, only ten departments, divided into ninety-eight districts, are enumerated. Upwards of two hundred other places are inserted in the maps, ruled by native authorities under the Chinese superintendence, which are not included in the above. The names of these departments are here given.

I. *Chingtú fú* 成都府, or the Department of Chingtú, contains sixteen districts, viz., three chau and thirteen hien.

- |                 |                        |
|-----------------|------------------------|
| 1 成都 Chingtú,   | 9 漢州 Hán chau,         |
| 2 華陽 Hwáyáng,   | 10 簡州 Kien chau,       |
| 3 雙流 Shwángliú, | 11 什防 Shihfáng,        |
| 4 溫江 Wankiáng,  | 12 彭縣 Páng hien,       |
| 5 新津 Sintsin,   | 13 崇寧 Tsungning,       |
| 6 新繁 Sinfán,    | 14 灌縣 Hwán hien,       |
| 7 新都 Sintú,     | 15 郫縣 Pí hien,         |
| 8 金堂 Kintáng,   | 16 崇慶州 Tsungking chau. |

II. *Páuning fú* 保寧府, or the Department of Páuning, contains nine districts, viz., two chau and seven hien.

- |                  |                 |
|------------------|-----------------|
| 1 閬中 Liángchung, | 6 蒼溪 Tsángkí,   |
| 2 南部 Nánpú,      | 7 廣元 Kwángyuén, |
| 3 巴州 Pá chau,    | 8 昭化 Cháuhwá,   |
| 4 南江 Nánkiáng,   | 9 劔州 Kien chau. |
| 5 通江 Tungkiáng,  |                 |

III. *Kiáting fú* 嘉定府, or the Department of Kiáting, contains eight districts, viz., one ting and seven hien.

- |                 |                     |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1 樂山 Lohshán,   | 5 洪雅 Hungya,        |
| 2 犍爲 Kienwei,   | 6 榮縣 Yung hien.     |
| 3 威遠 Weiyuen,   | 7 峨眉 Ngomei,        |
| 4 夾江 Kiáhkiáng, | 8 犍邊廳 Ngopien ting. |

IV. *Shunking fú* 順慶府, or the Department of Shunking, contains ten districts, viz., two chau and eight hien.

- |                 |                         |
|-----------------|-------------------------|
| 1 南充 Nánchung,  | 6 儀隴 Ílung,             |
| 2 岳池 Yohchí,    | 7 渠縣 Kú hien,           |
| 3 鄰水 Linshwui,  | 8 大竹 Táchuh,            |
| 4 蓬州 Pung chau, | 9 西充 Síchung,           |
| 5 營山 Yingshán,  | 10 廣安州 Kwáng-ngán chau. |

V. *Süchau fú* 敘州府, or the Department of Süchau, contains thirteen districts, viz., two ting and eleven hien.

- |                 |                     |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1 宜賓 Ípin,      | 8 筠連 Yunlien,       |
| 2 珙縣 Kung hien, | 9 南溪 Nánkí,         |
| 3 長寧 Chángning, | 10 富順 Fúshun,       |
| 4 興文 Hingwan,   | 11 隆昌 Lungcháng,    |
| 5 屏山 Pingshán,  | 12 雷波廳 Luipo ting,  |
| 6 慶符 Kingfú,    | 13 馬邊廳 Mápíen ting. |
| 7 高縣 Káu hien,  |                     |

VI. *Chungking fú* 重慶府, or the Department of Chungking, contains fourteen districts, viz., one ting, two chau, and eleven hien.

- |                 |                      |
|-----------------|----------------------|
| 1 巴縣 Pá hien,   | 8 涪州 Pei chau,       |
| 2 南川 Nánchuen,  | 9 璧山 Pihshán,        |
| 3 綦江 Kíkiáng,   | 10 銅梁 Tungliáng,     |
| 4 江津 Kiángtsin, | 11 大足 Tátsuh,        |
| 5 永川 Yungchuen, | 12 合州 Hoh chau,      |
| 6 榮昌 Yungcháng, | 13 定遠 Tingyuen,      |
| 7 長壽 Chángshau, | 14 江比廳 Kiángpehting. |

VII. *Kweichau fú* 夔州府, or the Department of Kweichau, contains six hien districts.

- |                 |                |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1 奉節 Fungtsieh, | 4 萬縣 Wán hien, |
| 2 巫山 Wúshán,    | 5 大寧 Táning,   |
| 3 雲陽 Yunyáng,   | 6 開縣 Kái hien. |

VIII. *Suiting fú* 綏定府, or the Department of Suiting, contains three hien districts.

- |                |                  |
|----------------|------------------|
| 1 達縣 Táh hien, | 3. 東鄉 Tunghiáng. |
| 2 新寧 Sinning,  |                  |

IX. *Lungngán fú* 龍安府, or the Department of Lungngán, contains four hien districts.

- |               |                 |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 1 平武 Pingwú,  | 3 彭明 Chángming, |
| 2 江油 Kiángyú, | 4 石泉 Shihsiuén. |

X. *Tungchuen fú* 潼川府, or the Department of Tungchuen, contains eight hien districts.

- |                |                  |
|----------------|------------------|
| 1 三臺 Sántái,   | 5 安岳 Ngányoh,    |
| 2 射洪 Tsaihung, | 6 樂至 Lohchí,     |
| 3 遂寧 Suining,  | 7 鹽亭 Yenting,    |
| 4 蓬溪 Pungkí,   | 8 中江 Chungkiáng. |

XI. *Ningyuen fú* 寧遠府, or the Department of Ningyuen, contains five districts, viz., one ting one chau, and three hien.

- |                    |                    |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1 西昌 Sícháng,      | 4 冕寧 Mienning,     |
| 2 鹽源 Yenyuen,      | 5 越嶲 Yuehsui ting. |
| 3 會理州 Hwuilí chau, |                    |

XII. *Yáchau fú* 雅州府, or the Department of Yáchau, contains seven districts, viz., one ting, one chau, and five hien.

- |                |                        |
|----------------|------------------------|
| 1 雅安 Yá-ngán,  | 5 清溪 Tsingkí,          |
| 2 蘆山 Lúshán,   | 6 天全州 Tientsiuén chau, |
| 3 名山 Mingshán, | 7 打箭爐 Tásienlú ting.   |
| 4 榮經 Yungking, |                        |



XXIV. *Mei chau* 眉州, or the inferior Department of Mei, contains three hien districts.

1 青神 Tsingshin,                      3 丹稜 Tánling.

2 彭山 Pángshán,

XXV. *Kung chau* 邛州, or the inferior Department of Kung, contains two hien districts.

1 大邑 Táyih,                              2 蒲江 Púkiáng.

XXVI. *Lü chau* 瀘州, or the inferior Department of Lü, contains three hien districts.

1 納溪 Náhki,                              3 江安 Kiángngán.

2 合江 Hohkiáng,

I. *The department of Ching-tú* lies in the valley of the Min, its chief town being in lat. 30° N., in one of the most fertile regions in China. The river here is divided by nature and art into numerous branches, between which are towns and villages almost without number. The capital lies on the eastern side of the valley, and though it is still one of the most important cities in the western provinces, it has lost much of its former renown. It has had many names, and was for many reigns the capital of the principality of Shuh, and for a short time the seat of imperial government under the Hán. During the wars of the Mánchu conquest, it was held by a patriot general, and was almost ruined before it was subdued. The plain around Chingtú is the largest one in the province, and according to the testimony of travelers presents one of the most charming landscapes in the kingdom when viewed from a lofty eminence. The population has increased greatly, so that the larger towns have been set off as independent jurisdictions. The mountains furnish many animals and birds for the hunters, and also herbs for the druggist; among other remarkable products are apes of great size, and "fowls with wool instead of feathers"—the latter being doubtless the silke noock, specimens of which are found in Canton. These birds are even mentioned as wonders by Sir John Maundevice, who remarks, "In that contree ben white hennes withouten fetheres: but thei beren white wolle as scheap don here."

II. *The department of Páuning* lies in the north-eastern part of the province, north of Shunking fú, along the valley of the Kiáng; the chief town lies at the junction of the East R. with the main branch. Páuning fú is mountainous, especially on the north, along the borders of Shensí, where is a high range separating it from that province,

and forming the division between the basins of the Yellow and Yáng-tsz' rivers. These mountains are the refuge of musk and other deer, and from their bowels are dug a variety of minerals, especially the *yuh* or nephrite, of which the Chinese make ornaments. Some of these mountains are almost inaccessible by reason of their steepness, and their defiles were the resort of brigands and outlaws during troubled times, and are more or less so to this day.

III. *The department of Kíating* lies along the R. Min, between Si-chau fú and Ching-tú fú, separated from the latter by three inferior departments, in one of the most fertile parts of Sz'chuen. Its chief town is a place of considerable importance, situated at the junction of the Tá-tú river (here called the R. Yáng 陽江) and the Tsing-fí kiáng 青衣江 or Green-Clothes river, with the Min, whose waters afford abundant supplies to irrigate the plains, and convey their harvests to remote regions. Musk deer are also found in the hills. But the greatest source of employment and profit is in the vast quantities of salt obtained from Artesian wells bored in the earth in the district of Kienwei, whose waters are evaporated to furnish the mineral. An account of these wells is furnished by M. Imbert, in *Annales de la Foi*, Vol. III. page 369, from which we make the extract:—

Some tens of thousands of these salt-pits occur in an area of about ten leagues in length and four or five in breadth. Every private man who possesses a little capital seeks a partner, and in company with him digs one or more pits at an expense of more than a thousand taels. The manner of digging them is not such as is usual among ourselves; for this people do everything on a small scale, and know not how to perform anything great, rather contriving to accomplish their ends with time and patience, and with less expense than we. They have not the art of piercing the rocks by mining, and all the pits are found in rock. The pits are ordinarily from five to eight hundred French feet in depth, and only five, or at most six, inches in diameter. If the soil on the surface be three or four feet deep, they fix in it a wooden tube, and place a stone on the top having an orifice of the same diameter, through which they work a rammer or head of steel of three or four hundred pounds weight. This head of steel is indented at the end, being made a little concave beneath, and rounded above. A strong and agile man mounts upon a scaffolding, and treads all the morning upon a sweep, which raises this rammer two feet high, and lets it fall with his feet. They pour water into the hole from time to time, to pulverize the bits of rock and better reduce them to a jelly. The rammer or head of steel is suspended from the sweep by a well-made rattan cord, small as the finger but strong as a catgut, to which they attach a triangular piece of wood; another man seats himself beside the cord. As the sweep is elevated he seizes the triangle, and turns the cord half round so that the rammer may fall in a contrary way. At mid-day, he mounts the scaffolding to relieve his comrade, and continues the work until evening; at night, two other men take their places. When three inches have been hollowed out, they draw out the rammer with all the matter that has accumulated about it, (for I have already mentioned it was hollow on the under side) by means of a great windlass which serves for winding up the cord.



In this way these small pits or shafts are made perpendicular, and smooth as glass. Sometimes they come to the bottom without meeting with rock, passing through layers of earth, coal, &c. The operation then becomes more difficult, and is sometimes fruitless; for as these substances do not present an equal resistance, it is found that the shafts lose their perpendicularity. But such cases are rare. Sometimes it happens that the thick iron ring to which the rammer is suspended is broken, and it then requires five or six months to succeed with other rammers in breaking the first, and reducing it to powder. When the rock is tolerably favorable for working, two feet are dug through in twenty-four hours, and at least three years are consumed in excavating a single pit.

For drawing out the water, a tube of bamboo twenty-four feet in length is passed down into the pit, at the bottom of which there is a valve. When it comes to the bottom of the pit, a strong man who is seated by the cord, gives it a jerk, each shake causes the valve to open and the water to ascend. When the bamboo is full, a great cylinder, fully fifty feet in circumference, upon which the cord is wound, is turned around by two, three or four buffaloes or oxen, and the tube of water is thus raised. This cord is also made of rattan. The poor animals are not able to endure this labor, and many of them die in consequence of it. If the Chinese could avail themselves of our steam-engines they would be at much less expense; but some thousands of laboring people would then be thrown out of employment. The water is very brackish. On being evaporated, it yields a fifth or more, sometimes a fourth, of its weight of salt. This salt is very pungent, and contains a large portion of nitre. People who do not smoke (men and women, rich and poor, all smoke), lose their teeth. There are here many blind and deaf persons, which circumstance I attribute to the use of this salt. Sometimes it affects the throat so as to produce ailments, in which case they make use of salt brought from Canton or Tungking made from sea-water.

The air which issues from these pits is very inflammable; if a torch be presented at the mouth of a pit when the tube happens to be nearly filled with water, it will send out a great flame from twenty to thirty feet in height, and illumine the boiler with a suddenness and explosion like that of thunder. This happens sometimes by the imprudence or the malice of a workman who wishes to commit suicide in company. From some of these pits they are not able to obtain salt, only fire comes from them; and they are called pits of fire. A small bamboo tube closes the mouth of the pit, and conducts the inflammable air wherever it is wished. They light it with a candle and it burns incessantly. The flame is bluish, three or four inches high, and an inch in diameter. Here this flame is too feeble to evaporate the salt.

For evaporating the water and getting the salt, they make use of a sort of large boiler of cast metal, which is five feet in diameter, and only four inches in depth. The Chinese have learned that by presenting a larger surface to the fire, the evaporation is more rapid, and that there is also a saving of coal. The basin is at the least an inch in thickness. There are several other caldrons of greater depth placed about it, containing water which boils at the same fire, and serves to replenish the great boiler. The whole process is completed in such a manner, that the salt, when the water is evaporated, entirely fills the vessel and assumes its form.—This block of salt, of two hundred pounds weight or more, is as hard as stone; it is broken up into three or four pieces in order to its being transported as an article of commerce. The fire is made so hot that the great boiler becomes absolutely red, and the water bubbles up in the centre nine or ten inches. When the fire is made from the pit gas, the water is thrown up still more, and the boilers are calcined in a very little time, although those which are exposed to this fire are at least three inches in thickness.

Such a large number of pits requires also a large supply of coal, and various sorts of it exist in the country. The beds vary from one to five inches in thickness. The subterranean descent which conducts to the interior of the mine is sometimes so rapid that the workmen convey themselves into it by means of ladders made of bamboo, and it occasionally happens that a workman in order that he may commit suicide without perishing alone, lets himself fall from the top of the ladder, by which means he kills a dozen or more of the unfortunate persons who follow him. The coal is found in large pieces. These mines contain generally a large amount of the inflammable air of which I have already spoken and lamps can not safely be lighted in them. The miners grope their way along in the dark, their path being imperfectly lighted with a mixture of punk-wood and resin which burns without flame and is not easily extinguished. In boring the small pits of salt, they find sometimes, at the depth of several hundreds of feet, beds of coal of considerable thickness, but they are afraid to open these great mines, because they are ignorant of the method of making use of powder for this purpose, and because also they fear that they shall meet with so much water, that their labor would be useless.

When the salt-pits have reached the depth of a thousand feet, a bituminous oil is usually met, which burns in water. Between four or five jars of it can be collected in a day, each weighing a hundred pounds. This oil is very offensive; it is used to illuminate the place where the pits are, and heat the caldrons of salt water. The magistrates frequently purchase some thousands of jars of it for calcining rocks under water which endanger the navigation of the rivers. When a boat is shipwrecked, they dip a flint-stone in this oil, then set it on fire, and throw it into the water. Then a diver, or quite as often a thief, goes down to seek for what is of most value in the boat, for this submarine lamp shines with perfect facility under water.

If I were better acquainted with natural science, I would give you an account of this inflammable and subterraneous gas; I can not think that it proceeds from a subterranean volcano, for it must be kindled itself; and when once lighted, the flame can not be put out except by means of a ball of clay laid on the mouth of the tube, or by a violent and sudden gust of wind. Mountebanks fill bladders with this gas, and carry them to other places, where they pierce a hole in one with a needle, and light them with a candle to amuse the simple people. I think that this air is a gas or bituminous exhalation, for the flame is very offensive, and gives off a black and thick smoke. The Chinese, Christians as well as pagans, believe it to be the fire of hell, and have a great horror of it; and in fact, it is much more intense than ordinary fire. These coal mines and salt-pits furnish labor to an immense number of people. There are some wealthy individuals who own as many as a hundred pits; but such colossal fortunes are soon dissipated. The father accumulates an estate, and the children speedily squander it in gaming or debauchery. What better can we expect of heathens?

The people at Canton have learned from the English the art of employing salts in their glass-manufacture, but the glass is inferior, and delicate as a musical glass. These salts are also used for dyeing. The Chinese of Sz'chuen have only one good color, viz. blue, in which men and women all clothe themselves; they have no colored or flowered stuffs. The indigo of the province is very good: cloth is dipped only once, and then put into a solution of salts, and the tint is set so well that our garments may be washed again and again, and the color is not washed out, or only very slightly. The salt is used also in the manufacture of porcelain, but none of this is made in this province, it being imported from Kiángsi. The salt is obtained by cutting up small trees and bushes, and burning them green as they are, for dry wood produces a much less quantity of salt. The ashes are then leached, and the water collected and evaporated.

*(To be continued).*

ART. V *Remarks on showers of sand in the Chinese Plain.* By D. J. MACGOWAN, M. D.

THE phenomenon of falling sand is occasionally observed through a great extent, if not the entire portion, of the vast Plain of China. It is of such frequent occurrence that the Chinese regard it with no more surprise than they do the flitting meteor. Probably no year passes without several of these showers, though frequently so minute as to escape general observation. Perhaps as often as once in three years they are very heavy, but it is seldom that sand falls in such a large quantity as during the last shower. The phenomenon was witnessed three times during the present year, within a period of five weeks; the last and greatest commenced on the 26th of March, and continued four days without intermission, varying however in intensity. The wind blew from the north, northeast, and northwest, frequently shifting between these points, and varying in strength from a perfect calm to a brisk breeze. The altitude of the barometer was from 29.40, to 30.00 (rather lower than before and after the shower). The thermometer ranged from 36° to 81° F. No rain had fallen for six weeks, and the hygrometric state of the atmosphere was very high. Neither cloud, fog, nor mist obscured the heavens, yet the sun and moon were scarcely visible, the orb of day appeared as if viewed through a smoked glass, the whole sky presenting a uniform rusty hue. At times this sameness was disturbed, exhibiting between the spectator and the sun the appearance of a water-spout, owing to the gyratory motions of the impalpable mineral. The sand penetrated the most secluded apartments; furniture wiped in the morning would be so covered with it in the afternoon, that one could write on it legibly. In the streets it was annoying, entering the eyes, nostrils and mouth, and grating under the teeth. My ophthalmic patients generally suffered a relapse, and an unusual number of new cases soon after presented. Were such heavy sand storms of frequent occurrence, diseases of the visual organs would prevail to a destructive extent. The effect was the same when observed from the Ningpo Tower, and from the summit of the low mountains in the neighborhood of the city.

The specimens I gathered fell on a newspaper placed on the roof of a house. The whole quantity which fell was about ten grains to the square foot. It should be remarked, however, that during the four days the dust seemed suspended in the air for several hours at a time, scarcely an appreciable quantity falling during these intervals. The Chinese call it *yellow sand*; it is an impalpable powder of that

color, and wholly unlike the dust which fell throughout this and the adjoining province of Kiángsú, March 15th, 1846. (See Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and Chinese Rep., Vol. XVII. page 521). It was observed at sea, at Hángchau, and at Sháng-hái. Whence did it originate? The opinion of the Chinese on this subject may, I think, be regarded as correct. They assert that it comes from Peking. We know that the sand of Sahara is sometimes elevated by whirlwinds into the upper currents of the air, and deposited in the Atlantic twelve hundred miles, sometimes directly opposite to the trade winds. Over against the vast alluvial Plain of Eastern Asia is the ocean of sand—the Desert of Gobi or Shamoh, extending from near the sea westerly 2,300 miles, and 3 to 400 broad—including the conterminous sandy districts. Like its counterpart in Africa, it is subject to whirlwinds which raise its fine dust like the waves of the sea, and doubtless at times waft it into the upper currents of air, and transport it to distant regions. I have been informed by intelligent natives of Kiángsí and Honán, that the phenomenon occurs in those provinces also. Assuming the Mongolian steppes to be the source whence these showers descend, the amount of sand which is annually conveyed hither must be prodigious to cover such an extensive area. Regarded in a meteorological and in a geological point of view, these showers possess no small interest; but if my conjectures respecting the part which they play in the economy of nature be well founded, they are of higher interest to the agriculturists of this most densely populated region. I would premise the suggestion with the remark that the Chinese, who from remote antiquity have been close observers of everything pertaining to agriculture, all agree in asserting that a shower of dust indicates a particularly fruitful season. They, it is true, never refer to the dust as the *cause* of good harvests, but such invariably following its fall. The humus of this great alluvial tract is extremely compact, and to some extent is probably segregated and loosened by the sand of Gobi being scattered over its fields. Those two great rivers, with several smaller ones which drain the Plain, are ever bearing to the sea the lighter portions of the soil, and so tinging it as by its hue to give name to that part which laves these shores. These remarkable showers then are replenishing and diluting the soil which rains and rivers are ever impoverishing. It is not supposed that all the detritus which is conveyed to the sea is the sand which by these remarkable showers is brought from the sterile wastes of the North, but there can be no doubt that much of the matter of the Yellow Sea is from that source, and also that the sand acts favorably on the soil.

The extraordinary rains of the previous year, the injury to the crops and soil, and consequent famine, lead us to hope that the anticipations of the husbandmen may not be disappointed, whether the theory here propounded be correct or erroneous.

Ningpo, April 26th, 1850.

*Note.*—It has been ascertained by Ehrenberg that the dust or yellow sand which falls like rain on the Atlantic near the Cape de Verde Is., and is sometimes transported to Italy, and even the middle of Europe, consists of a multitude of silicious shelled microscopic animals. "Perhaps," says Humboldt, "many of them float for years in the upper strata of the atmosphere, until they are brought down by vertical currents, or in accompaniment with the superior current of the trade-winds, still susceptible of revivification, and multiplying their species by spontaneous division, in conformity with the particular laws of their organization." Further research may show too that the sand in the Chinese Plain contains animalculæ.—*Ed. Ch. Rep.*

ART. VI. *What I have seen in Shànghái: Protestant missions; the late Mrs. Wylie, Mr. Southwell, and Mr. Spalding; notices of each mission; distribution of alms; chaplaincy in Trinity church; Bethel flag; Chinese version of the N. Testament; article on Elohim and Theos.*—Letter to the Editor by E. C. B.

MY DEAR SIR: To those details respecting Christian missions, published in your last volume, permit me now to add others, showing the progress and present condition of these benevolent institutions. Certain as I am that such information will be acceptable to every intelligent reader, no apology is offered for writing to you again on this subject. The more accurately we can describe the progress of revealed truth, the more will every good man admire this system of religion, the more highly appreciate its blessings, and the more zealous and steadfast we may expect him to be, in purpose and action, for its speedy and universal extension. Accurate information is essential for the successful prosecution of every enterprise, and especially is it so where great ends of a benevolent nature are to be attained. This principle, so generally acknowledged and acted upon, in commercial, political and scientific matters, is happily beginning to be equally recognized in the great scheme of promulgating true religion, the noblest and the greatest of all enterprises. Not to speak of other parts of the world yet to be blessed with true religion, look over these eighteen provinces of China Proper, and carefully estimate and sum up the grand total of men and means here most thoroughly and basely alienated from the service of Jehovah, the only true God, and prostituted to the service of those who,—in the emphatic language of inspi-

ration,—are no gods—but idols and demons? And how are all these, both men and means, to be reclaimed to their rightful allegiance? Here then, questions of great moment arise,—touching the eternal wellbeing of this whole nation. How can missionaries, coming into this field, best acquire the dialects of the people? How best collect auditors, and preach to them the gospel? What amount of labor shall be given to making a faithful version of the Scriptures in the language?

Some first principles, some leading questions, respecting the Chinese, their character and religion, must be better understood than they are at present, unless men will be content to beat the air and fight windmills. Take a single question, for example, and one quite in point: *Is it extremely doubtful, whether any Being, worshiped by the Chinese, is by them regarded as Divine?* This topic is alluded to merely to show how much need there still is for acquiring more accurate knowledge of what the Chinese are, and what are their systems of ethics.

Connected with the Protestant Missions in this city, are the following persons:

1. With the *London Missionary Society*, the Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Medhurst and one child; Doct. and Mrs. Lockhart and one child; the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Milne and two children; the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Muirhead; the Rev. Mr. Edkins; Mr. Wylie; and Miss Philip.

2. With the *American Episcopal Board*, the Rt.-Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Boone and three children; the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Syle and one child; Miss Jones, and Miss Morse—the latter now absent on a visit in America.

3. With the (*English*) *Church Missionary Society*, the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. McClatchie and two children; and the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Hobson and one child.

4. With the *American Baptist Southern Convention*, the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Shuck and two children; the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Percy; and the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Yates and one child.

5. With the *American Seventh Day Baptist Missionary Society*, the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Carpenter, and the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Wardner and one child.

6. With the *American Methodist Episcopal Church*, the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Taylor and one child, and the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins and five children.

In connection with these six Protestant missions, the whole number of foreigners is fifty-six, viz. 17 gentlemen, 18 ladies, and 21 children.

Since last July the number connected with them has been reduced by the return to their homes of the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Toby and of

Mrs. Southwell. and by the decease of the Rev. Messrs. Southwell and Spalding and Mrs. Wylie.

In the death of Mrs. Wylie the cause of missions lost one who had zealously and successfully toiled in the service of the good Shepherd: seven years she labored among the dark colored and dark minded descendants of Ham, searching after and gathering together and teaching little children, following the example and obeying the commands of that Great Teacher who himself, when on earth, showed his tenderest love to such little ones. "Her mission to Africa was the result of an ardent desire to do something in the Redeemer's kingdom among the perishing heathen; her previous career had been of a checkered character; the vicissitudes through which she had been called to pass, no doubt having done much to establish that decision and firmness of character for which, in later years, she was eminently distinguished; being deprived in infancy, of the tenderest of all earthly relations, she was, by her dying mother, committed to the special guardianship of a pastor, who has ever since taken a deep interest in her proceedings; her father also was removed while she was yet young; and being thus deprived of her most affectionate protectors, she was exposed more than is the common lot of children to the frowns of an unfeeling world. However, notwithstanding these disadvantages, the spiritual life early became developed in her, giving evidence of a renewed heart, and this was fostered by a large circle of pious relatives. Whilst she ever conceived the most humble thoughts of her own worth, she invariably and most unreservedly committed herself to the guidance of God. So strongly was that feeling of confidence in the divine Will impressed upon her heart, that she seems to have had no anxious thought for the future in this life, but to have been solely and most ardently desirous to be instrumental of advancing Christ's kingdom in the world. While in Africa her sufferings were not inconsiderable; her work was abundant; and some of those under her care gave satisfactory evidence of their conversion to God." Having been compelled by the war of 1845 to leave Caffreland, she returned to England; and, when opportunity offered, with the same zeal for the missionary work, she came to resume it among the more polished children of this land. Her love for the African was very ardent; had she lived to labor for the Chinese, her regard for them doubtless would have been the same. In the mysterious providence of God it was ordered otherwise. At the prospect of death she was calm, and with great resignation committed her little babe and her afflicted husband to her Heavenly Father's care.

Mr. Southwell was regarded, by those who knew him best, as a man of rare attainments. No one could associate with him long, or listen even to a single one of his sermons, without being conscious of his charming spirit and powerful genius. He was deservedly much esteemed, much loved; and very high expectations were entertained regarding his future usefulness. To whatever he put his hand, his whole soul went with it; and neither was withdrawn till some lasting and favorable impression was made. With much gentleness there was blended great intensity of action. He worked with all his might. His mental labor was too much for his physical frame. Though my own personal acquaintance with him was not long nor very intimate, yet many opportunities were afforded me of seeing him and of knowing his character. I saw him in public and in private, in health and in sickness, in times of joy and in seasons of sorrow. Often there were cast over his mind gloomy shadows, softened usually by humble submission to the Divine will, but sometimes thickening to a darkness that was painful. It seemed, and I believe it was indeed so, that in his professional course, previously to coming to this country, he had injured his health by too hard and too long continued study, the effect of which left him ill prepared to endure this climate and sustain the fatigues of a missionary life. His mind, however, was fixed upon this enterprise; but his feeble frame was not equal to the demands made on it. He relaxed from study and sought recreation. Still firm health was wanting; and instead of regaining strength, and becoming acclimated, he grew weaker and was less able to withstand disease. Violent disease refused to yield to the most skillful and assiduous medical treatment, and in a few days it terminated fatally. During this last struggle, those leading traits of character already mentioned, were now still more prominently developed. It was my privilege to watch with him only a night or two before his death; his sufferings were extreme, and occasionally distressing doubts filled his mind. The alternations were strongly marked. At one time, heaven's joys seemed to fill his soul; then again all was darkness. Just after awaking from a little refreshing sleep, when the first rays of the morning sun shone into his room, he spoke a few words to me; and then, assuming a devotional attitude, he addressed himself to the throne of all grace in a strain most solemn and sublime. The scene is well described by those beautiful words of the Poet:—

The chamber where the good man meets his fate,  
Is privileged beyond the common walk  
Of virtuous life, quite in the verge of Heaven.



Mr. Spalding arrived in Shànghái, August 24th, 1847, and embarked for Hongkong, on board the *Coquette*, August 30th, 1849. His missionary course, therefore, was short. It was only during this and while sojourning in Shànghái, that I had the pleasure of knowing him; and having been my nearest neighbor, I saw him almost every day, and may perhaps be allowed to speak confidently respecting his missionary character and labors. A large share of common sense, sterling piety, and apparently a firm constitution, marked him out as one well fitted for missionary service. Though of humble pretensions, he knew how to choose and act for himself, and how to gain influence with and over others. Before coming to China, he had learned to perform the duties of the Christian pastor, and had, as he believed, been instrumental in leading some of those who attended on his ministry, to a faith in Christ. On arriving here, he at once marked out his course. One thousand characters of the language, and those in most common use among the people, he selected and committed to memory, having had them arranged into such sentences as were most needed in conversation. In a few weeks he began to go among the people and to converse with those he met. Steadily persevering in this course he daily increased the number of his familiar phrases, and extended the circle of his acquaintances, who soon looked upon him as their friend. In about a year, he commenced preaching. He had also a Bible class, composed principally of the poor of different ages, to whom were distributed the alms collected at the sacramental services in the mission to which he belonged. His audiences were respectable, both for numbers and character; and a few persons were regular in their attendance, and he constant in visiting them at their homes; he called them "his parishioners."

In this delightful course, his zeal and love for the people led him to presume too much on his robust constitution. In study and in preaching, he labored too hard, too many hours were daily occupied in poring over the written characters of the language. His public discourses, at this stage of his missionary labors, were too frequent and protracted. The tax on his strength, physical and mental, was too heavy. Though warned of his danger, he still labored on, till he was forbidden by his physician. A slight cold and cough had increased to what, even then, it was feared might be the incipient stages of consumption; medical treatment had little effect, and a voyage was determined on as the only course likely to afford relief. He embarked accordingly, as already stated, expecting, on reaching Hongkong, to proceed immediately to the United States.

Short as Mr. Spalding's course was, it resulted in manifest good. Some, I know, who heard him preach and who witnessed his deportment, were thereby favorably impressed. In his *conduct*, the Christian missionary was faithfully exemplified and to good effect. Of the few who formed his Bible class, and constantly listened to his preaching, one has publicly confessed Christ and joined himself to the Church of God.

Let these brief notices suffice; less I was unwilling to say; your limits, I suppose, will hardly allow me to add more concerning those who, having finished their course below, are now witnesses before the throne of God and the Lamb in the heavenly world.

The mission from the *Methodist Episcopal church South* was commenced in the autumn of 1848. Mr. Jenkins reached Shánghái in the spring of 1849. Both gentlemen have made such progress in the acquisition of the language, that they are able to preach in it. For residence, each has selected a site close on the south bank of the Yángking Páng, contiguous to the "Consular Grounds," and are now erecting houses thereon. A small chapel has been built for Mr. Taylor, and rooms to accommodate his family completed. Two native schools have also been collected, regarding which he has given me the following memoranda:—

"The first was opened about six months ago, and contains twenty pupils. It is situated not far without the North gate. Thesecond has been in operation less than two months, and has sixteen pupils. It is in the midst of the thickly settled little neighborhood just across the Yángking Páng, north of my house, and scarce a stone's throw distant. I pay the teachers four dollars a month each for their services. The rent of one school-room is twelve hundred cash a month, and of the other eight hundred. Tuition, books, and stationery are furnished to all the scholars gratis, besides my paying a barber to shave their heads and their queues twice a month. The mode of instruction is precisely the same as in all other native schools, and the books used are also the same, with the addition of such Christian books as I put into their hands. On Sundays I require the latter to be studied exclusively. As yet the pupils have been confined to the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed, with explanations. Six or seven of the boys can repeat all these from memory, and their answers to my questions show that they have some correct ideas of what they learn. I must not omit to mention that there are five little girls among the number of pupils receiving instruction. As my new chapel is of convenient access from both schools, I require the teachers to assemble all the children and attend my regular Sabbath service, at the close of which, I catechise them on the Commandments and on simple points of Christian doctrine."

The Mission of the *Seventh Day Baptist Missionary Society* was commenced in June 1847, by Rev. S. Carpenter, who was joined by Mrs. C. and Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Wardner in August of the same year. The progress of their mission may be expressed in their own words.

"Hitherto their attention has been directed mainly to the study of the language; yet preaching has been regularly maintained since the first of January 1849, in a chapel connected with their residence. The attendance has been variable; for some months past it has increased. Their residence being within the walls of the city, although attended with some sacrifice of personal comfort, secures to them the acquaintance of many who otherwise might be inaccessible. In their walks in the country, the missionaries also often find opportunities of imparting instruction. Many and discouraging as are the obstructions to the success of their efforts, they have the satisfaction of believing that their incipient labors have not been in vain. A few have given evidence of faith in Christ; one has received baptism, and appears to be growing in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ."

The mission from the *Southern Baptist Convention* has been reduced by the return to America of the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Toby, and to Canton of two of the native assistants, and by the exclusion of one of the three converts baptized last year. But notwithstanding these things, the mission has continued its labors, extending its influence by preaching, by schools, and by the distribution of Christian books. It has two free day-schools one in the city near the South gate, numbering twenty-three pupils, and one over fifteen miles from it, having twenty-two pupils: among these there are a few girls. Near the school in the country, the mission is building a brick house, about 22 feet by 40, in gothic style, designed to be used as a chapel and school-house: it has two small rooms connected with it, so arranged as to afford a convenient temporary residence for a missionary. Residing there, in the midst of a dense population, and in connection with the school, the missionary will enjoy excellent opportunities for reaching the native families; preaching is maintained there.

Within the walls of this city the mission has two chapels: in the old one, situated on the south of the Chinghwáng Miáu, there is preaching three times each Lord's day, and once on each Tuesday and Friday, and occasionally at other times in the week, especially in the evening when the people, being at leisure, can be most numerously assembled. The new chapel, the most conspicuous object in Shànghái, is situated on the east side of the Chinghwáng Miáu; preaching twice each Lord's day and once on each other day in the week, the auditors averaging from 300 to 700. This new house, called CHURCH CHAPEL, or *Shinghwei Táng*, was opened March 3d with appropriate services before a very large assembly. The funds for its erection (\$5,500) were collected by the Rev. Mr. Shuck among the Baptist churches in America.

The new church, built under the direction of the missionaries of the *English Church Missionary Society*, was dedicated January 4th, the Rev. Mr. McClatchie officiating, assisted by the Rt.-Rev. Bishop

Boone and the Rev. Mr. Syle. The following services are maintained by Mr. McClatchie. *Sunday*, at 10½ A. M. and 2½ P. M. preaching; between these hours, his day-school is assembled in the vestry and catechised: on *Monday*, a class, consisting of ten blind people, is instructed; on *Tuesday*, at 2½ P. M., services as Sunday; the same again on *Friday*; on *Wednesday*, a class of inquirers is examined and instructed; on *Thursday*, his school teacher, who is a candidate for baptism, is carefully instructed; the poor in considerable numbers are assembled on *Saturday*, and addressed by Mr. McClatchie and Mr. Hobson, and afterwards supplied with a small quantity of rice. This church is situated in the western part of the city, not far from the West gate; its name, *Yésú Táng*, 'Jesus' Church,' written in large capitals over the front door, indicating that the house is appropriated to the worship of Jesus, attracts attention, and induces people to enter.

The day-school connected with this church is small, and the attendance very irregular, a suspicion having gone abroad that the pupils are to be taken away from the country. Mr. Hobson has commenced a boarding-school in his own house, which at present contains only four pupils.

The labors of the mission of the *London Missionary Society* have been continued without any very material change, excepting the afflictive Providences to which allusion has already been made. Such afflictions are doubtless designed, while they teach us our frailty, to incite us to greater diligence and purer devotion. The Hospital under the care of Dr. Lockhart, has become more and more an object of interest, as the benevolent labors connected with it have been multiplied.

Public religious services are sustained by the Mission in the Hospital, in two chapels within, and one without the walls of the city. In this latter, the preaching is in the Fuhkien dialect. One of the chapels in the city has been fitted up this year on a site recently purchased for the Society, in a very eligible position on one of the main streets, and not far from the magistracy. In these two city chapels, as also in the Hospital, there are daily services, in which both Mr. Muirhead and Mr. Edkins take part with their senior brethren. The native church now numbers seven communicants, of whom five have been baptized in Shánghái, two of them recently. In his day-school, Mr. Muirhead has now twenty boys, and a small number of boarding scholars, a part of whom are girls under the care of Mrs. Muirhead. Mr. Wylie's time is occupied principally with the care of the mission press, as that of Dr. Medhurst and Mr. Milne is with the Chinese version of the New Testament.

The mission from the *American Episcopal Church* has received both affliction and blessing from the Lord's hand. In addition to the loss of Mr. Spalding, and the temporary absence of Miss Morse, the state of Bp. Boone's health has prevented him from sitting with the Committee of Delegates, and limited his preaching to occasional services in the school-house chapel. At Wángka Moda, consequent upon the death of Mr. Spalding and the opening of the new church, preaching has been discontinued, and the mission chapel there closed. The new church, called *Kítuh Tung*, i. e. *Christ's Church*, was publicly dedicated on the first Sunday in January. The services on that occasion were conducted by Bp. Boone, assisted by the Rev. Messrs. Syle and McClatchie. Since that time, Mr. Syle has sustained them alone; he restricts his preaching to one occasion each week, at 3 o'clock Sunday afternoon, but gives systematic instruction almost daily; then on each Tuesday a class of candidates for baptism is assembled, and he converses with them one by one; so on Friday, a class of poor people, pensioners on the communion alms receive instruction; and so again on Sabbath morning, the pupils of a day-school, about twenty in number, together with the two abovenamed classes and others, are all brought together to hear the doctrines of the Bible, on which occasion the people in the neighborhood and those who may chance to be passing the church, are invited to attend. At specified hours daily Mr. Syle opens the vestry for whoever may wish to receive religious instruction.

The boarding-school of this mission, numbering forty-six boys and six girls—has been of late the scene of more than ordinary interest. The system of education is the same as that pursued formerly by Mr. Brown in the school of the Morrison Education Society in Hongkong. This is the only school in Shánghái in which the education of the pupils is conducted in both the English and Chinese languages. For many months past unusual seriousness has prevailed among the pupils, and has extended to other Chinese connected with the mission, the result of which has been a considerable increase in the number of native converts. The number of those admitted to the native church is now fifteen—teachers, pupils, servants, and others, among whom is the one already mentioned as having been a member of Mr. Spalding's Bible class. Nine of the fifteen were members of the school; of these two have died, both leaving behind them the most pleasing evidence of genuine faith in the Lord Jesus. Of this little company of believers, six came forward at the same time to make their public avowal of discipleship and faith in Christ. It was in the school-house chapel, and

one of the most solemn and impressive scenes I have ever witnessed. The oldest of the six is a teacher, about forty years of age; another is perhaps thirty, a servant woman of Mrs. Syle's; the others are pupils in the school. At my request, the following memoranda have been furnished me:—

“The eldest, Chung Chang, who was baptized by the name of Wai Kiung, was among the first of our pupils. He was at the time the school was first organized, more than sixteen, and too old to enter it; but his entreaties prevailed on us to take him, and his father signed the required bond for ten years. His attention seems to have been first arrested by an observation of Bishop Boone, “that if one of their temples was on fire, the cats, rats, &c., could make their escape, but the wooden gods they worshipped must be burned, unless some one removed them, for they could not save themselves.” He thought this was very true, and it shook his faith in such helpless deities. The first change for the better, observed by us was after he had been in the school nearly two years—he and two other boys who slept in the same room with him had singing and prayer before retiring for the night. It could not be ascertained that he felt himself a sinner at this time, but he thought the foreign custom of praying to the true God a very good one. With the other two associated with him, we trust it was something more—they have both been disciples of our Lord more than a year. May we not also believe that God was even then leading Chung Chang by a way he knew not. He was betrothed in childhood, and when the time of his marriage arrived he showed a tenderness of conscience about the ceremony being performed after idolatrous customs, and persuaded his parents to allow him to be married by Bishop Boone in the school chapel. About that time, there was evidently a conflict going on in his mind, but he had many temptations, and yielded to them—even the school became irksome to him, and he was anxious to leave and go into business; however, after remaining at home nearly two weeks he returned to his studies. Shortly after this there was much feeling shown by several of the scholars on the subject of religion, and he was among the first to acknowledge himself a sinner. He said he could not sleep at night when he thought how long he had read about Jesus dying on the cross to save sinners, and had not repented; he feared he might die and go to the place of everlasting trouble, and at last he determined no longer to harden his heart but be willing to bear reproach for Christ's sake.

“Yu Zung, or Ya Kwing, the next oldest, now seventeen, was also one of the first scholars and a very bad boy; indeed, almost up to the time of his conversion he showed very little amendment in his moral conduct, tho' there had been a gradual improvement in his studies. He gives no reason for the great change in him, but that he felt himself a sinner; his own words are “my heart felt so very dirty, and I pray to God to send his Holy Spirit to clean it, and I want to become a disciple of Jesus, because he was so good to die for sinners.” Now he says he is very happy, and as far as man can judge he gives evidence of the new birth; there is certainly a decided change in him.

“Fuh Sü, or Aloe, is naturally of an indolent disposition, and nothing striking with regard to his religious feelings is apparent—he has not been a bad boy, and his conviction of sin does not seem to have been at any time strong, but there is no reason to believe that he is not entirely sincere. His age is sixteen.

“Hia Ding or Niah Fung is the youngest of the four in years, but in intellect in advance of all. He is a decided character, and as far as can be discerned, likely to be stronger in the faith than any of the others. He dates his first religious impressions to witnessing the baptism of one of his mates last November, which he says made him feel that he too was a miserable sin-

ner, and nothing but God's almighty power could change his heart. His conviction of the heinousness of sin in God's sight is I think stronger than in the others, but long observation seems to justify the conclusion that the heathen generally suffer much less from a troubled conscience than convicted persons do in Christian lands. Niáh Fung is not yet sixteen.

"These boys, with one of their teachers, and a woman servant of Mr. Syle, have been under careful and constant instruction from Bishop Boone for five months preparatory to receiving baptism, and he was often much gratified with the earnest and thoughtful attention they paid to the instruction they received."

During the past winter all the missionaries have taken part in the distribution of alms to the multitudes of poor and distressed people, who, coming hither from neighboring towns and hamlets, have thronged the streets of this city, where hundreds have died. In this distribution the missionaries have acted, principally, as almoners for the foreign community, who, with their usual liberality, have subscribed for this object. The full sum of these charities I do not know; they are not, I suppose, less than eight hundred dollars, if the subscriptions that have been taken up by the Romanists be included, who have shared in these benevolent works.

Since the sudden death of the late Rev. Mr. Lowder, the duties of the *chaplain in Trinity Church* have been performed, and very acceptably too I believe, by the Rev. Mr. Hobson of the English Church Missionary Society. This community is fortunate in having the services of one so faithful as Mr. Hobson; and no one can doubt his perfect willingness temporarily to occupy such a sphere of usefulness. It is to be hoped, however, that there will be no very long delay in securing the entire services of a successor to Mr. Lowder. The chaplaincy here is an important sphere, especially when viewed in connection with the increasing number of seamen coming to this port. Our friends at the South have done well in providing a chaplain and Bethel for the thousands of seamen annually visiting Whampos. Ere long those coming to Shánghái may be equally numerous. No less than 137 sail entered this port last year. At present, as the shipping is contiguous to the town, and the number of foreign residents not very large, the chaplain here (if he have his whole time for this office) might often extend his services to seamen.

The *Bethel Flag* during the last month, has been repeatedly hoisted on board the "Horatio," and other ships in port; considerable numbers of seamen, too, have occasionally attended the services in the church.

The Committee of Delegates here employed on a *version of the New Testament in Chinese*—reached the end of that work on the 20th ult. A

review of the whole is now in progress; and it is understood that as the delegates proceed therein, copies of each book will be sent immediately to the missionaries at the other stations with a view to obtain criticisms and suggestions for further consideration. For translating Θεός and Πνεύμα there is still a tie in the votes of the delegates: for Θεός, one part preferring *shin* 神, and the other a transfer of the Hebrew term, which they write *Aloho* 阿羅訶; and for Πνεύμα, one part preferring *ling* 靈 and the other *shin* 神.

In your April number is an article "On the term proper to be employed in translating *Elohim* and *Theos* into Chinese," by a Missionary. The views advocated therein do not differ materially from those which have appeared in former papers on this difficult subject, but I wish to draw attention to the article, for the purpose of correcting what I believe to be an erroneous statement on page 203, viz., that *Shin* was not regarded by Dr. Morrison as an adequate term for translating *Elohim* and *Theos*. This statement is put forth with some reserve by the writer as what "seems to have been." By others however, it is boldly affirmed that both Morrison and Milne *discovered*, towards the end of their career, the inadequacy of the old term, and resorted to *various modifications of the same* in order to express what they thought was included in the original words. I have sought in vain for any such statement as this, or any facts warranting it, in Dr. Morrison's own writings. It is contrary to repeated declarations I often heard from his own lips during the last four years of his life; and moreover I have documentary evidence that he did regard *shin*, and it alone, as an adequate translation of the words in question. Up to the very day of his death, he never, for one moment, that I am aware of, doubted the correctness of his translation of Θεός. That some called it in question, he did not complain; but that others, and those too who were in no better circumstances than himself to judge correctly in this matter, sought to bring it into discredit, was to him (and not to him alone) a cause of sorrow.

During the long interval between his arrival in Canton, September 7th, 1807, and the day of his death, August 1st, 1834, Dr. Morrison enjoyed excellent advantages for acquiring an accurate knowledge of both the language and opinions of the Chinese—advantages such as few of his successors have yet enjoyed. His Chinese library was large and well selected; his reading in native literature, extensive and thorough; his assistants in the language were men of no mean abilities; his intercourse with the common people constant; and often he was brought into contact with men of high literary attainments, as



was especially the case while on his journey from Peking to Canton. He was always a careful observer, and independent thinker; few men expressed their sentiments more freely, or in plainer terms than he; and for their sentiments, their learning, and their piety, few missionaries have enjoyed a better reputation. His opinion on this question, supported as it is by those two able translators, the Rev. Drs. Milne and Marshman, is worthy of high consideration. In his Domestic Instructor, I know he used a variety of terms to designate our adorable Creator. So did the inspired writers; True God, Most High God, Possessor of heaven and earth, King of kings, blessed and only Potentate, etc., were terms used by them. The writers of the New Testament used *θεοι* to designate other beings beside Jehovah; and so in the Old Testament, the inspired penmen have applied the name *אלהים* to idols, to men, and to the ghost of a dead man, a *mere spirit*: but all this, in their estimation did not render the term inadequate for other and higher purposes. Thus Dr. Morrison reasoned; did his own practice, his "experience" clash with this? I rather think it did not; and since Dr. Morrison's day, it so happens that many have reasoned and acted in the same way,—not "because" he did thus, but because they believed this reasoning and acting to be correct. So it is, at present, with a very large number of missionaries, and I am among that number. I am very glad this writer has published his views; and they will, I trust, be candidly and thoroughly read, and if found to be correct, be firmly maintained by every one. If any people ever had "gods many," it is undeniably so with the Chinese.

In the hope expressed on page 185, 'that contending parties may be led to see and feel as one man on this subject,'—I heartily join. Under any circumstances, the translation of the inspired volume is a work of difficulty. 'For a weak erring mortal,' says an eloquent writer, 'to propose to himself to furnish, in another language, an exact representation of all that Jehovah has revealed for the instruction of mankind—nothing adding, nothing abating, nothing discoloring—is a task of most appalling magnitude.' Nowhere else in all the world, if we consider the circumstances of the case, especially the difficulties of the language, and the multitudes to whom the Bible is to be given,—is the work so appalling as here. Nevertheless it is a work that must be done; all difficulties must be overcome or removed. When the convention to form the constitution of the United States, after long debates, found itself unable to proceed, you doubtless remember what that suggestion was, which is believed to have brought relief in that emergency. So in this case; I firmly believe that prayer to Almighty God

will bring relief. He giveth understanding. With his blessing, the truth will be "seen and felt," and the right way, the right word be chosen.

On the difficulties of translating *Elohim* and *Theos*, it were easy to enter and to write at great length. That there is a right way, a manifestly true method, attainable in this case, I hold to be undeniable. I do not believe that a large body of intelligent men, such as are now engaged in our Chinese missions, will be doomed to perpetual doubt and conflict about matters of this sort. If the views I have held for years past, and still hold, be erroneous, I believe they will be corrected; but sustained and made to triumph if they are in accordance with truth. Every missionary will, I trust, investigate the question for himself and form his own opinions. That they may do this faithfully, and with the guidance of Divine wisdom, is the ardent wish of your's very sincerely,  
Shánghái, May 1st, 1850. E. C. BRIDGMAN.

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ART. VII. *Journal of Occurrences; epidemic at Canton; H. E. governor Sù; arrival of the governor of Macao; canonization of the late Empress Dowager; Gov. Bonham's visit to Shánghái; emigration of Chinese to America.*

THE epidemic, of which mention was made in the last number, has nearly disappeared, its cessation caused, as hundreds and thousands of this superstitious people believe, by the celebration of the festival of dragon-boats with unusual devotion. This disease has in many places in this region exhibited many of the symptoms of the yellow fever which prevailed in Hongkong in 1843, in some cases carrying off the victim in two days; no foreigner in Canton has been attacked, but hundreds of natives have died. The festival of dragon-boats, which occurred on the 14th inst. was prolonged for four days, and more than a hundred boats appeared on the river, penetrating in every creek and canal, beating drums and waving flags, in order to dissipate the noxious distempers. It is a melancholy spectacle to see the mercy of God in removing a severe sickness thus made an occasion of honoring devils. Truly this people is "alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them, because of the hardness of their heart;" and we can but express the wish that they may soon be taught better.

H. E. Gov. Sù has been ordered by his imperial master to remain at his post in Canton, in order to manage the important concerns of the frontier. He applied, as is the usage, to be allowed to pay his respects at court in person to the new emperor. The lieutenant-general of the Manchu garrison, Oruntai, has left for Peking; and a few days since a special messenger, dispatched by the Manchu commandant to the capital, returned to Canton, having lost his dispatches and about two thousand dollars' worth of baggage by the upsetting of his boat in crossing the Poyang lake.

*The new governor of Macao* and its dependencies, arrived in the Portuguese man-of-war *Dom João I*, 22 guns, Capt. Guimaraens, on the 2th ult. His appointment has been announced in a Decree published in the *Boletim do Governo* :—

The Governor of the Province of Macao, Timor, and Solor, José Maria Ferreira do Amaral, Captain in the Royal Navy, having been atrociously assassinated by Chinese subjects, and it being necessary to fill up the vacancy promptly by a person whose zeal, intelligence, and firmness may guaranty the preservation of the establishment of Macao in the difficult situation in which it was placed by the death of that worthy officer, and who may secure the permanence and stability of the measures adopted by him : We are pleased to nominate to the aforesaid office of Governor of the Province of Macao, Timor, and Solor, Pedro Alexandrino da Cunha, Captain in the Royal Navy, in the hope that in the exercise of this important commission he will justify the trust which We have reposed in him. The Viscount de Castelloens, Minister and Secretary of State for the affairs of the Marine and Colonies will see this Decree carried into effect.

Palace das Necessidades, 2d November, 1849 THE QUEEN.  
—*China Mail.* THE VISCOUNT DE CASTELLOENS.

A frigate, the *D. Maria II*, 32 guns, Capt. Silva, also reached Macao on the 3d inst. bringing part of the land force designed for the protection of the settlement. There is a third vessel of war on the way, and when she arrives we suppose the programme of proceedings on the part of the Portuguese government will be made public. Since the lamentable tragedy of last August, the settlement has been quiet, but the business which formerly thronged its streets has not returned, nor is there at present much probability of Macao rising to its former importance and traffic.

*The late Empress-dowager* has been canonized—or, what amounts to the same thing in China,—her tablet has been placed in the hall of imperial ancestors, and she is henceforth to receive the same homage as the departed emperors. An imperial edict was issued April 13th, couched in the most full-some and recondite style of the Hânlin doctors, announcing her apotheosis, and describing her character and virtues. Her name in the Ancestral Hall is *Hiau-ho-kung-tsz' kang-yü-ngân-ching ying-tien-hishing Jui kwang-hau* 孝和恭慈康豫安成應天熙聖睿皇后 or the Filial-harmonious-reverent-affectionate-healthy-cheerful-placid-accomplished-Heavenly-conferred-prosperous-holy Empress of Kiaking. The document is written in such a labored style, that we venture to say not more than one in ten thousand of the people can understand it. Throughout the paper Her Majesty's name is placed on an equality with Heaven, and one step above the emperor who issues it.

*H. E. Gov. Bonham left Hongkong* for Shánghái in the P. & O. Co.'s steamer *Lady Mary Wood*, April 27th; H. B. M. steamer *Reynard* has been dispatched from Shánghái to the mouth of the Pei ho and Tientsin with a communication for H. M. Hienfung; Walter H. Medhurst Jr. Esq., the interpreter to the Shánghái consulate, is the bearer of the dispatch. The object of this mission has greatly interested the provincial authorities at Cantow.

*The emigration of coolies* for working on the plantations in Peru has lately attracted some notice. Already several hundreds have been engaged, collected chiefly in the vicinity of Cunsingmoon, who have been sent to Lima, and the demand for them is extending. Almost none of the men take their families. Nearly a thousand Chinese have, we are told, found their way to California, where they have formed themselves into an association similar to those made by them in the Straits Settlements, and engaged an American lawyer to attend to their interests. The emigration of Chinese to the western coasts of America is likely to increase during the coming years.

## CHINESE REPOSITORY.

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ART. I *Defense of an Essay on the proper rendering of the words Elohim and Θεός into the Chinese Language.* BY W. J. BOONE.

It is now two years and a half since my Essay, advocating the use of the word *shin* 神 to render *Elohim* and *Theos* into the Chinese language, was written. Soon after its publication, Dr. Medhurst replied to it in a pamphlet of 107 pages, taking up, as he tells us, every successive paragraph that seemed to call for remark.

In England, the "Inquiry" of Dr. Medhurst, and my Essay, drew from Sir George Staunton a small volume, in which he urges the propriety of using *Shingti* 上帝 to render *Elohim* and *Theos*, when these words are used *proprie*, and opposes the use of *shin* for this purpose. This volume is written in so very kind and courteous a tone, that we feel much indebted to its accomplished author for his contribution to our discussion. We are also indebted to Dr. Bowring, H. B. M. Consul at Canton, for a spirited article "On the manner of expressing the word for God in the Chinese language," which appeared in the Chinese Repository for 1849, Vol. XVIII., page 600.

On the 30th January last, Dr. Medhurst and five of his friends addressed a letter of 21 pages "To the Protestant Missionaries laboring at Hongkong and the Five Ports of China," in which they give up the native terms for which they had hitherto contended, and advocate as the rendering of *Elohim* and *Theos* in our Chinese version the transfer of the Hebrew word *Eloah* by the three Chinese characters 阿羅訶 *Aloho*.

More recently, a writer who signs himself "an American Missionary in China," and the Rev. Dr. Legge, have published pamphlets on this controversy, and have commented on my Essay.

That the first-mentioned of these publications has been left so long without an answer, has not arisen from a conviction that no defence of my Essay was needed, but from several causes, the principal of which has been the state of my health, which has rendered writing very irksome to me. Instead of encountering the labor of preparing another pamphlet, I have hitherto preferred keeping the Bible societies acquainted with my views by correspondence; and I confess it is with extreme reluctance that I now set myself to the task of writing another pamphlet for publication; I would so much prefer spending the little strength I have in other work. The question however, which is under debate, is one of such vital importance to the progress of the Gospel in China, that I can not excuse myself from the task, however unpleasant, and I fear that should I refrain longer from printing, it might prove disadvantageous to what I regard as the truth, as many who feel a lively interest in the controversy may have no access to the papers of the Bible Societies, and few who have such access, like to encounter a heavy mass of manuscript. It is due, too, to my missionary brethren in China that I should make them acquainted with what I have to say in defence of an Essay, in the views of which so many of them have concurred. I will therefore, without further preliminaries, address myself to the task which is before me.

In this defence, I shall not endeavor to follow the above-mentioned writers through their several treatises, but shall endeavor to present, as fairly and as fully as I can, all the objections to the arguments offered in my Essay that are of weight, and discuss these objections in that order, which will serve best to set forth clearly the whole matter in dispute.

The positions taken in my Essay may be expressed briefly as follows: The Chinese are polytheists, not monotheists; they do not know the true God, or any being who may truly and properly be called God; therefore the highest being known to them is to be regarded only as the chief god of a pantheon, and not as the Being we call God. *Under these circumstances*, we can only choose, I contended, between "the name of the chief god of the Chinese, and the name by which the whole class of gods is known in their language." It is derogatory to Jehovah to call him by the proper name or distinctive title of any false god; we cannot, therefore, use the name of the chief god of the Chinese to render *Elohim* and *Theos*, and must, according to the alternative above presented, use the generic name of the Chinese gods. We must embrace this alternative, because the use of this generic is necessary to the correct rendering of the First Commandment, and

many other passages of Scripture; its use is absolutely necessary to forbid the reigning polytheism. This generic name is *Shin*; therefore we must use this word *Shin*, *malgré* all objections, to render *Elohim* and *Theos* into Chinese.

On looking at the above abstract of my argument, it will be seen that the conclusion, "We must use *shin* to render *Elohim* and *Theos*," rests on the following propositions:

1st. The Chinese do not know any being who may truly and properly be called God; they have therefore no name for such a being, no word in their language answering to our word God.

2d. That, this being the state of things, we must seek the general name of their gods, and content ourselves with the use of the word in Chinese that answers to our words a *god*, *gods*, as the best that can be done under the circumstances.

3d. That *shin* is the general or generic name of the Chinese gods; and therefore it follows, That this word should be used to render *Elohim* and *Theos* into Chinese.

From the nature and connection of the above propositions, it will also be seen, that, to invalidate this conclusion, one of the five following propositions must be sustained.

(a.) The Chinese do know a being, who is truly and properly God; or in other words, the highest being known to them is not a false god, but is the very Being whom we call God, whose name is therefore the proper word by which to render *Elohim* and *Theos* in all cases; or,

(b.) Admitting that the Chinese do not know the true God, contend that we should use a relative, not an absolute or generic term to render *Elohim* and *Theos*, because these words are relative, and not absolute terms; or,

(c.) Admitting that the highest being known to the Chinese is not truly and properly God, yet affirm that his name or title, and not the generic name of the Chinese gods, should be used to render *Elohim* and *Theos* in all cases; or,

(d.) Admitting the facts to be as stated in Prop. (b.), affirm that, we should render *Elohim* and *Theos* only when these words are used *propriè*, by the name or title of this highest Being, i. e. *Shàngtí*; and when used *impropriè*, they should be rendered by *Shin*, or *Shin-ming*, or, lastly,

(e.) Admitting that under the above-mentioned circumstances, the generic name of the Chinese gods should be used, if such can be found, deny that *Shin* is this generic name, and affirm, on the contrary, that as the Chinese have neither a name for any being who is truly

and properly God, nor any generic name of their gods, and the words *Elohim* and *Theos* must be rendered by a generic term, we have no resource but that of transferring the original word.

All the objections that have been urged against the use of *Shin*, will come naturally under one or other of these heads; and it will promote, we think, a clear understanding of the questions that have been raised, and of all points at issue, to discuss them in this order.

Previous however to the discussion of these heads, I will recur to a point, on which much stress was laid at the commencement of my Essay. I refer to the importance of determining, definitely, at the very outset, "what we should seek for, before our minds become engaged in the examination of the multifarious evidence that may be submitted." The settlement of this point, as a preliminary, is the more important from the fact that all parties admit that there is no word in the Chinese language that answers to the Hebrew *Eloah*, *Elohim*, the Greek *Theos*, *Theoi*, and the English *God*, *god*, *gods*.

On this subject Dr. Medhurst thus expresses his opinion on p. 4. of his "Inquiry:" "Having discussed the meanings of *Elohim*, and *Theos*, as these words were understood by both Hebrew and Greek writers, to indicate the Supreme, as well as inferior deities, we now come to consider what term in Chinese is *most nearly equivalent* to them. And here it may be premised, that, after most studious research, we have not been able to find any one term that fully answers to the words as employed in the Old and New Testaments." Dr. Legge, after quoting this, adds his own opinion in the following words: "The conclusion to which my researches, equally studious probably, though not so extensive, have brought me, is substantially the same." We shall see presently that Sir George Staunton, Dr. Bowring, and the "American Missionary," all concur in this opinion.

Of the word *God*, the several parties writing on this question, take widely different views in many respects; but it seems to me there is one error which has chiefly misled Dr. Medhurst, Sir George Staunton, Dr. Bowring and Dr. Legge, and which we must be careful not to fall into, if we would keep the real point of search clearly before us. The error, to which I allude, is that of regarding the word *God* as the "symbol of an idea," to use Sir George Staunton's expression, instead of regarding it, as it really is, as the name of a *bonâ fide* Being, of whom, after we have exhausted all the *ideas* of which we are capable, we can form but very inadequate conceptions.

Dr. Medhurst commences his Inquiry with these words: "In discussing the proper mode of rendering a word out of one language into

another, we should first ascertain, from lexicographers and standard writers, the meaning of the word which is to be translated; and then, by means of the same process, the meaning of the word or words proposed as the representative of *the idea*, in the language into which we are translating." He afterwards appears to feel conscious that many ideas must concur to make up our conception of what is included in the word *God*; the next stage is therefore to content himself with the leading idea, and this leading or principal *idea* he decides is *power* or authority.

Dr. Bowring writes (see Chinese Repository, Vol. XVIII, page 600): "How indeed should they (i. e. the parties who have written on both sides of this controversy) have succeeded? They have been struggling through incompetent means for an unattainable end; they have been seeking in the Chinese mind, and in the Chinese language for what was never there. In order that an *idea* should exhibit itself by some external *symbol*, some expression, some formula—the *idea* itself must have a previous existence," &c. He then proposes to treat *God* as he would an unknown quantity in algebra, i. e. represent the unknown quantity by a symbol, viz:  $\Theta$ . When I read this, the thought occurred to me, Could Dr. Bowring kneel down and seriously pray to  $\Theta$ , "O,  $\Theta$ ! have mercy upon me!" I surely could not.

Sir George Staunton writes, "In the Chinese language there neither is, nor could there be expected to be, any word which fully and correctly conveys the *idea*, which we Christians attach to the word *God*. Words are but the symbols of ideas, and we have not yet implanted the *idea* itself in the Chinese mind." How much clearer to say,— "We cannot expect to find any name in Chinese for *the Being* whom we Christians call *God*, as we have not yet taught the Chinese to know this Being, God."

To show how fatally this regarding the word *God* as the symbol of an *idea*, will mislead us, we quote from Sir George's "Inquiry" his method of meeting this difficulty. Having stated that the Chinese have no word answering to our word *God*, he proceeds to say, "I think I have shown that the term *Shángti* has from time immemorial been employed in Chinese in a sense *more nearly approaching to that which we attach to the word God than any other which at present exists in the language of the country.*" What is this but saying that, the Being whom the Chinese call *Shángti* comes nearer to the Being whom we Christians call God, than any other Being the Chinese know. But this is a case surely in which the rule *nultum simile est idem* applies. To come short of the Infinite Being whom



we Christians call *God*, is to come infinitely short : to come only near to, and not to be quite one and the same with Him, is to be wholly another Being, a false god.

To clear this matter, we must remember that the word *God* is always the name, not of an *idea*, but of a being ; that, when used (1st) *proprîè*, by monotheists, it is the name of the self-existent, spiritual Being, who created the heavens and the earth, and all things visible, and invisible : that when used (2d) *improprîè*, by polytheists, or by monotheists in accommodation to the views of polytheists, it is still, in every instance, the name not of an *idea*, but of a *Being* or *Beings*, (imaginary Beings it is true, yet still beings, not abstract ideas) to whom their ignorant worshipers betake themselves for aid in trouble, look up to for protection, and endeavor to propitiate with religious worship.

The importance of keeping this distinction in our minds arises from the difference there is between those nouns which are the names of beings and abstract nouns, in the facility with which we can use abstract nouns that are very similar in meaning for each other, which interchange can not be made in the case of such concrete nouns as those mentioned above. E. g. the use of the word that comes nearest to expressing the idea we desire to convey, if this word is the name of an abstract idea—of a mere mental conception—is unobjectionable, and is often the best expedient we can adopt in conveying our thoughts to another. But in the use of concrete nouns we can not do this. Suppose that I were telling another of a duty or service he owed to a given Being, and I should from forgetfulness of the name of this Being, direct him to render the service or duty to the Being, whose name came nearest to his in sound or signification, or who most nearly resembled him in person or character ; the *resemblance* in any of these respects is not of the slightest importance : on the contrary, being only *resemblance*, and not *sameness*, it proves him to be *another Being* than the one designed, and therefore that by using his name I have defrauded “ the Being,” to whom the service or duty was due.

If we desire to ascertain whether the Chinese know *God*, we should not inquire, what the leading or principal *idea* conveyed by the word *God* is, that we may see if the Chinese have any word that conveys this principal idea ; but rather ask, do they know any Being, who, from what they predicate of him, can be known to be the same Being we Christians call *God* ; then the next question is, by what name do they call this Being, and if we can find, in answer to this query, the absolute term, which in the Chinese language designates this being, we shall have found the word in Chinese, that answers to our much sought

word *God*, when it is used *proprie*. The first point, however, is to decide, Is the being the *same*? it will be time enough, after this point is settled, to inquire for the name. If the being be not the same, no matter what the principal idea suggested to us by his name may be, this name will be but the name of a false god, and nothing more.

The principal idea suggested by the word *God*, (if what this idea is, could ever be decided) takes in only a very small part of the ideas, which go to make up our conception of the Being we call *God*; and a being, the meaning of whose name conveyed this principal idea, might want those physical attributes, *e. g.* self-existence, omniscience, &c.; or might fail to sustain those relations of Creator, Upholder, Sustainer of the universe, &c., or want those moral attributes, without which a being can not be truly and properly *God*.

If I am correct in what I have said above, then the first question for us to consider is, do the Chinese know any being, whom we can regard as the same with "the Being" we call *God*? That they know no such being was taken for granted, and not discussed in my Essay, because, as I there said, I understood this was admitted by all the Protestant missionaries in China. The discussion of this point has become necessary from the fact of its having been distinctly affirmed by Dr. Legge, and from the indefinite manner in which other parties have expressed their opinions about it.

To the position taken by me, that, "under these circumstances," *i. e.* the Chinese not knowing the true *God*, "we can only choose between the name of the chief god, and the name by which the whole class of gods in their language is known," I understand Dr. Legge to reply in substance as follows. "There may be no middle course between the alternatives, allowing the case to be as you state it; but I deny the correctness of the statement: the Chinese do know the true *God*. I rejoice to acknowledge in the *Shángtí* of the Chinese Classics, and the *Shángtí* of the Chinese people, Him who is *God* over all, blessed for ever p. 32. But even should we admit that the Chinese do not know the true *God*, 'there is a real *tertium quid*,' a course altogether different. *God* is not a generic, but a relative term; and relative terms are defined to be "words which imply a relation, or a thing considered as compared to another. They include a kind of opposition between them; yet so, as that the *ONE cannot be without the OTHER*. Such are father and son, husband and wife, king and subjects, &c. To these instances I have no hesitation in adding that of *God* and *creatures*," p. 5. "*God* does not indicate the *essence*, or express *anything* about the *being* of *Jehovah*," p. 24. "Should the Chinese therefore have no word

that answers to God, in having been actually used as one of the many names of the Supreme Being (i. e. the true God)," we should not under these circumstances seek for an absolute generic, but a relative term to render Elohim and *Theos*, because these words are relative and not absolute."

The first point made by Dr. Legge's argument, as expressed above, coincides with the proposition marked *a*; the other points come under propositions *b*. and *c*. We shall postpone the discussion of them until we take up those propositions.

Dr. Medhurst, in his "Inquiry," expresses himself very indefinitely on the point whether the Chinese know the true God or not. We have seen above that he acknowledges, at the outset, that he has been unable "to find any one term that fully answers to the words" *Elohim* and *Theos* "as employed in the Old and New Testaments." He then proceeds to mention the important particulars in which "the Chinese ideas of God fall short of the truth." These are, that the "creation of heaven and earth are not ascribed to any being," the highest being known to them, variously designated *T'ien* 天, *T'i* 帝, or *Shángt'i* 上帝, is never said to be self-existent, nor described as existing from eternity." He then, after mentioning several attributes of the being styled *T'i*, proceeds to say, "There can be no doubt that, the Chinese use the word *T'i* in the same way in which western writers use the word *God*; that they ascribe to *T'i* such attributes, as were usually ascribed to the Divine Being by the Pagans of Greece and Rome." "We therefore conclude that, by *T'i*, the Chinese mean the Supreme God, so far as they are acquainted with him. They also use the word *T'i* when speaking of inferior spiritual beings, who have some superintendence over different parts of the universe, and who, in the estimation of the Confucianists, were entitled to religious worship; while the word was applied by both T'auist and Buddhist writers to beings, whom they considered as gods. The inference therefore is that *T'i* is descriptive of a class of beings, beginning with the highest and passing down to inferior divinities, and is therefore generic for God in Chinese." See "Inquiry" pp, 5,6.

Dr. Medhurst here clearly advocates the use of the word *T'i* to render Elohim and *Theos* on the ground that it is the "generic for God in Chinese." It is not so clear, however, what he means by the sentence, "We therefore conclude that by *T'i* the Chinese mean the Supreme God, as far as they are acquainted with him." This last seems a very unsatisfactory and indefinite phrase, and it is much to be regretted that Dr. Medhurst did not express his opinion more clearly.

In his "Reply to the Essay of Dr. Boone," on page 2d, he expresses the opinion that the Chinese may be regarded as Cudworth regards the Greeks, viz. as both monotheists and polytheists at the same time; that is, understanding the word *Theos* combined in the two terms in different senses; in the first, as conveying what he calls the natural idea of God, viz. an all-perfect Being, the Ruler of the universe; and the other, as alluding to certain supposed invisible intelligences, who were the objects of religious worship, but subordinate to one Supreme." On the next page he gives his opinion on what should be the object of search, as follows: Dr. Boone says that it is necessary to determine what we shall seek; and thinks that seeing the Chinese do not know the true God, we must either seek for the name of the chief god of the Chinese, or the name by which the whole class of gods is known in their language. To this we reply, that as *the true God was as little known among the Greeks as among the Chinese*, it is certainly necessary, in order to express *the idea of God* to determine what we shall seek; for Dr. B. thinks we must seek for one or other of the two things specified by him, viz. the name of the chief god, or the generic name for god. In our estimation we should seek for a name which will convey to the mind of the Chinese the *same idea* which was conveyed to a Greek by the use of the word *Theos*; if the same be likewise that by which the whole class of worshiped beings is known in the language, so much the better. Now it so happens, that the name used for the chief object of worship, or God by way of eminence, and the whole class of worshiped beings, was one and the same term among the Greeks: among the Chinese these *two ideas* are represented by different terms, which constitutes the difficulty."

If I understand his meaning, the view here expressed seems to be, that the Being called by the Chinese *Shángtí*, answers to the monadic *Theos* of the Greeks, but that neither the one nor the other of these beings is the Being the Christians call *God*, i. e. the true God. As the argument in my Essay was based wholly upon the assumption that the Chinese do not know the true God, observing the indefinite manner in which Dr. M. spoke in his "Inquiry," where he seems to imply that the Chinese *Shángtí* is to be regarded as truly and properly God, to draw out a full discussion on this point, I under the signature of "A Brother Missionary," addressed "A few plain questions to those missionaries who in preaching or writing teach the Chinese to worship *Shángtí*." This paper was written previous to the appearance of Dr. M.'s "Reply," and was published in the Chinese Repository Vol XVII., page 357. It gave great offence, I am sorry to say, to Dr. Med

hurst and his friends; they called upon me, and insisted upon my retracting the position taken in that paper, viz. that those who exhort the Chinese to worship *Shángtí*, violate the first Commandment. I took great pains to assure them that I did not suppose they intended to violate the first Commandment, but contended that, as the phrase *Shángtí* designates a single individual, and the Chinese who heard them understood by this phrase another being than Jehovah, I must maintain that the Commandment was broken. To inform all who read the Repository that I have no intention of intimating that any of my Brother Missionaries designedly broke the first Commandment, and to divest the matter of every shade of personality, which unhappily, from want of sufficient care on my part, attached to the communication of a "Brother Missionary," I addressed a letter, under my own signature to the Editor of the Chinese Repository (see Vol. XVIII., page 97), to which I beg leave to refer the Reader. This paper I sent to Dr. Medhurst and his friends, as my answer to their demand for an apology, that they might see it before it left Shanghai for the printer's hands. From his note addressed to me on the receipt of this letter, it will appear that instead of maintaining that *Shángtí* is the true God, Dr. Medhurst's habit and that of Messrs. Stronach and Milne was carefully so to explain their use of the phrase to the Chinese, as to prevent them from understanding it, as even *alluding* to any being with whom they were acquainted. His note is as follows:—

"Shanghai, January 13th, 1849.

"My dear Sir,

"Your letter has been read by Messrs Stronach, Milne and myself. We all think it unsatisfactory; principally with respect to the omission of any statement, that it was quite probable that the missionaries using *Shángtí* for God would accompany it with such explanations as would in their estimation, prevent the Chinese from understanding the term as alluding to any being with whom they had been previously acquainted, but to one whose being and attributes are revealed in the S. S.

"Such statement was distinctly required by us, and we fully expected that it would accompany your explanation.

"I am, Dear Sir,

Yours truly

(Signed) W. H. Medhurst."

In the letter of 30th January 1850, Dr. Medhurst and his friends give up all the native terms as untenable, and propose to use the transferred term *Alloah*, as the rendering of *Elohim* and *Theos* in all cases. They

give us an account, in this letter, of the steps by which they were led to the adoption of the transferred term. They tell us p. 3, that on the reception of Mr. Weller's letter of the 20th Oct. 1849, "both parties took up carefully, "first the consideration of the proposition thrown out by Mr Weller, to employ one term for false gods, and another or the same term modified for the true God," and in the next place considered "the employment of the transferred word Eloah, to be employed in every instance in which the true God was intended, and *Shin* for false gods." These propositions were rejected "as unphilosophical." "For," they add, "in the First Commandment, in John X. 35, 1. Cor. VIII. 5, together with 1 Kings XV. 21, 27., it was felt that the same term ought to be used for God whether true or false, because the force of the passages mainly depends on the employment of the same term: this objection would apply to *Shang-shin* also, if used for the true God, and *Shin* for false gods; and as there were many other passages of Scripture in which different terms could not be used, it was agreed that it would be better to use the same term throughout. pp. 4, 5."

After this they tell us, that, on a suggestion having been made, to put on the title page of the N. S. an explanation of the sense in which *Shin* was used in said book, it occurred to them "that if *shin* could be used with a definition, so could *Ti*." Accordingly this proposition was submitted to their Chinese teachers, and upon being disapproved of by these teachers, the use of *ti* was abandoned by them, pp. 6, 7. When urging the use of the transferred term, they tell us, "those Chinese who have become most familiar with our Scriptures and views of Theology, being at the same time intelligent men and independent thinkers, frankly confess that they have not a term so generic, and capable of so wide an extension as the one we are seeking for," while the same Chinese "conceive that when foreigners have to introduce *new ideas* they must expect to bring with them new terms." p. 8. They make the proposal to transfer Eloah, therefore, not merely on the ground that the Chinese have no word answering to our word God, as maintained by Dr. Bowring, but on the ground also that they have no generic term for *god* in their language. I will however give the statement in their own words. "To the general strain of Dr. Bowring's remarks, there can be little or no objection. One idea not touched upon by him is that the Chinese language not only wants a proper term whereby to represent the perfections of the true God, but it wants also a generic, which, while it is capable of being *used* for the highest being of which they have any conception, includes all worshiped beings,

and goes no farther. As they have, therefore, no appellative for God, in the Scriptural usage of the term, we must introduce one, and the one we propose is *Aloah*, accompanied by the following translation, "Whenever *Aloah* is used, it refers to the beings whom men sacrifice to and worship. They do not know however that the most honorable and without compare is only one Jehovah, besides whom no other ought to be worshiped. Jehovah is the proper name of *Aloah*."

In direct opposition to the ground taken by Dr. Legge, the six signers of this letter regard their transferred word as a generic term, "as the generic for all worshiped beings." They say, p. 12, "It will be proper to remark here that we intend to use the transferred word *generically*, as the representative of *El*, *Eloah*, *Elohim*, *Theos* and *Theoi*, whenever they occur, whether for the false gods or the true. Should any object that we are calling the contemptible divinities of the heathen by the same appellative, which we use for the true God; we can only say that we feel safe in following Scriptural example. The Apostles had the option of calling the true God *Theos*, and the false gods *daimones*, in every instance, if they chose; but they did not choose; and in alluding to the heathen deity Remphan, they have called him *Theos* with the article before it. So in recording the false views entertained by the Lycaonians in regard to Paul and Barnabas, whom they supposed to be Jupiter and Mercury, the term *hoi Theoi* is used with reference to those beings." On p. 13 they say, "We by no means admit however, that, we cannot as effectually oppose polytheism by a transferred word, as by using a native term. We call our God *Eloah*, we use *Eloah* as the *generic* for worshiped beings, and we tell them that they are not to worship any other being that may be called *Eloah*, but the one who made heaven and earth."

From the above it will be seen that Dr. Medhurst and his friends agree with me in opposition to the two main propositions of Dr. Legge, viz. that the Chinese *Shángti* is *not* the true God, and that the word God is *generic* and must be rendered by a generic term. The only issue they make with me is that stated in proposition *e*; i. e. they admit that under the above mentioned circumstances, the generic name of the Chinese gods should be used, if such can be found, but deny that *S'ia* is this generic name; and affirm, on the contrary, that, as the Chinese have neither a name for any being who is truly and properly God, nor any generic name of their gods, and the words *Elohim* and *Theos* must be rendered by a generic term, we have no alternative, and must transfer the original term.



Sir George Staunton, as we have seen above, admits that the Chi-

nese language has no word which fully and correctly conveys the idea which we Christians attach to the word *God*." He advocates the use of *Shángtí*, on the ground that "it has from time immemorial been employed in China in a sense *more nearly approaching* to that which we attach to the word *God* than any other, which at present exists in the language of the country." I am very sorry that, from the oversight of friends in England, I have never received a copy of Sir George's pamphlet. I only had the loan of the copy I read for two or three hours; I am afraid therefore to attempt to sketch the draft of his argument lest I may unintentionally misrepresent him. From a quotation in Dr. Legge's pamphlet, p. 35, I learn however that he only contends for the use of *Shángtí* to render *Elohim* and *Theos* when these words are used *proprie*. His words are, "It is always to be borne in mind that it is only when the true God is intended to be signified, that *Shángtí* is contended to be the most appropriate term. Whenever the *false gods* of the heathen *generally*, or any *specific false god* by name is in question, the word *Shin* is not only *proper* but *necessary*. On the one hand, the word *Shin* is too low and too wide in its acceptation to be applicable to the True God; and on the other, the phrase *Shángtí* is too high and too exclusive in its meaning to be applicable to any purpose less exalted." From these extracts, I conceive Sir George maintains the views expressed in the proposition marked *d* above.

The "American Missionary in China" advocates the use of *Ti* 帝 with an adjunct, as either 上帝 *Shàng Ti* or 天帝 *T'ien Ti*. He does this on the ground that *Shángtí* (see p. 3) especially in moral character *resembles* far more the true God than does any of the *Theoi* of the Greeks. He is a being, to whom no beginning is attributed, a being of perfect moral rectitude, and is represented as rewarding the upright and punishing the wicked; a being too of universal sovereignty and providence. The distinguishing *title*, by which this being and all other entities supposed to resemble him are known among the Chinese, is 上帝 *Shàng Ti*. This too is a *title* used by way of eminence to distinguish Deity, long before the Chinese were led by their pride either to assume or apply it to mortal man. This was likewise at a time when it is clear, from their ancient books, the Chinese possessed a purer theology and more correct notions of the Divine Being and character than they do now." This writer, it will be seen, only contends here for *resemblance* to the true God. On p. 27 he says, "That it is extremely doubtful whether any being worshipped by the Chinese is by them regarded as *divine*. At most there is



but one, the *Sháng-tí* of antiquity, and he worshiped only by the Emperor." From which he concludes that, "the Chinese mythology, in which there is only one, recognised at all as divine, does not contain, and can not furnish, a proper generic term for Deity. Not having the idea of such a *class* of beings, the language assuredly will not afford a generic term for such a class."

It is very much to be regretted that this writer does not manifest more care in his use of terms, and that he does not define the sense in which he uses the words upon which his whole argument turns: e. g. he answers the question "Is  used as a generic term for Deity by the Chinese?" by another  question, viz. "Is it appellative for a class of beings regarded *divine*, and not the name merely of an individual?" Upon this we would remark, that the word *Deity* without an article is abstract, and that of all the words he could have chosen, that have any connexion with the point under debate, the adjective "divine" seems to me the most indefinite. We are all familiar with "the divine Homer sometimes sleeps," and I have even seen "the divine Fanny Elsler," &c. Throughout his pamphlet the "American Missionary" appears to me to confound polytheism with what has been styled di- or tri-theism; i. e. a belief in the existence of more gods than one, using the word *proprie* in the sense of self-existent, almighty, &c., &c.

In the result he arrives at, the proposal to render Elohim and *Theos* by *Shángtí* and *Shin-ming*, and in the admission he makes that *Shángtí* only resembles the true God, and the doubt he expresses whether the Chinese really regard him as divine, his views approach nearer to Sir George Staunton's than to any other: they will be most suitably discussed under proposition *d*.

Having thus indicated, in general terms, the positions maintained by those, whose pamphlets I propose to answer, I shall now proceed to discuss the issues made between these several writers and my Essay in the order above set forth.

The first question for our consideration is that involved in proposition *a*, Do the Chinese know the true God, or any Being who may truly and properly be called God? To this question Dr. Legge answers, "They do: *Shángtí* is God over all, blessed for ever."

To put this opinion in the most advantageous way for Dr. Legge, it may be thus expressed: "The Chinese do know the Being we Christians call God, they really know him, though only in an imperfect manner. The *Being* is the very *same*, the difference is in the clearness with which he is known." We agree with Dr. Legge that if this point can be made good, viz., the Chinese know the Being we

call *God*, we ought to take the Chinese name of this Being to render *Elohim* and *Theos* in all cases, though we should find that the Chinese have never used this word, as the general name of their objects of worship. We should only differ from him, in contending that we must seek for, and use, the absolute name of this Being, and not content ourselves with one of his titles, such as *Shángtí*, which is a mere relative term. I should agree to this; for if the Chinese really know the Being we call *God*, and have in their language a name for Him I do not see how we could be justified in neglecting this name, or using any other word to render *Elohim* and *Theos*. We should be bound, I think, if these were the circumstances in which we found the Chinese, to tell them that Jehovah—the revealed God—was the same Being they had all along worshiped under this Chinese name, and that we now merely proposed, by the light derived from the Sacred Scriptures, to make Him more fully and perfectly known unto them. This I never would have denied; but when my “Essay” was written, I supposed that this was not contended for by any missionary in China; therefore my argument is conducted, from the beginning to the end, upon the supposition that the Chinese know no being who can truly and properly be called God.

Dr. Legge being the affirmant in this case the *onus probandi* is with him; this however he is so far from perceiving, that he very amusingly sets us the task of finding an instance in which *Shángtí* can not be rendered *God* (*propriè*), when in my “Essay,” which was before him, I had already denied the Chinese had any word in their language which could be so rendered, which made it clearly Dr. Legge’s duty to furnish us with the grounds which would justify him, in so translating *Shángtí*, in a single instance. This was the more incumbent on Dr. Legge, as Dr. Medhurst, in his “Inquiry,” admitted, as we have shown, that *Shángtí* is never said to have created the heavens and the earth, or to be self-existent; and in his “Reply,” that the Chinese were ignorant of the true God; and as Dr. Bowring, who also wrote previously to Dr. Legge, so unhesitatingly affirms that the Chinese do not know God. Instead of giving some good and approved definition of the sense, in which the word *God* is to be understood when used *propriè*, (which is the only sense in which the word *God* is ever used as he contends, and in which sense *Shángtí* corresponds to it) and using this as a test to prove that *Shángtí* is properly God, he contents himself with the following *petitio principii*.

“The proof of this assertion is to be sought by making the largest possible collection of examples, in which the expression is used, and

trying whether God will be an appropriate, or rather *the* appropriate rendering of it. The absurdity, of saying that 神 means God, was demonstrated by a process of this kind. Instances were adduced, which made it plain that to say that 神 has such a signification, only affords matter for astonishment. Will Dr Boone, or any other opponent of 上帝 descend into this arena? Let them bring us forward passages, in which it is inadmissible to translate *Shángti* by God. Till they do this, I must tell them, that they only hover about the field of conflict, and are surprisingly averse to "the tug" of the battle. Here is an *experimentum crucis*. I have taken their metal, and put it into the *crucible*—may I be pardoned the play on the words—and it has turned out to be base substance. Let them take this metal and subject it to the same test. If the two words 上帝 do not mean *God*, those who contend that they do are merely setting up a "man of straw." It is not asking too much of Dr. Boone and his friends, to walk up to such an object and handle it. Let them give it a push, and it will fall down at once. The slightest application will prove that it has no life in it. Why have they not done this, and adduced some specific examples in which *Shángti*, can not be translated God? The fair and just way of accounting for their not having yet done so, doubtless is, that such a course has not occurred to them. Having thus suggested it to them, and shown them by what an easy process they may achieve a victory—if it can be achieved—some of them will surely act on the maxim, *Fas est ab hoste doceri.*"—pp. 26,27.

On the above, we shall only observe, that Dr. Legge wastes his labor, when he endeavors to prove it absurd to say that *shin* means God, as we have never contended that, by the *usus loquendi* of Chinese writers, it had any such meaning, much less that the word has this meaning *in all cases*, which is the only point that could be proved absurd by such a test. We contended that *shin* meant a *god, gods*: we furnished our definition of the sense, in which these words are understood, by heathen nations, from authors of high standing, and endeavored to prove by the tests thus furnished, that *shin* was the generic name of the Chinese gods: would that Dr. Legge could be induced to proceed in this orderly method in making out his proof that the Chinese *Shángti* is the being we call *God*, or that he is truly and properly God. If he will prove that the being called *Shángti*, in any one of the quotations he gives us, is truly and properly *God*, we will admit that the *Shángti* mentioned in all the other passages is God too, as we have no doubt that they all refer to the same being. This is *the point* that Dr. Legge should have proved, and it is so clearly his

duty, that we might content ourselves with this answer until Dr. Legge furnishes us with his proofs: but, as the object, which we all have in view, is to develope fully the facts of this case, and to have it correctly and speedily decided,—to contend for truth, not “victory” —I shall gather the best definitions of God from the books within my reach, and then from these definitions and the cosmogony of the Chinese, exhibit the reasons why I dissent from Dr. Legge’s proposition, “The *Shàngti* of the Chinese people is God over all, blessed for ever.”

1. “I shall inquire what kind of *idea*, or notion, scripture and Christian antiquity give us of one that is *really*, and *truly* God. If we trace this matter through the Old Testament, we shall find that the *scripture notion* of a person that is *truly* God, and should be received as such, includes in it *power* and *might* irresistible; *perfect knowledge* and consummate *wisdom*, *eternity*, immutability, and omnipresence; *creative powers*; *supremacy*, *independence*, and *necessary existence*. These are the distinguishing characteristics, under which God was pleased to make himself known, and it is upon these accounts that he, in opposition to all other gods, claims to be received and honored as God. These therefore are what make up the *scripture idea* of a person who is *truly*, *really*, and *strictly* God.” Waterland’s works, Vol. 2 p. 37.

2. Knapp says, “But the best definition of God,—the one in which all the others are comprehended, is the following; *God is the most perfect being, and is the cause of all other being.*” Knapp’s Theol., Vol. I. p. 156.

3. Cudworth says, “The true and genuine idea of God in general is this. A perfect, conscious, understanding being (or mind) existing of itself from eternity and the cause of all other things.” See Intel. System, Vol. I. p. 297.

If Dr. Legge will take Waterland’s representation “of one that is really and truly God,” he must prove that the *Shàngti* of the Chinese people has “power and might irresistible; perfect knowledge and consummate wisdom, eternity, immutability and omnipresence; creative powers; supremacy, independence and necessary existence.” Or if he likes Knapp’s short definition better, prove that he is “a perfect being” i. e. a being possessed of all physical and moral perfections, and that he is “the cause of all other beings,” the creator of the world i. e. of every thing extrinsic to himself.

But to this it might be replied, these are definitions of God given by Christian men, who had in view all the perfections of Jehovah, the revealed God, and it is not necessary to prove that every thing we know of him is predicated in the Chinese books of *Shàngti*, in order that we should admit that he is the same Being as he whom we call *God*. As was said above, the being might be the same, the difference only arises from the clearness with which he is known. It may be maintained by some that the monadic *Thros* of the Greek philosophers, is entitled to be regarded as truly and properly God, notwithstanding all of them conceived of matter as eternal. The consequences that follow, from allowing a being, who is not the absolute creator of all

things, to be truly and properly God, are such that few, we believe, will be found to contend for it. Even Cudworth in his great zeal to bring in the heathen philosophers of Greece as good theists, is obliged to rank those among his imperfect theists, who do not hold that God "is the cause of all things," as stated in his definition above given.

Of what he calls imperfect theism he thus speaks; "and though in a strict and *proper* sense, they only be theists who acknowledge one God perfectly omnipotent, the sole original of all things, and as well the *cause of matter*, as of any thing else, yet it seems reasonable that such consideration should be had of the infirmity of human understandings, as to extend the word further, that it may comprehend within it those also, who assert one intellectual principle *self-existent from eternity*, the framer and governor of the *whole world*, though not the creator of the matter."

"The American Missionary" and others also, build much on the traditionary knowledge of God, which the Chinese possessed in high antiquity. Let it be shown then from the Yih King, or the Shú King or the Shí King, that *Shángti* is God, according to this definition of even imperfect theism; i. e. that he is *asserted* in a single passage, to be self-existent from eternity, or that *he* out of preëxisting matter made the heavens and the earth and all things that exist. That those unacquainted with the Chinese classics may be able to form some judgment on this matter, we shall give the cosmogony of the Yih King from the pen of M. Visdelou.

"This book (i. e. the Yih King) informs us what they consider the first principle to be. *T'ai Kih*, 太極 (1) generated the two figures; these two figures generated the four forms, and these four forms generated the eight diagrams. This statement is very enigmatical, and therefore it is necessary to explain it. *T'ai-kih* signifies the *great summit (grand cumbre)*, a metaphorical expression derived from the roof of a house, of which the transverse part, which is at the top, is called *kih*, because it is the highest part of the roof. Now, as all the rafters are supported on the top of the roof, so also are all things supported on this first principle. We must here carefully observe that this first principle is said to generate (*engendrer*), and not to make (*faire*)."

"The Chinese explain alegorically the two figures *yáng* and *yin* by the two kinds of matter, or the universal matter divided into two

"(1.) *T'ai kih* is the primary air, which by motion and rest. from which result heat and cold. moisture and drought &c., generated the five elements, which compose all things."

(2); but properly they signify Heaven and Earth. The four forms denote the perfect matter, which is divided into solid and fluid, and the imperfect matter, which is also divided into solid and fluid. Thus by the help of this twofold distinction of perfect and imperfect (3), the two kinds of matter produce four. The eight diagrams of Fuh-hí denote everything in the universe; e. g. the heavens, the earth, fire, water, mountains, thunder, and still two others, under which all the rest are comprehended."

"But the philosophers explain this axiom more clearly. The following is the account of what they, without any allegory say, viz. The *great summit*, (*T'ái kih*) generated the five elements, and the five elements generated all things. This axiom is the abyss, into which those philosophers, called the *Atheo-political*, have plunged themselves; for they pretend that this *great summit* is the primitive Reason (i. e. *Tuu*), which, although without understanding or will, is absolutely the first principle of all things. They consider that this Reason, although destitute of understanding and will, nevertheless governs all things, and that the more infallibly, because it acts necessarily. Finally, they pretend that all things emanate from it as the term generate (*engendrér*) seems to indicate. These philosophers also do not hesitate to give to this reason the title of the ruling power; and as Confucius in the canonical book of changes [the *Yih King*] has, more than once, made mention of *Shúngti*, that is to say, the supreme emperor, and of *Ti*, that is, the emperor, and yet we do not see in any part of this book, nor in any other, that *Shúngti* generated the matter, that is Heaven and earth, the philosophers conclude from this, that the title *Shúngti* is not applicable to the primitive Reason, except when it acts merely in the government of the world. Hence it is that many among them acknowledge besides the primitive Reason, a celestial Genius (*Genie-celeste—shin*, no doubt) that belongs to heaven: at least the Interpreters of the emperor *K'ung-hi*, when explaining the diagram of the dispersion, where mention is made of sacrificing to *Shúngti*; searching into the cause why, after the troubles of the empire were appeased, they sacrificed to *Shúngti*, render the following reason, viz that during the times of the dispersion, when the sacrifices to *Shúngti* were often neglected, the spirits of *Shúngti* had been scattered, and it was necessary therefore to re-collect them by sacrifices.

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"(2.) The perfect *yáng* and the imperfect *yin*, the subtle and the gross, the celestial and the terrestrial, light and darkness, heat and cold, dryness and moisture, and all the other qualities of matter."

"(3.) Strength and weakness, or extension and contraction."

If M. Visdelou here gives us a correct account of what is said in the most ancient of the Confucian classics of the "first cause," how hopeless is the attempt to make out Dr Legge's point, that the *Shangti* of the classics is "God over all, blessed for ever." So far from regarding him, as a necessary, self-existent, independent being, the learned men of K'anghi's reign fancied, from what they read of him in the *Yik King* that the spirits of *Shangti* had been dispersed because of their neglect to offer sacrifices to him during the troubles of the empire, and that they must be re-collected by sacrifices!!!

We beg Dr. Legge also to observe that M. Visdelou distinctly says, that Confucius never affirms in this book or in any other, that "*Shangti*, i. e. the supreme Emperor, ever generated the Heavens and the earth," and either, reconcile this with his position that *Shangti* is God (*propriè*) or, show that M. Visdelou is mistaken.

Of the famous diagrams which are used in divination he gives the following account:—"It is time to pass on to the production of the diagrams. The (primary) matter divided itself into two, the two divided into four, the four into eight, the eight into sixteen, the sixteen into thirty-two, the thirty-two into sixty-four; here it stopped, for there are only sixty-four diagrams. This is in fact, a geometrical progression, which may be continued ad infinitum. But what is there solid in all this? what is this generation of elements? And what are the five elements which generate and compose all things? Notwithstanding two of them, wood and metal, certainly neither of them ever enter into the composition of all things, still they believe that they do enter, and that so thoroughly, that they even impress some of their qualities upon the human soul. For, this is a dogma, received from all the Interpreters, and even from the Ancients, that the five virtues, viz. benevolence, rectitude, propriety, wisdom and fidelity, spring from the five elements; e. g. benevolence from wood; rectitude from metal; and so of the others. How much is there in all this, which only serves to estrange the mind from the knowledge of the true God, and of the first cause! The eight diagrams of Fuh-hi merely present to the mind eight things; viz. heaven, earth, fire, water of two kinds, mountains, and other things of like nature; but there is not *one word* about God, or the first principle of all things."

Of the immediate principle of all things he says;—"The Chinese philosophers lay it down as an incontestable fact that the *five elements*, viz. wood, fire, earth, metal and water, are the immediate principles of all things, and that the five genii (*shin*), who govern them, extend their dominion over the dynasties, which ought in turn to possess the

empire of China; they likewise preside over the *five portions* which form the entire heavens, and the five seasons of which the year is composed." These Genii are the five *shin*, who preside over the five elements who are styled, Azure Ruler, Vermilion Ruler, Yellow Ruler, White Ruler, and Black Ruler.

While quoting the opinions of others on this subject, I will cite again a few passages from Dr. Medhurst's "China, its State and prospects" that were quoted in my Essay;—"There are in the works of the Philosopher (Confucius) some allusions to heaven as the presiding power of nature, and to fate (*ti* 天) as the determiner of all things, but he does not appear to attribute *originality to the one, or rationality to the other*; and thus his system remains destitute of the main truth which lies at the basis of all truth, viz, the being of a self-existent, eternal, all-wise God." Again; "From these expressions about "Heaven", the "Supreme Ruler", and the "principle of order", we might infer that the Chinese *had some knowledge of the Ruler of the universe*, and honored him as such, were we not baffled by the very incoherent manner in which they express themselves, and shocked at the propensity to materialism which they constantly exhibit." Again; "No first cause" characterises all the sects, and the supreme self-existent God, is scarcely traceable through the entire range of their metaphysics; and yet the Chinese manage to combine the apparently irreconcilable principles of atheism and polytheism. 'Gods many and lords many' are adopted by every sect, and it is more easy to find a god than a man in China. Though they account *no divinity* to be eternal, yet they discover a god in every thing."

I quote these words as furnishing important testimony on the point now under discussion, and also to afford me an opportunity of commenting on Dr. Medhurst's observations on my quoting from the "State and Prospects" in my Essay. Dr. Medhurst had been a student of the Chinese language for twenty years, and was justly considered an excellent Chinese scholar at the time that work was written. There could be surely therefore no impropriety in quoting from such a work. The fact that it was written as Dr. M. alleges, in a popular style, has nothing to do with the object for which it was quoted, which was, to show that the Chinese were polytheists and that they did not know any being who is truly and properly God. These are *facts*, which one narrates according to the best of his knowledge and belief, whether he writes in a philosophical, or easy flowing popular style. Had I quoted this work, on any nice point of Chinese criticism, some complaint might have been made, but as it is, we think



Dr. M's complaint wholly gratuitous. My quoting all Dr. Medhurst's Dictionaries against him has been thought by some, I have been told, an unjustifiable *ad hominem* method of arguing; the reason for doing so I have distinctly stated in my Essay. Dr. Medhurst has a great peculiarity for a controversial writer, in not referring to his past writings, however much he may contradict what he has written before on the same subject. Of this he has given many instances since this controversy commenced. His Dictionaries, as I showed in my Essay, all render *shin*, a god. In a communication addressed to the editor of the Chinese Repository, dated Shanghai Sept. 14th 1846. (Vol. XVI, p. 34) he writes, "You may say — 個 神 but that means a god, not the one God. *Shin* means without doubt the gods, or the beings of the invisible world, and not God, the only living and true Jehovah, who made all things." In his "Theology of the Chinese", written immediately afterwards, he renders *shin* always spirit,—not god, denies that it means god, and yet does not refer to either his Dictionaries or this letter, or inform his readers in any way, that he had formerly, yea, so very recently held the opinion he was opposing; nor does he condescend to mention a single reason for his change of views. This was the reason, to inform those who had to study this controversy, of this important fact, why I thought it incumbent on me to quote his dictionaries and other writings. If Dr. Medhurst had made his readers acquainted with these facts, I should have been very glad to have been spared the task of doing so; the facts I thought then, and still think, too important to the interests of truth, to be unknown. Dr. Medhurst, I fancy, both thought and wrote much more dispassionately on this subject fifteen years ago, than when penning his "Theology of the Chinese," and his "Inquiry." He was then shocked with the Chinese materialism, and found the Confucianists, and all the other sects, without a first cause, and counting no divinity eternal. In his "Theology of the Chinese" at p. 82 et seq., because he finds the primordial substance which dividing itself into its purer and grosser parts produced heaven and earth, called "the 太一, supreme one, and the great extreme, which including three, consists of one," i. e. Heaven, earth and man, which make one universe, he rejoices "that the Divine Being has not left himself without a witness in this dark land? thinks the Chinese must have derived these ideas by traditional knowledge from the sons of Noah, and remarks that the phrase "including three consists of one" seems to bear some allusion to the mysterious Doctrine of the 'Trinity, which may have been derived by tradition from the Patriarchal age" He afterwards doubts the cor-

rectness of this hypothesis, but could not bring himself to blot out what he had written. The extreme improbability, that the Patriarchs were acquainted with the mysterious mode of subsistence of the Divine Being, we should suppose would have deterred any one from regarding such a supposition; but Dr. Medhurst was at that time carried away with the idea of proving that *Shàngti* was the true God. Most persons will, I think, agree with me, that if the Chinese in their high antiquity really derived a knowledge of the doctrine of the Trinity by tradition from the Patriarchs, they must have had a much better and fuller tradition of what the faith of the Patriarchs was than we have in the Bible, for certainly no man can deduce the doctrine of the Trinity from the Pentateuch, or shew from it that the Patriarchs held this doctrine. We think this a striking instance to show the importance of our being acquainted with the mood in which Dr. Medhurst is, and the point he is proposing to prove at the time he is writing, to enable us to form a just estimate of the value of any opinion advanced by him. We have in this instance a clear statement of the very materialism which shocked Dr. Medhurst when he wrote his "State and Prospects of China." In the passage quoted by Dr. M. from the *Li Ki*, or Book of Rites, the *k'i* 氣, primordial substance, is considered as the great extreme, or first principle, instead of *Li* 理, which is frequently, perhaps most frequently, so regarded; and yet Dr. Medhurst rejoices at the knowledge of God there displayed.

The difficulties in the way of regarding the Chinese *Shàngti* as entitled to be called God (*proprié*) are, to my mind insuperable.

1st. I have never seen any *assertion*, produced from any Chinese writer, that states his self-existence from eternity. Dr. Medhurst admits in his "Inquiry" p. 5, that he has never found such a passage, but seeks to do away with the effects of this fatal admission on *Shàngti's* claim to be regarded as truly and properly God, by adding that "we nowhere meet with a single passage which speaks of his origin." But this surely is not enough. Self-existence from eternity is not such a matter-of-course appendage to a Ruler, that it must, if writers only keep silence about it, be inferred. This is an inadmissible escape from the proof manifestly demanded of a point essential to the support of the cause of *Shàngti*. It amounts to this, nobody has predicated this of *Shàngti*, therefore we will infer it; or in other words, as the point is essential to us, we will beg the question. But to this we can not consent. The Chinese may never have conceived of, or spoken of any being or thing as existing from eternity, in which case the inference would be against the supposition that they regarded *Shàngti*

as self-existent from eternity. Or, they may have conceived of, and spoken of, eternally existing principles, and not mentioned *Shángti* among them; in which case the inference against *Shángti's* self-existence from eternity would be ten-fold stronger. This last is the fact; the Chinese have speculated about eternally-existing first principles, but *Shángti* is not mentioned among them. These principles are *táu* 道 and *li* 理, which are the same, i. e. the primitive Reason, destiny-fate, "which neither wills nor wishes, plans nor makes," and *K'i* 氣, the primordial substance, which "can settle and collect together, make and do."

2d. In regard to the making of the heavens and the earth, Chinese writers are not silent. They do not regard heaven and earth as eternal; they are made, and made in time; but *Shángti* had nothing to do with the making of them. Take as an instance the account given in the 49th section of *Chúfútsz's* Entire Works, of the making of heaven and earth. The eternally-existing principles are *Li* 理 and *K'i* 氣. He sometimes calls *Li* the *T'ai kih*, Great Extreme, and sometimes *K'i*.

"*Li* neither wishes nor plans nor does, 理却無情意無計度無造作; "it is without form or trace, it can not make or do any thing"; 無形迹他却不會造作; but *K'i* 氣 he affirms, as I said above, "Can settle and collect together, make and do." "*K'i* can ferment and settle and generate things." 氣則能醞釀凝聚生物也. The *K'i* or primordial substance he views under the two aspects of *Yin* and *Yang*, i. e. as passive or active. Of the *Yin k'i*, or primordial substance, which has *vis inertiae*, *Kwei* 鬼 is the *ling* 靈 spirit, or *p'eh* 魄 anima; and of the *Yang k'i* or primordial substance which moves, or is active, *Shin* 神 is the *ling* 靈 spirit, or *hwan* 魂 soul, animus.

From these materials how are heaven and earth made? This primordial substance, so informed by *Shin* and *Kwei*, commenced revolving: but I will give the account of the actual making of the heavens and the earth in *Chúfútsz's* own words, closely rendered. 天地初間只是陰陽之氣這一箇氣運行磨來磨去磨得急了便糲許多渣滓裏面無處出便結成箇地在中央氣之清者便爲天爲日月爲星辰只在外常周環運轉地便在中央不動不是在下 "In the beginning of heaven and earth there only was the *Yin-ed* and *Yang-ed K'i* (i. e. the primordial substance

of which we predicate *yin* and *yáng*, or passivity and activity). This one primordial substance (*k'i*) revolved, grinding round and round. When the grinding became rapid, then was pressed together much sediment: in the inside, there being no place for it to get out, it was collected together, and became the earth in the centre. The finer part of the primordial substance then became the heavens, and the sun, moon and stars, which externally around (i. e. the earth) constantly revolved. The earth is in the middle at rest; it is not below."

This scheme of the generation of all things is by no means peculiar to *Chú-fútsz'*; he derives it from the *Yih King*, the source from which all the literati derive their views on this subject, and who do not therefore differ much from *Chú-fútsz'* in their interpretation. To show the concurrence of other distinguished Chinese writers in his views of cosmogony, I will quote a few paragraphs from a paper by *Mr. Gutzlaff*, in the *Chinese Repository*, Vol. III., p. 55.

"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, *Yáng* and *Yin*, were called into being, whose continual revolutions produced heaven and earth. For this they are 'without excuse,' though they never read that, 'in the beginning God created the heaven 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 *panteism* of the *Yáng* 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.

"*Hwái Nán-tsz'*, 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, *Yáng*, had been diluted, it formed the heavens. The heavy and thick part 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, *Yáng* and *Yin* were formed. The joint operation of *Yáng* 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 *Yáng*, 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 formed. Heaven was adorned with sun moon and stars; the earth has received rain, rivers, and dust."

"This is perhaps," says Mr. Gutzlaff, "the most rational theory of cosmogony the sages of China have been able to furnish. *The orthodox creed taken from the Yih King, teaches nothing but absurd materialism.* Heaven operates, Earth produces, and all things come into existence, &c. Sz'tsz' tell 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 *Wu-yun Lih-nien ki* 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 first born was Pwánkú. At the approach of death, his body was transformed: his breath was changed into winds 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, herbs 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."

These several schemes will be found to vary considerably from each other in details; but they, and all the schemes of cosmogony I have ever seen from the pen of Chinese writers, agree in being entirely godless. No "conscious mind, itself self-existent," creating the primary matter, or even out of chaotic matter, producing order by the formation of the heavens and the earth. The following short expression of the doctrine of the Yih King is that in which probably all the literati would agree. It is from the 49th section of Chú-fútsz's entire works.

"All things, the four seasons and the five elements, come only from the Great Extreme (*t'ai kih*). The Great Extreme is the primordial substance (*k'i*) which, moving along, divided and made two *k'i*; that which in itself has motion is the *Yang*, and that which had rest, or *is inertia*, is the *Yin*. It (the *k'i*) divided and made the five elements. It also further divided and made all things."

萬物四時五行只是從那太極中來太極只是一箇氣迤邐分做兩個氣裏面動底是陽靜底是陰又分做五氣又散爲萬物。

This is the same scheme of making all things, as that referred to in the *Li Ki*, quoted by Dr Medhurst and commented on just above. If this be the doctrine of "the learned" on this subject, they must be ignorant of the true God, for if *Shángti* stood quietly by and permitted the *Yin* and *Yang* to grind on until heaven and earth and all things were made, we can not regard him as God (*propriè*): and if he did not exist at that time as an idle spectator, he is not self-existent from eternity; and this is equally fatal to his claim to be regarded as truly and

properly God. If the Chinese were entirely silent about the making of heaven and earth, and clearly asserted *Shángti's* self-existence from eternity, it might with some more show of propriety be inferred that he who rules over all things, must have made all things—heaven and earth included in these 'all things'—but it would have been a mere inference carrying no conviction along with it; but as the case is, there is no room left for such an inference: *Shángti* is not mentioned among the eternally-existing principles that are spoken of, and the making of the heavens and the earth is assigned to the *Yin Yáng chí K'i* 陰陽之氣 the primordial substance of which *Yin* and *Yáng* are predicated.

If it be asked, why does not the cosmogony of Confucius in the *Yih King*, that of *Chú-fútsz'*, and of all the Confucianists ascribe the making of heaven and earth to *Shángti*, I answer, the reason is, I fancy, that they so identify heaven and earth with *Shángti*, in their minds, that it would be to them like making a being the cause of itself; and as they never regarded heaven as eternally existent, and looked upon *Shángti* and Heaven as the same being, they never conceived of *Shángti* as self-existent. Whether this be the reason or not, it seems certain that none of them ascribe the making of the heavens and the earth to *Shángti*. I can not believe in the existence of a traditional knowledge of God among a people, who had forgotten this fundamental fact, that God was their Creator—at least their Maker, and that of the world they live in. If *Shángti* is neither self-existent, nor eternal, nor the maker of the heavens and the earth, what then, it will be asked, is asserted of him, on which his claim to be considered as truly and properly God is founded?

The first sentence quoted by Dr. Legge is, "The majestic God (*Shángti*) conferred the just medium of perfect virtue on the lower people." In this whole investigation nothing is more puzzling than the predicating words which indicate intellectual and moral qualities of things which we regard as devoid of both: from our habits of thought and modes of expression, we can scarcely avoid regarding the names of the things which have such qualities predicated of them metaphorically, while the Chinese on the contrary feel no difficulty at all, and use them in their strict and appropriate sense. Take, for instance, the words just quoted, "the just medium of perfect virtue:" this, in Chinese, is called the *wú cháng* 五常, five cardinal virtues, which are given as follows: *jin*, 仁, *í*, 義, *chí*, 禮, *sin*, 智, *shín*, 信 viz., benevolence, rectitude, propriety, wisdom, and fidelity. From these five cardinal virtues, both men and things, *jin iuh*, 人物

obtain at their generation *sang* 生, and these constitute their *sing* 性, nature, and this *sing* 性 is explained to be *li* 理, which is one of the two eternally-existent principles, out of which heaven, earth, men, and all things were made. We have seen from M. Visdelou above, that these five cardinal virtues are derived from the five elements, viz, wood, metal, &c. What a strange mixture have we here! Things (*wu*) have by nature, benevolence, rectitude, propriety, wisdom and fidelity, and these moral qualities are derived from wood, metal, &c.

In the *Yih King* the matter is thus stated: "One *Yin* and one *Yang* is called *táu* 道; the connection of these two constitutes goodness; the perfection of them constitutes *sing* 性, nature."

Of these terms, the commentators give the following explanation: "The ceaseless revolutions of the *Yin* and *Yang* refer to the *k'i*," the primary air of M. Visdelou, and what we have rendered above, *primordial substance*.

The (*h*) order in which these revolve, or fate which determines their revolutions—is called *Tau*, the primitive Reason of M. Visdelou. Another writer says, "*Tiu* has no voice nor form, and is invisible; that by which men act is *Táu*, Reason. One *Yin* and one *Yang* are the *Táu* of heaven and earth; things (*wu*) are by this generated, (*sang* 生 (and perfected)."

"The word "goodness" in the phrase, "the connection of these constitutes goodness," is explained to be the work of transforming and nourishing things, "which is the business of the *Yang*, the moving or active primordial substance."

The word *sing* 性 nature, is thus explained: 性謂物之所受。言物生則有性，而各具是道也。陰之事也。 "Nature means that which things (men included) receive. It means that when things are *生 sang*, generated, they have *sing*, nature, and that each thing is so arranged, is owing to *Táu*, and is the business of the *Yin*, the non-moving, or passive primordial substance." This *sing*, nature, is also explained by the character 理 *li*. Put all together, and it amounts to this: men and things obtain 氣 *k'i*, and thus they have 形 *hing*, form; they obtain *li*, and thus they have 性 *sing*, nature.

The great question is, what sets this primary substance, *k'i*, in motion? If you answer *T'ai kih*, then what is *T'ai kih*? *T'ai kih* is *Li*, *T'ai kih* is *Tau*, *T'ai kih* is *Ki*: A most vicious circle, from which there is no escape.

If you say, "Heaven confers this nature," the 天命, the celestial decree is merely *lí* or *táu*. If you say, *Shángtí* confers this nature, *Shángtí* is Heaven, and so you run round the circle again. No wonder that Dr. Medhurst found himself "baffled by the very incoherent manner in which they express themselves, and shocked at the propensity to materialism which they constantly exhibit."\*

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\* I shall throw together in a note here the proofs of all I have advanced in the text, and give the Chinese characters along with the translation. These extracts are all from the 49th section of Chü-fútsz's works, the whole of which section is devoted to the consideration of *Lí* and *Kí*.

1. "This Great Extreme is merely *Lí*, the principle of order." 太極只是一箇理字。

2. "This character *táu* 道 is the Great Extreme of the Yih King, or Book of Diagrams. One is the odd number, and belongs to the active primordial substance (*yáng*); two is the even number, and belongs to the passive primordial substance (*yin*); three is the odd number and even, added together. When it is said two produced (*sang* 生) three, it means that two and one make three. If we merely consider *one* as the Great Extreme, there is no need to say further that Reason (*Táu*) produced one." This puts an extinguisher upon the idea of a first Cause in the Yih King: 此道字即易之太極。一乃陽數奇。二乃陰數之偶。三乃奇偶之積。其曰二生三者。猶所謂二與一爲三也。若直以一爲太極。則不容復言道生一矣。

3. "All things, the four seasons, the five elements, only from the Great Extreme come. The Great Extreme is merely a *Kí*, a primordial substance." 萬物四時五行。則是從那太極中來。太極只是一箇氣。

4. "The Great Extreme is *Lí*—the principle of order; it is the active-passive primordial substance viz., *k'í*." 太極理也動靜氣也。

5. "The Great Extreme is not a separate individual thing; if we speak of it with respect to the Yin-yáng—active-passive primordial substance, then it is in the Yin-yáng; if with respect to the five elements, it is in the five elements; if with respect to all things, then it is in all things; it is merely a *Lí* principle of order (i. e. inherent in all things.) Because it goes to the extreme (of everything of which it is predicated), it is called *Tai k'í*, the Great Extreme." This excludes all idea of its being a first cause distinct from *Lí* and *Kí*.

太極非是別爲一物。即陰陽而在陰陽。即五行而在五行。即萬物而在萬物。只是一箇理而已。因其極至。故名曰太極。



From the inability to produce any proof that *T'ien*, or *Shángti*, produced the heavens and the earth, recourse is had to passages where heaven is said to generate all things, and "all things are said to come from *Shángti*, as men from their parents." But the Chinese phrase here used, 萬物 *wán wù*, never includes, according to the

6. "Should any one ask an explanation of the assertion that the principle of order (*li*) exists first, and the primordial substance (*ki*) afterwards; I answer there is no need to speak thus: but now that we know they are united, whether the *Li* was first, and afterwards the *Ki*, or the *Li* afterwards, and *Ki* first, all this is a matter into which we can not search; but should we endeavor to form some idea of it, then we may suppose that (*ki*) the primordial substance relies upon (*li*) the principle of order, when it acts, so that whenever the primordial substance is collected, there (*li*) the principle of order is present: for the primordial substance (*ki*) can coagulate and collect, act and make, but the principle of order (*li*) neither wishes, nor plans, nor does; but where the primordial substance (*ki*) coagulates and collects, the (*li*) principle of order is in it. Just as between heaven and earth (i. e. in the world), men and things, grass, trees, birds, and beasts, in their generation (生 *sang*) all of them require a seed, and certainly there can not without a seed (*omnia ex ovo?*) from nothing be generated a single thing; this is (illustrates) the primordial substance (*ki*), i. e. the *ki* performs the part of the seed. "With respect to the principle of order (*li*), it is a pure, empty, wide world, without form or trace, it can not make or do anything; but the primordial substance can ferment and settle and generate things."

問先有理後有氣之說。曰。不消如此說。而今知得他合下是先有理。後有氣耶。後有理。先有氣耶。皆不可得而推究。然以意度之。則疑此氣是依傍這理行。及此氣之聚。則理亦在焉。蓋氣則能凝結造作。理却無情意。無計度。無造作。只此氣凝聚處。理便在其中。且如天地閒人物草木禽獸。其生也莫不有種。定不會無種了。白地生出一箇物事。這箇都是氣。若理。則只是個潔淨空濶底世界。無形迹。他却不會造作。氣則能醞釀凝聚生物也。

7. "With respect to the constitution of man, his *li* (i. e. the principle, or law of order which determines his form, constitution, &c.), is the principle of order (*li*) of heaven and earth; and his *ki* (i. e. the primordial substance of which his body, soul and anima—the whole man is made), is the primordial substance (*ki*) of which heaven and earth are made. The *li* (inherent principle of order) has no trace and is invisible; we must therefore look for it in the *ki*—primordial substance. In the world we have both the principle (law) of order (*li*), and the primordial and substance (*ki*). The principle of order (*li*) is the [primitive] Reason (*t'au*) which is inherent in material bodies, and is the root of

*usus loquendi* of Chinese writers, the heavens and the earth; and this 1st, because 天地萬物 *t'ien ti wán wuh* is used as a periphrasis for the universe, but 2d, and still more conclusively, because the generation of all things, 生萬物 *shung wán wuh* is throughout the *Yih King* and all the Confucian classics, constantly referred to 天地

their generation (or the principle from which they emanate). The primordial substance (*kt*) is the material—the substance out of which things are generated. Hence, when men and things are generated, they must receive this *kt*, (emanation from the primitive Reason), and then they have 性 *shing*, nature; they must receive this *kt* (primordial substance), then they have 形 *shing* form."

人之所以爲人。其理則天地之理。其氣則天地之氣。理無迹不可見。故於氣觀之。天地之間。有理有氣。理也者。形而上之道也。生物之本也。氣也者。形而下之器也。生物之具也。是以人物之生。必稟此理。然後有性。必稟此氣。然後有形。

8. "That which is called the Great Extreme is only in the Yin-yáng. And what is called the Yin-yáng—active-passive primordial substance—is only in the Great Extreme. What people at present say, about there being, above the Yin-yáng, a separate, incorporeal, shadowless thing, which is the Great Extreme, is incorrect." 所謂太極者。便只在陰陽裏。所謂陰陽者。便只在太極裏。今人說是陰陽上。別有一箇無形無影裏。是太極非也。

9. "The meaning of the Great Extreme just is, the extreme point of the principle (law) of order (*kt*); having *Lí* you have this thing, i. e. the Yin-yáng; priority or posteriority of order can not be predicated of them (viz. of *Lí*, and the Yin-ed-Yang-ed *Kí*, active-passive primordial substance); therefore we say, that when in the *Yih King* (or Book of Diagrams) we read of the Great Extreme, it means that the Great Extreme is in the midst of the active-passive primordial substance (Yin-yáng); and that it is not exterior to, or separate from the Yin-yáng. Now if we explain it (the Great Extreme) as the Great Centre, or regard it as having existed before heaven and earth, prior to the division of the great expanse, I fear it is not safe. That which is inherent in material bodies we call *Líu*—primitive Reason; the substance out of which things are formed we call *Kí* 器, the material; now to speak of the Great Extreme as Divine (*shin* 神)—or as a Divine thing, or to speak of it as existing before the division of the heaven and the earth, when the primordial substance was all united in one mass; these propositions we also fear have no basis." 太極之義。正謂理之極致耳。有是理即有是物。無先後次序之可言。故曰易有太極。則是太極。乃

*t'ien ti*, heaven and earth; e. g. in the *Yih King* we read, under the 乾 *kien* diagram, 大哉乾元萬物資始 "how great is the originating virtue of heaven; all things receive their commencement from it!" And again, under the 坤 diagram, 至哉坤元萬物資生 "how great is the originating virtue of earth; all things receive their birth (or consummation) from it!" On these two sentences, M. Visdelou thus remarks: "Hence it is that Heaven is called by the Chinese the Father of all things, who gives the commencement to all;

在陰陽之中。而非在陰陽之外也。今以大中訓之。又以乾坤未判。大衍未分之時論之。恐未安也。形而上者謂之道。形而下者謂之器。今論太極。而曰其物謂之神。又以天地未分元氣合而爲一者言之。亦恐未安也。

10. "If it be inquired what is meant when we read in the Book of Records, such sentences as the following, viz. that *Shangti confers the virtuous nature on the people*; that 'Heaven is about to impose great duties on man'; that, 'Heaven to protect the people makes for them princes'; that, 'Heaven having produced things treats them according to their capacity'; that, 'upon those who do good it sends down a hundred felicities, and upon those who do ill it sends down a hundred calamities'; that, 'when Heaven is about to send down some uncommon calamity, it first produces an uncommon man to determine it': in expressions of this kind, is it meant that above the azure heavens, there really is a Ruler who acts thus? or is it that Heaven has no mind? (i. e. no controlling mind so that things happen by chance?) or is it merely, if we seek the origin (or cause) that according to the principle (law) of order (*li*) is this? I answer, these three points have but one meaning, viz., according to the principle of order (*li*) i. e. the eternal fitness of things—destiny, fate—it is thus. In the revolutions of the primordial substance hitherto, fulness has always been succeeded by decline, and after a period of decline there has been one of fulness, just as if things were caused to go round in a circle. There never has been a period of decline that was not followed by one of fulness."

問上帝降衷於民。天將降大任於人。天祐民。作之君。天生物因其材而篤。作善降之百祥。作不善降之百殃。天將降非常之禍於此世。必預出非常之人以擬之。凡此等類。是蒼蒼在上者。真有主宰如是耶。抑夫無心。只是推原其理如此。曰此三段。只一意。這箇也只是理如此。氣運從來一盛了又一衰。一衰了。又一盛。只管恁地循環去。無有衰而不盛者。

and that the earth is named the Mother, who nourishes, nurses, perfects and consummates all things. However they can not be either the one or the other, the *alone*, or the first principle of all things; and besides, as we have already said, the absolute first principle is the grand summit, *t'ai-kih*, which generated the heavens and the earth. In the table of *Fuh-hi*, there is no mention in any part of it of a first principle of all things; nevertheless, many interpreters formerly took heaven for the grand summit, *t'ai kih*, and especially its virtue *kien* 乾; no doubt, because heaven is the most grand, most *elevated of all bodies*, and because in it the power and splendor of the first principle most shines forth."

"Heaven and earth unite, and 萬物 *wán wuh*, all things are produced." "Heaven and earth nourish 養 *yáng*, all things 萬物 *wán wuh*." "Heaven and earth exert their influences, and all things 萬物 *wán wuh*, are generated." "First, you have heaven and earth, and then all things are generated, 萬物生 *wán wuh sang*." "Heaven and earth are the Father and Mother of all things 天地 萬物之父母." We must not suppose that heaven and earth are here used merely by metonymy for the producing power, because each does its part. We read 天一生水 *t'ien yih sang shuoi* "heaven is one, and generated water; earth is two 地二生火 and generated fire. We also meet with the phrase 天地以生物爲心 "the heart (wish or disposition) of heaven and earth is to generate things." This is one of the instances in which we are quite thrown out by what I mentioned above—the predicating intellectual and moral qualities of material, physical objects. The first thought on reading this sentence is, that the words *heaven* and *earth* must be understood metaphorically; but if we will take the trouble to look up the native comment, we shall find that the expression is resolved into the famous word *li* 理: *e. g.* *Chú-fútsz'* gives the following explanation of the 天地之心, the heart of heaven and earth. 問天地之心。天地之理。理是道理。心是主宰。底意否。曰心固是主宰底意。然所謂主宰者。即是理也。不是心外別有個理。理外別有個心。 "Should any one ask whether in the phrases, the 'heart of heaven and earth,' and 'the (*li*) principle of order of heaven and earth,' if the character *li* does not mean *táu li*, principle, and *sin*, heart, mean Ruler; I answer, heart certainly has the meaning of Ruler, but what we call

Ruler, is just this *li*, i. e. the principle of order; it is not, that besides the heart there is this *li*, principle of order, or besides this *li*, principle of order, there is a heart."

And so in the *Yih King*, when we read that 夫大人者與天地合其德 "the great man with heaven and earth unites his virtue," we fancy heaven and earth must be used metaphorically, but the word "天 *t'ien* heaven," in the phrase "heaven and earth" refers, the commentator expressly tells us, "to its form and substance." He also says, the virtue in which heaven and earth and the great man unite, is *T'au*.

The generation of all things is also ascribed to the *yin* and *yáng*, to the 二氣 *urh k'i*, the two primordial substances, which are the same as the *yin* and *yáng*, and to the 五行 *wu hing*, the five elements. While the generation of all things is thus ascribed to so many different agents, the generating of the heavens and the earth is never ascribed to *Shángti*. This generation however is ascribed to *Yin Yáng chí k'i*; as for instance in the following 天地但陰陽之物。依舊是陰陽之氣所生也。 "Heaven and earth are only a thing or creature of the *Yin* and *Yáng*; they are what the *Yin*-ed and *Yáng*-ed *k'i*, (i. e. the primordial substance of which we predicate *Yin* and *Yáng*, activity and passivity) generated of old."

To pursue this argument from the Chinese cosmogony any farther, we think useless. What Cudworth maintains is necessary to constitute imperfect theism, is certainly the minimum that we could consent, should be used as a test to prove whether *Shángti* is truly and properly God or not. That he can meet the requirements of this test is not pretended on *Shángti's* behalf by Dr. Medhurst, as we have seen, and I am persuaded can not be shown from the Chinese classics by any one. So far from proving *Shángti* to be God (*propriè*) he can not, judging from all that is predicated of him, (as far as I am informed,) be shown to be even a Demiurge. And to this assertion I beg to call Dr. Legge's attention particularly.

If Dr. Legge gives up the point of *Shángti's* self-existence from eternity, he can not abandon that of his having made the heavens and the earth, and still maintain that he is "God over all, blessed for ever," without the greatest inconsistency. This last point he must prove, for, if he fails to make it good, we must regard *Shángti* as one of those gods, whose doom was long ago announced by the prophet: "The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, even they shall perish from the earth, and from under these heavens." Jer. x. 11.

Before taking our leave of this point, I can not refrain from quoting some excellent advice which M. Visdelou gives to those who maintain that the Chinese are worshipers of the true God. He says:—

“The Chinese are certainly in advance of other nations in the care and accuracy with which they have written their histories. Besides what we call history in general, they write also particular historical accounts of all things, amongst which religion holds the chief place.

“Each dynasty possesses a history of its religion. Thus it will not be difficult, instead of vainly disputing about their canonical books and about detached portions of passages, to gather from history, a decided opinion concerning the religion of each dynasty, and finally to decide if the religion of the Chinese be the religion of the true God.”

If we act on this suggestion of M. Visdelou, and test *Shángti's* claim to be regarded as the true God by the historical account of the religious worship of each dynasty, the conviction produced on our minds that “the *Shángti* of the Chinese people” is not the Being we call God, is as decided as that derived from a consideration of their cosmogony. For an account of the objects worshiped in the *Chau* dynasty B.C. 1100, I must beg leave to refer the reader to my “Essay,” in Vol. XVII, pp., 30, 31, 48, 49, 50.

In his “Inquiry,” Vol. XVII, p. 175, Dr. Medhurst gives the following account of the worship of the present dynasty: “At the great sacrifice by the rulers of the present dynasty, at the period of the winter solstice, an altar is elevated at the southern side of the Capital, of a round form, three stories high, the top of which, or the principal place of honor, is intended for the shrine of *Shángti* or *Ti*; having the shrines of the Imperial Ancestors arranged on the right and left hand; while those of the attendant *shin*, such as the spirits presiding over the sun, moon and stars, clouds, wind and rain, are placed on the second story, and are honored with medium sacrifices. When the sacrifice is to take place, the shrine of *Shángti* is escorted to the high altar; and while the fumes of incense are ascending, the emperor greets the approach of the *shin* or spirit of *Ti*; after which he ascends the steps, and in the presence of *Shángti* and of the imperial ancestors, offers incense with three kneelings and nine prostrations: this done, he goes towards the shrine of the imperial ancestors, arranged on each side of the high altar, and offers incense with three kneelings and nine prostrations. The same ceremonies are gone through with regard to the offerings, which are first presented before the shrine of *Shángti*, and then before those dedicated to the Imperial Ancestors. When the service is completed, the spirit of *Ti* is escorted on its departure by music, and the shrine conducted to the temple, where it is deposited as before.”

It will be observed here, that the respect shown to the imperial ancestors is as great as that shown to *Shángti*, nothing but precedence being given to him. They are elevated to the same height, and they, as well as *Shángti*, have incense offered to them, and are saluted with "three kneelings and nine prostrations." If [the emperor had any, even the slightest, knowledge of the self-existent Being who is "God over all," could he thus elevate his deceased ancestors, the mere creatures of this Being, to equal rank and honors with him ?

To illustrate further the Chinese worship, we refer also to a paper on "the State Religion of China" from the pen of Dr. Morrison. This paper was communicated by him to the Chinese Repository in 1834, after he had enjoyed intimate intercourse with the Chinese people and the officers of government for twenty-six or seven years.

"The Chinese have no generic name for religion. The word *kiau*, which means to teach, or the things taught, doctrine or instruction, is indeed applied by them to the religious sects of Táu and Budha, as well as to the ethical sect of Confucius. 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 of Peking and by the Provincial governments is contained in the code of laws called *Tá-ling Hwei-tien* and in the *Tá-ling Liuh-li* under the head *li*, rules of propriety and decorum, or rites and ceremonies, and in the subordinate division *tsi-sz'*, sacrifices and offerings. From these two works we shall briefly specify; 1st, the persons or things to whom these sacrifices are presented, or the objects of governmental worship; 2d, the ministers or priests who offer these sacrifices, and the preparation required of them for the performance of this religious service; 3d, the sacrifices and offerings, the times of presenting them and the ceremonies accompanying them; and 4th, the penalties for informality, or defective performance of the state religion."

"First, we are to speak concerning the objects of worship, or 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 *tái sz'*, or great sacrifices; second, the *chung sz'*, or medium sacrifices; and third, the *siáu sz'*, or little sacrifices. These last are also denominated *kiau sz'*, the crowd or herd of sacrifices; the word *kiau*, 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. *T'ien*, the heavens or sky. This object of worship is otherwise called the azure heavens; and *hwáng k'ung yü*, 'the imperial concave expanse.'

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

3. *T'ai miáu* '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, *t'ien*, *ti*, *t'ai miáu*, 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 of equal 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. *Shí tsih*, the gods of the land and grain; these are the special patrons of each existing dynasty, and generally located in the fourth place.

5. *Jih*, the sun, called also *tá ming*, the great light.

6. *Yueh*, the moon, called also *yé ming*, the night light.

7. *Tsien tsi tí wáng*, the manes of the emperors and kings of former ages.

8. *Sien sz' K'ung-tsz'*, the ancient master, Confucius, &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 contemporary 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," *chuh pán*, 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," &c., &c.

"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 regular 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 *pái* 拜, *kwei* 跪, *k'au* 叩. 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 *k'au* or the *pái*, i. e. the knocking or the bowing, seems to make a material, or rather a *feeling* difference in the estimation of his Majesty." See *Chinese Repository*, Vol. III, p. 49.

To show that the view expressed by Dr. Morrison is not peculiar to him, we shall quote again from M. Visdelou. "The Chinese philosophers," he says, "speak of revering Heaven, but they understand by



Heaven, Reason; *not that which belongs to man, and which is but the effect of that, but the primitive, which is the first principle and the necessary cause of all things.* To respect this Reason, is to follow it; just as we respect fate (*le destin*), not by prayers and honors, but by submitting ourselves to its laws. Fate (*sc. 天理*) say they, is marked out by Heaven; i. e. by the primitive Reason (*sc. 天道*), which is the first principle of all things. In truth it (Reason) acts blindly; but the same necessity which renders it blind, renders it also infallible. It is *it* which is fate, inasmuch as *it* acts necessarily. This is the doctrine which the Missionaries (of the Church of Rome) have called the atheo-political." In his account of the state religion, he specifies the objects of worship as follows:—

"It is well here to observe, that the religion of the philosophical sect of China (i. e. the Confucian, or state religion) does not exclude sacrifices, which on the contrary are quite numerous. To speak here only of the principal or Imperial sacrifices, there is one for Heaven (*le Ciel*), for the Earth, and the ancestors of the emperors; for the tutelary spirit (*Shin*) or Genius of arable lands, and for the tutelary Genius (*Shin*) of the grains of the empire; these are sacrificed to at the same time. There are also sacrifices for the five principal mountains of the empire; for the five tutelary mountains, for the four seas, and the four rivers. They sacrifice at the sepulchres of the illustrious emperors of past dynasties, and at the temple dedicated to Confucius in the place of his birth, and to other sages and heroes. All these sacrifices are made by the emperor himself, or by his orders. Moreover when the emperor is about to march himself on any military expedition, he sacrifices to the spirit (*shin*) of the standards, and they stain the standards and drums with the blood of the victims."

No one, from this account of the state religion of China, as given by Dr. Morrison and M. Visdelou, can make out that the Chinese are worshippers of the true God; nor, we should think, after reading it, could resist the impression, that his imperial Majesty and those who join with him in this worship, are wholly ignorant of the being we Christians call God.

But, it is said, in high antiquity, the Chinese had much more knowledge of God than they have at present. Of this assertion I have never seen any proof produced from the ancient books that have come down to us. We have already seen what is to be found in the Yih King, which treats of physics and metaphysics, on this subject. Its uniform doctrine is, that heaven and earth generated all things; I say 'uniform doctrine,' for in the sentence quoted from

the 5th chapter of the 4th section of the Book of Diagrams, "The 帝 [Supreme] Ruler [causes things to] issue forth under the *Chin* Diagram (See Dr. Medhurst's "Theology of the Chinese," p. 234), the words "Supreme" and "causes things to" are added by the translator. The text should be translated, "The Ruler issues forth under the *Chin* diagram," which answers to the commencement of spring. Some interpreters understand the word *Ti* of *Shángti*; but the ancient interpreters, M. Visdelou tells us, understood by it the Emperor Fuh-hí.

If recourse is had to the Shú King 書經, the Historical Classic, for proof of the assertion that, in high antiquity, the Chinese had a purer knowledge of God than they have at present, we shall find the account of what took place on the occasion, when the first religious worship was offered in China, in the Canon of Shun, which is the second book of the Shú King. It reads as follows: "Shun then offered the sacrifice called *lui*, to *Shángti*; he presented a pure offering to the six venerable Ones, he looked with devotion towards the hills and rivers, and glanced around at the host of *Shin*." See Medhurst's Shoo King, p. 17.

What is this sacrifice called *lui*? The word means, to correspond to, and the explanation given of the name is this: "The *kiáu* sacrifice (see Ch. Rep. Vol. XVII. pp 34—42.) was the sacrifice constantly presented to the *expansive heavens*, at the border of the country; but this not being one of the seasons for the regular sacrifice, and there being occasion for a sacrifice to announce to heaven, (Shun's association with Yau on the throne) the ceremonies used were like those of the *kiáu* or border sacrifice; therefore it is called *lui*, a corresponding sacrifice."

Here it will be seen, the Supreme Ruler worshiped is "the expansive heavens," the accustomed sacrifice to which was offered at the winter solstice; which sacrifice, called *kiáu*, is imitated on the occasion of this worship to *Shángti*, who is evidently, merely "the expansive heavens" worshiped under the title of Supreme Ruler. Of this ancient sacrifice called *kiáu*, it may be asked, Was it so set apart to the worship of "the expansive heavens," "the Supreme Ruler," that no other being or thing was ever permitted to share it with him? The answer is, that the expansive heavens, the Supreme Ruler, has never enjoyed among the Chinese from the earliest times, of which their histories inform us, any such *preëminent* distinction. Following out the view presented in the Yih King of Earth's participating with Heaven in generating all things, so that they together became "the

Father and Mother of all things," this highest sacrifice was always offered to Earth as well as to Heaven, the only distinction between them being, that this sacrifice was offered to Earth at the summer solstice and at the northern border of the country, whereas it was offered to Heaven at the winter solstice and southern border of the country. Some greater deference to Heaven is no doubt designed in these slight distinguishing circumstances, but not greater than the Chinese would accord to the father over the mother.

I hope that those who find in the Chinese classics proof that the ancient Chinese knew and worshiped the true God, will produce it. I do not think tradition could have done much for Shun, when he thus worshiped "the expansive heavens," under the title of the Supreme Ruler, and added to this the worship of the six venerable Ones, *i. e.* 1. the four Seasons; 2. Heat and cold; 3. the Sun; 4. the Moon; 5. the Stars; and 6. Drought; and not content with all this Sabianism, descended to earth and worshiped the hills and rivers, and hosts of deceased worthies.

The *onus probandi* is with Dr. Legge, and the nature of the case is such that we are constrained, "for conscience sake," to call upon him to give us the clearest proof, before we can go with him. A mistake here is most fatal. While we have a single doubt that "the *Shàngtí* of the Chinese people" is God, truly and properly God,—the very identical Being we are taught in the Sacred Scriptures to worship—we dare not teach others to worship him. Where love and affiance are due, we must be cautious and jealous; for God is jealous. The wife must have no doubt that "her man" is her husband: if she have the shadow of a doubt, and yet lives with him, she commits adultery. God uses this very relationship to illustrate his own jealousy: we therefore say, "our God," the God we worship, must be Jehovah. If there is a single doubt that "the *Shàngtí* of the Chinese people" is Jehovah—the very same identical Being, and not merely the most like Jehovah of any of the Chinese gods—and we proceed, notwithstanding this doubt, to worship him, we are guilty of spiritual adultery.

We can not but think that Dr. Legge has a very difficult task before him, whether he appeals to the Chinese cosmogony, or the Chinese ritual, to prove that "the *Shàngtí* of the Chinese classics and the *Shàngtí* of the Chinese people is God over all blessed for ever." But if Dr. Legge should succeed in proving to our satisfaction that the being whom the Chinese designate by the phrase *Shàngtí* is to be regarded as truly and properly God, I would still object to the use of this phrase to render Elohim and Theos.

1st. Because *T'ien* 天, not *Shángti*, is the absolute term by which the Chinese designate this Being, "as a whole and without reference to anything of which it is a part;" while *Shángti* is merely one of the titles of *T'ien*, which expresses only one single, definite relation that *T'ien* bears to men and all things. This title is therefore unsuitable for rendering *Elohim* and *Theos*, because we must use the word by which they are rendered, to speak of Jehovah as he exists in and of himself—*e. g.* when it is used to speak of his nature, his existence from eternity before there were any creatures to stand in any relation to him, or to express the doctrine of the Trinity; and also, because the Being we call God sustains not one merely, but many relations to us, and therefore the word by which we render *Elohim* should be an absolute term—the name of the Being viewed as a whole—and not a relative term, which can suggest only one relationship.

2d. Because *Shángti* is a compound term, consisting of an adjective "Supreme," and a noun "Ruler," and we want a simple, uncompounded word—*God*. These points will be best discussed under propositions *b.* and *c.*

(To be continued.)

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ART. II. *Notices of Coal in China.* By D. J. MACGOWAN, M. D.,  
Cor. Mem. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

COAL deposits exist to a greater or less extent throughout the different mountain ranges which girt the great Plain of China. On its northern boundary this mineral is met with in numerous localities, on the Celestial Mountains, on the Mongolian steppes, and various offsets of the Altai range, the most productive of which are in Shingking and Shánsí. There are several smaller deposits in Chihlí and Corea. Unskillful mining, and the want of suitable means of transport, enhance the cost of the mineral, and limit its consumption. Except for culinary and manufacturing purposes, it is little used, the inhabitants trusting to furs and skins for protection from the extreme rigor of their winters.

The best coal brought to the Capital, is from Pingting chau in Shín-sí. Anthracite of good quality is brought from Káchau in Lí'utung. Chinese cosmogonists, drawing on mythology, gravely state, that in one of the Pingting mines the furnace still exists, in which Niúkwá fused stones for repairing holes in the heavens, and that it is the original

of furnaces now in use. Those deposits which have been mined for the longest period, with which we are best acquainted, and are the most productive, lie in the middle and southern parts of the empire.

That branch of the Himalayan range, known as the Yun-ling, forming the prominent topographical feature of the provinces of Sz'chuen, Yunnán, Kweichau, Húnán, Kwángtung, Fuhkien, Kiángsí, and Chehkiáng, has the carboniferous system superimposed on a granitic base through a great part of its extent, in numerous sections of which the coal measures exist, generally interstratified with beds of slaty clay and limestone. Those best known lie in the basin of the Kán in Kiángsí, reposing on old red sandstone and gray compact limestone, in close connection with deposits of iron ore. Those in the valleys of the Siáng, T'sz', and Yuen in Húnán, the western slope of the terminal ridges of the Yun-ling in Chehkiáng, at the sources of the Tsientáng, and the southern aspect of the same range in Kwángtung at Nánhiung, all present analogous geological relations. This vast carboniferous tract appears to be continuous in a measure, with that of Assam and Burmah.

The coal most in demand in central China is called "the Kwang coal." It is brought from various districts in Húnán. Súchau is the entrepôt for all that is consumed in Kiángsí and Chehkiáng. It is black, very compact, specific gravity 1.34, columnar structure, occasionally iridescent, and from the large quantity of carbon it contains is analogous, though inferior to the American anthracite; it burns intensely with a small blue flame, its ashy residuum being of a reddish color. That in use at Shínghái is of this description. It is brought from Súchau, viâ Chapú to Ningpo, where it costs \$12 per ton, about one third more (the dealers say) than at Shínghái. Its consumption is very limited, being almost wholly confined to the manufacture of brass tobacco pipes. The best quality of this coal, that which most resembles anthracite, is well adapted for grates and stoves, being free from fumes of sulphuretted hydrogen, and is more wholesome than the bituminous coal usually imported from Liverpool and Sydney.

Numerous varieties are produced in the province of Kiángsí, slaty, cannel, bituminous, and anthracite. Portions of the latter are sold at Súchau as the *kwáng* coal. A considerable quantity from the mines in Kwángsin is carried over the mountains into the province of Chehkiáng. It is found abundant also in Fungching and Chingkiáng. The proximity of the coal measures in this province to ferruginous ore and lime, facilitates the manufacture of iron. Some of the

mountains which support the subterranean treasures, afford disintegrated granite, of which the celebrated porcelain is fabricated. The furnaces in Kingteh-chin, the great seat of this branch of industry, are chiefly heated by coal procured from adjacent mines. The generic designation for the mineral produced from the Chehkiang mines, is Kiángshán coal, the name of the district in Kúchau fu, in the S.W. part of the province, whence it is chiefly derived. A large quantity however comes from the conterminous districts of Sínán, and Chángshán. The principal mines are at the Wúwei mountain, near Kí-tung, and at the Chenkiá lake in the first named district. There are several varieties, that most valued is termed "wood coal;" it exhibits, where it is laminated with the fibres of the bituminated vegetable, a distinct, bright, conchoidal fracture; at all other points it presents a dull, coarse grained, segregated texture. Specific gravity, 1.29. It burns with some smoke, and cakes; emitting a small quantity of hydrogen gas, leaving light colored ashes. It possesses a much larger proportion of carbon than ordinary bituminous coal, and some specimens compare very favorably with that brought from England, and stored at Ningpo for H. B. M. steamers; yet generally speaking, the coal found on this continent is unfit for the steam engine, that from the islands being better adapted for such purposes. One of the varieties is called *iron coal*; "it is slaty, and can be ignited only with the aid of the bellows; another is the *Barbarian coal*, which burns rapidly, with a large amount of smoke, and resembles brown coal. The peculiar properties of other varieties are designated by their names as "stinking coal," "crackling," and "smoky coal;"—an inferior quality comes from one of the mines, abounding in sulphuretted hydrogen, and closely resembles the coal found near Canton.

The "wood coal" is generally reduced to powder, and formed into cakes with mud, and employed in furnaces for culinary purposes, and in chafing dishes for warming public offices. It is used to some extent by blacksmiths. Coal cakes are much used at Hángchau, in the liquor shops, in order to keep warm rice-whiskey on hand at all hours of the day; and in the tea shops, where boiling water is in constant requisition. The furnaces are certainly primitive, consisting of a few bricks making a close square or circular chamber, generally about four inches in diameter with a small grate below, and inclosed above. When the cakes are perfectly ignited by a few chips, and the smoke ceases to rise, the top is covered over with mud, through which, before drying an orifice is pierced half an inch in diameter. The vessel containing whiskey is then placed over the hole, and is thus kept hot

all day without further care, at a cost of a cent and a half. The same rude apparatus, with slight modifications, is in general use, wherever coal from its proximity is not expensive. Sometimes the brickwork is inclosed in boards, elaborately carved and varnished. Were grates or fireplaces constructed with suitable flues and chimneys, coal would be found a more useful article, be in greater demand, and the mines consequently be better worked. Even the miners find it more convenient and cheaper to burn the shrubs and grass of their sterile hills than the coal they dig from their bowels.

Twenty thousand tons of coals are annually brought from these mines to Hángchau, which at the hills cost \$5.75 per ton; the baskets in which the mineral is packed bring the cost up to \$6.50; and the expense of transportation to Ningpo raises it above \$8 per ton. The annual production and value of the Chehkiang coal mines may be computed with considerable accuracy, and thus afford data for a national estimate, which may be thus given:—

|                                      |                            |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Chehkiang.....                       | 60,000 tons.               |
| Kiángsí.....                         | 160,000 „                  |
| Húnán.....                           | 230,000 „                  |
| Northern Provinces.....              | 280,000 „                  |
| Kwángtung and Western Provinces..... | 100,000 „                  |
|                                      | <u>Total 820,000 tons.</u> |

This portion of the mineral wealth of China may be computed at nearly six millions of dollars. The paucity of the supply is owing not to the poverty of the mines, but chiefly to the want of those facilities for mining, which the steam-engine can alone supply. Mines often, when they become most productive, are suddenly filled with water and rendered useless. In this manner, an immense number of shafts of great extent are unavailable. Provided with the steam-engine and the safety lamp, the Chinese miner could doubtless bring to light inexhaustible supplies of this subterranean treasure.

Chinese miners are extremely poor and rude mountaineers; it is said they often relieve hunger by eating coal, and if it be true, as has been represented, that pigs fatten on this mineral in some western countries, this report respecting Chinese miners is not incredible. For the most part, the mines are worked in horizontal shafts, though pits are sometimes dug. At one period, powdered coal was mixed with flour and the juice of dates, and burned in chafing-dishes for producing a fragrant perfume. For such pastils, charcoal has been substituted. This mineral, the source of so much wealth and power in the West, does not appear to have been known to Europe more than

three hundred years, but Chinese antiquarians refer its use to a remote period in their history. Its utility in the arts has been appreciated at Peking for more than a thousand years, as may be inferred from the encomiums bestowed upon it by a poet of the Sung dynasty, who lauds it as useful in the manufacture of iron implements. A writer in the early part of the seventh century mentions the article. The earliest notice of coal is in the history of the Hán dynasty, B.C. 202 to A.D. 25, where the remark occurs that Kiángsí produced stones, which were used as fuel.

To appreciate rightly the value of these vast coal deposits, extending from Corea to Siam, regard must be had to the increasing commerce of the Pacific, to the revolution which seems on the eve of taking place in the route of communication with western nations, and to the prospective greatness of the Anglo-Saxon states springing into existence on its eastern shores; of their capacity, aided with the appliances of foreign skill and capital to supply all demands which the steam-engine may make upon them, both for manufactures and navigation, there can exist no doubt.

Nor have these primeval forests been stored upon the continent alone; they abound in more accessible situations, isolated, as it were expressly for steam navigation, in the islands of Japan, Formosa, and Borneo. Before the application of steam and coal to navigation, a sceptical philosophy might have questioned the utility of deposits of this mineral in the torrid zone, and immediately under the equator, but the design of the Omniscient Artificer of this beautiful sphere is now obvious, affording another evidence that He left nothing to fortuitous circumstances, and another lesson fraught with instruction for reflective minds. May the name of the immense sheet of water, on whose shores Infinite Beneficence has scattered this mineral, indicate the peaceful purposes of all who traverse it, that both elements may contribute to the diffusion of commerce and civilization in fusing hostile races into a common brotherhood!

Ningpo, February 1st, 1850.

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ART. III. *Men and things in Shànghái: scene changed; the spring propitious; early harvests plentiful; famine and beggary diminished; a forced donation returned; the asylum for outcast children dismantled; unburied coffins; small pox; fever; moat and ditches excavated; smuggling; the opium question; Lord Palmerston's letter. Letter to the Editor from Spectator.*

SIR: Since my last letter to you was written, the scene here has changed not a little,—in some respects for the better, but not in all. During the last two years, over the whole wide and populous plains of Kiángnán, there have been inundation and famine, accompanied by sickness, death, and civil disorders. Last winter formed the crisis in these calamitous events. It was a gloomy winter, a trying season to the Chinese. Badges of mourning were to be seen in almost every family; and then to these were added those of general mourning—first those decreed for the late empress-mother, and then those for H. I. M. The tonsure was interdicted; the theaters were closed; and no voice or instrument of music was heard in the land. Business went on; men bought; they sold; they builded; still everything seemed to drag heavily. But now the scene is changed.

This *spring season* has been most *propitious*. During the successive months of March, April and May, rain and sunshine, heat and cold, were so blended as to give great luxuriance to the whole vegetable kingdom. The droughts and inundations of the two preceding years served in no small degree to give rest and consequent fertility to the soil: this and the “harmony of the elements,” have conspired to gladden the hearts of the husbandmen.

The *early harvests* are all *plentiful*. Fruits, vegetables, wheat, barley, pease, beans, etc., are abundant. The crop of wheat, it is said, will nearly or quite equal the total of the two preceding years. The tea and the mulberry, too, are yielding ample stores for all who are especially interested in those staple productions.

*Famine and beggary have diminished*, and in many places, entirely ceased. The great distress among the people, during last autumn and winter, was not occasioned by an entire absence of sustenance; there was “corn enough” in the land; but quantities of it being hoarded up, the price was beyond the means of multitudes. Consequently, to sustain life, they had no alternative but either to beg or to rob. Some did the one, some the other; and some both robbed and begged, as best suited their taste and circumstances. The government saw and felt the emergency, and acted very promptly, on the one hand taking

all convenient care to afford relief, and on the other to provide against civil disorder. Very stringent measures were adopted to prevent lawless vagabonds from banding together, and giving themselves up to plunder and rapine. Subscriptions were set on foot, and large sums of money collected for the purchase and distribution of food. In taking up these subscriptions, an incident occurred, the like of which I have never before known among the Chinese.

*A forced donation was returned.* The scale of contributions was a very extensive one, the subscriptions varying in amount from a few cash to a few hundreds, or perhaps even thousands, of dollars. The officers of government took the lead, themselves individually first subscribing generously. To encourage rich gentry, the government has a scale of honors, so that any person subscribing to a specified amount becomes thereby entitled to a specific honor. Among those who, under these circumstances, placed their names on the list, and became entitled to tokens of honor, which are conferred by the emperor, were two native gentlemen who signified, I know not in what way, that they made their contributions by constraint. This coming to the ears of the magistrate, he forthwith issued a proclamation, stating the fact as it had been signified by themselves, viz., that they had been forced to subscribe; and thereupon he ordered their money to be returned to them, and their names to be stricken from the list, that the signatures of such base and sordid men might not remain a stigma on the catalogue of the illustrious benefactors which was about to be sent up to the emperor. The efforts made by the Chinese, in various ways during the late famine to relieve the distressed people, present a pleasing feature in their national character. The motive operating, in this case, has been a complex one; and of the two principal ingredients—necessity and benevolence—I am unable to say which, if laid in the balance, would preponderate. With the Chinese, charity begins at home, and as it happens sometimes with more enlightened people, usually ends there.

*The Asylum for outcast children*, mentioned in a former letter, has recently been *dismantled*, and is being converted into storehouses. It has, so far as I can judge, answered well all the purposes for which it was designed; when I last visited it, on the 10th inst, the rooms, formerly containing about two thousand little children, were all vacated, excepting one or two: in these there were twenty-five or thirty poor and feeble orphans, or, at least, if not orphans, such as no parents or guardians came forward to claim.

*Unburied coffins* have recently attracted the notice of the local

authorities. These, always a public nuisance in this part of the empire, have caused trouble of late by being made a means of claiming a right to the soil. The process seems to be this: a coffin is carried out of the city, and laid down on any unoccupied site that is found most convenient: when occasion requires, a second, a third, or a fourth follow; by and by boundary marks are set up, and the ground included is claimed as sacred to the tenants of the coffins. Quarrels and lawsuits about the right of soil follow.

*Small pox* has proved fatal in numerous cases among the Chinese, and in one at least among the foreign residents of Shānghái. There appears to be a want of proper attention to its almost certain antidote, vaccination. Dr. Lockhart has done the utmost in his power to bring this within the reach of the people, but multitudes seem not to care whether it be secured by them and their children or not.

*Cases of fever*, too, have been unusually frequent and fatal, considering that it is yet but the beginning of the hot season. This is doubtless owing to a variety of causes; while the rains have not been wanting, there have been an unusual number of hot days, and large numbers of both men and women, called into the fields to labor, have been much exposed to the scorching rays of the sun. Laboring in this manner by day, and at night retiring to their low, damp hovels, very many of the poor laborers have sickened and died.

The recent *excavation of the moat and ditches* of the city, it is thought by many and with good reason, has been the principal cause of the present sickness. By proper management, the water channels of the city might be made to contribute largely to the convenience and health of the inhabitants; for want of care and by mismanagement, however, they sometimes become nuisances: such, and in a remarkable degree, have they been made at the present juncture, just at the opening of the hot season. Instead of being kept always open and daily flooded and washed by each tide—as might easily be done—the moat and all the ditches are allowed to fill and clog and stagnate: when in this state some six or eight weeks ago, the magistrate and his friends undertook their excavation. What a delving and carrying out of mud and filth has there been! Not only have all these sinks of pollution been stirred up from their lowest depths, but the whole black and sickening contents thereof have been poured out like lava upon the city walls, and on every vacant patch of ground that could be found, both in the city and along the banks of the river. *Horribile visu!*

Some new features have been exhibited in the phases of society here, or perhaps I should say, old features have come up under new as-

pects; *smuggling* is no new thing in China. Nothing in all the land seems better regulated, or to be conducted more systematically than this branch of business. How far its tariff of duties has been reduced to writing no one can tell; indeed every tariff in China is merely nominal, as different from the reality as can well be imagined. One of these new features, the only one I will now allude to, seems to have resulted from the stolidity of the functionaries connected with the native custom-house department. Because a foreign vessel happened to be furnished with a certain kind of machinery, her owners must be subjected to any amount of annoyance the custom-house people might see fit to impose. The managers of the steamer were not to be wronged in this way, nor were those who wished to ship cargo by her; and accordingly they arranged their own business. The amount of duties lost on the one side, and saved on the other, by this measure, must, some persons say, be reckoned by thousands of dollars!

The *opium question* is being mooted anew; some say more severe restrictions are to be imposed, while those who have better means of information declare most confidently, that ere long, it will be legalized, and a moderate imperial duty imposed. I see no prospect of the old policy being tried again; the last attempt cost a three years' war, and millions of treasure; and I do not believe there are to be found many who will recommend a repetition of the old experiment. It is not hard to believe, on the other hand, that his majesty's ministers—seeing they can neither stop the coming in of the drug, nor the oozing out of the “fine-silver,” so long as the old law stands,—may very soon recommend that “opium be admitted as an article of medicine,” and so much duty per catty paid, as was done in the reign of Kienlung.

“*Pa's*” letter to the court of Peking is causing no small excitement both here and at the capital. Those who delight in rumors have repeatedly had the satisfaction of hearing that the tūtái of Shinghai has committed suicide; still, so late as last evening, when he returned from the provincial city, he was enjoying his usual health. It is true, however, that some of the people, hearing of the steamer's going to the north, have become alarmed and left the city. The number of these must be very small. An imperial manifesto, said to have been obtained from one of the public offices in the city, rates the barbarians roundly for coming up to Tientsin with a letter, and admonishes the people on the coast to remain undisturbed. Canton, his majesty says, is the channel through which such communications should be sent. he says also that while the ostensible object of the visit is to congra-

tulate the court, the real design is to spy out the condition of the country.

*The young emperor's policy*, especially so far as foreign nations are concerned, is yet a matter of speculation. The fortifications at the mouth of the Pei ho are said to have been greatly augmented and strengthened during the present year. Within the narrow precincts of the *Yuen-ming Yuen*, there are no less than eight thousand armed men. Great numbers of the troops at the north have been furnished with European arms; and the Chinese government evidently thinks itself much better prepared now than it was in the last war to match and overcome the barbarians. This may be true; and it is equally true, also, that the British government is much better acquainted with China, and in case of a second contest, would know when, and where and how to touch the weak points of the empire. Both governments, however, will rue the day, if it ever comes, when they "go to war." Still such a calamity may come very soon. If Pá's letter has been refused by Sü, by the authorities of Shánghái, and by the imperial officers at Tientsin, will the Queen deem all this as friendly to her foreign Secretary? And if she does not, what will she and her Cabinet propose to do? Will the "peace" concluded at Nánking, and in due course solemnly ratified, be "*eternally preserved?*"

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ART. IV. *Topography of the province of Sz'chuen: description of its towns, productions, inhabitants, &c. (Continued from page 327.)*

IV. *The department of Shunking* lies in the fertile valleys of the Kiáling river and its tributaries, having Páuning fú on the north, Chungking fú on the south, Suiting fú on the east, and Tungchuen fú west; the chief town is in the same latitude as Ningpo. The region is well watered, and the plains between the hills amply repay the labors of the husbandmen, producing large quantities of silk as well as grains and fruits; the department is rather celebrated for its oranges. The mountains called Nán-ming furnish considerable salt, procured from pits in the same manner as previously described.

V *The department of Süchau* lies on the Yünnán frontier along the Yangtsz' kiang, between Tungking fú and Ningyuen fú, in one of

the most fertile parts of the province. The chief town lies at the junction of the R. Min with the Yángtsz', and consequently all the trade of the capital and other large cities passes through it. The variety of its fruits and productions is great, and the commerce centred in its towns renders this department among the most important in the province. The surface of the country is hilly, and even mountainous in some parts, but the genial climate enables the inhabitants to avail of all its natural capabilities.

VI. *The department of Chungking* is the next to Chingtú in importance, and exceeds it in commercial activity. Its western borders adjoin the preceding, and reach to Kweichau on the south, while on the north it is conterminous with Shunking fú, thus comprising an area of nearly 20,000 square miles of the best lands, through which the Yángtsz' rolls on its way to the ocean. A visitor in 1798 thus describes the chief town: "Chungking is the best fortified by nature and art of all the cities in this region. Built on a hill, it is defended on one side by steep rocks, and lies at the junction of a large river (the Kiáling) which here joins the Yángtsz' from the north; these two streams bathing its walls, form its strongest defenses, especially on the northern side. The walls are solidly built, and fully able to resist the cannon of the country; one of the heavy guns on them appears to be of European manufacture. The authorities have placed a great store of pots full of lime near the gates, to be thrown down on an enemy to blind the attacking party. This city is regarded with reason as one of the safest in this region, and in times of trouble it is the refuge of the people from the surrounding country." Another visitor estimates its population at a million of souls. The fruit called lichí, and the mowtan flower (*Paonia mowtan*) from this region, are famous for their excellence, but the vegetable, animal and mineral productions are generally abundant and of good quality. Trunks and baskets of bamboo are made here, which are much prized.

Mines of coal occur in this department, the mode of working which is thus noticed by a traveler:—

"The passage by which the mines are entered is frequently over a league in length, usually very narrow, and almost horizontal. I have seen many of these pits of which the opening was not over eighteen inches or two feet square, a complete fox-hole, into which you would never think a man would venture to introduce himself. The miners penetrate into these gloomy caverns, crawling and groping their way like beasts of burden; they get 80 or 100 pounds of coal each time, with which they fill a long kind of box guarded with iron. It is often difficult to drag this box on wheels from the inequality of the ground, and then they haul it along by main strength, for the Chinese are very ignorant of mechanics. To avoid hurting themselves in

these rough paths and light their way in this darkness, the miners bind a sort of wooden clamp on the forearm, and tie a lantern to their foreheads; for this severe toil, the daily wages are about ten soua.

"The varnish tree is also found in this region; the sap is drawn off by making incisions in the trunk of the tree, and catching it in proper vessels. At first it is of a yellowish white color, but exposure changes it to a reddish tint, and after a while it becomes black. Many persons can not endure the odor, nor even look at this sap, and if they come too near while it is liquid, their skins shortly after swell, and are covered with pustules and ulcers. This does not generally happen, however, and I have myself often stood by it, and even touched it, without any ill effects."

VII. *The department of Kweichau* comprises the eastern part of Sz'chuen beyond Suiting chau, along the Great river, and consequently enjoys great advantages for trade. Its chief town lies at the junction of the Fanshwei ho 分水河 with the Yángtsz', and a transit duty is here levied on merchandise passing the city, which renders it a place of great trade. The bottom lands in this prefecture are among the richest in the province, and famed for their oranges; but the mountainous districts adjoining Shensi furnish little food for man, and are said to be inhabited by a half savage class, greatly inferior to their countrymen in the lowlands.

VIII. *The department of Suiting* formerly belonged to the preceding under the name of Táh chau; and is but a small prefecture lying between it and Shunking fú along the banks of the Kü ho 渠河 and its branches, the Tungchuen kiáng 通川江 and Tangtsz' ho 碕子河. The surface is rough, and only partially cultivated; the mountains furnish musk, and salt is obtained from pits dug in them; galls, varnish, and maple timber, are also mentioned among the productions.

IX. *The department of Lung-ngán* is in the N.W. of the province along the borders of Kánsuh, west of Páuning fú, and east of Sungwán ting and Mau chau. The region included in this prefecture was formerly very large, inhabited by tribes of aborigines known under the general designation of Sifán, and the obedience they still pay the Chinese depends not a little on the treatment they receive; disturbances frequently arise, and a large number of military posts are maintained, the most important of which have been set off from it. Shih-tsiuen hien, on the Shih-meh kí 石蜜溪 or Stone-honey creek, is famous as the birthplace of the Great Yü, founder of the Hiá dynasty. The chief town lies on the headwaters of the Pei R. 涪江, one of the main branches of the Kiáling. The Min Mts. are in the north, and the country is generally rough; tin, quicksilver, tea, and deer's horns are enumerated among the products

X. *The department of Tungchuen* lies south of the preceding, between Chingtú fú on the west, and Shunking fú on the east, in the middle and best settled parts of the province. All its towns are in the valleys of the river Pei, and the inhabitants enjoy a pleasant climate in the midst of fertile fields. After the conquest, many of the soldiers of Shunchí were provided with lands in this region, and their descendants are still required to do service. Salt, iron, copper, and sugar are produced.

XI. *The department of Ningyuen* has been set off from Yáchau fú, and comprises all the southwestern corner of the province which runs down into Yunnán. The chief town lies on the Ngán-ning R. 安寧河 a large tributary of the Yálung R., and its prefect exercises jurisdiction over many tú-fú, or locally governed towns, between which are several garrisoned posts. An intendant of circuit over the west of the province assists him.

XII. *The department of Yáchau*, the largest in the province, comprises all west of Chingtú fú and Kiáting fú, as far as Tibet; its rulers exercise a mixed civil and military jurisdiction over the Chinese and aborigines dispersed throughout its extent, aided by numerous garrisons. The chief town lies on the Tsing-í kiáng 青衣江 or Green-clothes R., in a well cultivated district; the *ting* district of Tí-tsien-lú west of it on the Lú ho 爐河 is the headquarters of the military authorities, who are, on account of the importance of their trust, required to report directly to the Board of War at Peking. Some of the locally governed towns in this commandery are large trading places, and not a few are wholly independent. Patáng 巴塘 and Lítáng 裏塘 are among the most noted; the former is on the Yáng-tsz' at the head of navigation in the S.W. corner of Sz'chuen, where the great road comes in from Tibet; the latter is on the road eastward to Tatsien-lú. The resources and peace of this department are far less than they might be, if the relations between the Chinese and the aborigines were better arranged. The Lolo, to the number of 350,000 souls, occupy the S.W., and the Sifán the N.W. of the prefecture; the Romanists number many converts among the former, who seem to be much gentler in their disposition than the latter, exhibiting many customs, and possessing many points of resemblance in language, dress, and government to the hill races in Assam and Burmah.

XIII. *The inferior department of Süyung* has been set off from Süchau fú, and includes a corner which runs down south of the Yáng-tsz' between Yunnán and Kweichau. Being a frontier town, it possesses more political than commercial importance.



XIV.—XVIII. *The inferior ting departments of Shihchá, Tüiping, Sungpóán, Tsah-kuk and Maukung*, have all been erected into separate jurisdictions in order to exercise a better control over the growing population. The first named is situated south of the Yáng-tsz' on the borders of Húpeh, north of Yúyáng chau. The second formerly belonged to Kweichau fú, and lies on the borders of Shensí in a mountainous and sparsely settled region. Sungpóán ting once belonged to Lungngán fú, and is important only as a military post, having control over an immense tract in the northwest of the province; the town lies on the R. Mien, not far from Lungngán fú. Tsákhuk is south of it on the same river, and its officers superintend a large number of forts and native towns, scattered over the regions on the base of the Peh-ling. The last, Máukung, lies south of the preceding, and the town nearly west of the provincial capital, and exercises sway over the aborigines to the frontier. These three last are all unimportant towns, except as garrisons. Their climate and productions resemble that of the adjacent prefectures on the east, but of the number and condition of the inhabitants very little is known.

Maukung ting comprises the country formerly occupied by the petty kingdoms of Great and Little Kinchuen, so called by the Chinese from two streams running through them. The conquest of these Máu-tsz' by Akwei in 1775 is described by Amiot in the *Mémoires*, tom. III, page 387, &c., and from the Chinese account there given it is plain that the inhabitants fought for their lives. The Manchu general learned that the sterility which reigned on the mountains, the steep rocks and frightful precipices met at every turn, the deep gorges and dense forests, and absence of roads, rendered them inaccessible to all besides the natives, and that an invading army must be divided into small detachments, and carry everything itself. Urged on by his master, he made the attack, and by his skill and bravery overcame every natural and human obstacle. The mountaineers bravely held every pass; even the women armed themselves; they rolled down stones on the Manchus, and destroyed them by guns placed in ambush, as well as open attack, but all their resistance was unavailing, and Sonom, the king, capitulated on the promise by Kienlung of sparing his life if he surrendered, but the royal autocrat murdered him and his family at Peking in the presence of the army. The aborigines were nearly exterminated, and Chinese settlers were brought in to occupy the land with such rapidity that in 1778, several towns had been built, and the whole region quieted.

XIX. *The inferior department of Tsz'* lies between Chingtú and Süchau fú, easterly; it was once attached to the former, and its chief town lies on the Chung R. 沱江, S.E. of the provincial capital.

XX. *The inferior department of Mien* was also partitioned from Chingtú fú, but is situated farther north, between Lungngán and Tung chuen in the banks of the R. Pei, in a rich, accessible, and salubrious part of the province. In their productions, these departments resemble those adjacent.

XXI. *The inferior department of Máu* lies north of Chingtú, between the preceding and Tsáhküh ting, on the east bank of the R. Min. It formerly belonged to Chingtú fú, and its chief town is about 60 miles from the capital.

XXII. *The inferior department of Yúyung* occupies the extreme southeastern part of Sz'chuen, adjoining the provinces of Honán, Húpeh, and Kweichau, in a rugged and unimportant part of the province; most of the department is in the valleys of the Wú kiáng 烏江 or Black R.; a range of high hills divides them from Húpeh, forming at the same time the boundary of the province.

XXIII. *The inferior department of Chung* formerly belonged to Chungking fú; it is situated east of that department, and adjoining Kweichau, on the north bank of the Yángtze' kiáng. It is in Fung-tú hien in this department, that the *ho-tsing* or fire wells occur, and which have become so generally known among the Chinese people, that the name *Fungtú* has come to mean hell; the following account of this curiosity by Rev. M. Imbert will explain the application. These subterranean fires sometimes produce frightful earthquakes; one is mentioned as occurring in 1788, which destroyed a hundred thousand persons, and many towns.

"On the sixth of Jan, 1827, I arrived at Tse-liú-tsing (i. e. Running-Water wells) after traveling eighteen leagues in my thick soled shoes, guarded with cramp-irons an inch long on account of the slippery, clayey roads. This small station contains only thirty communicants. But I found here a marvelous natural wonder, and the greatest effort of human industry I have yet seen in my long travels—an extinguished volcano.

"This place is among the mountains on the border of a rivulet, and contains, like Wú-tung-kiáu, salt-pits dug in the same manner as previously described; there are here more than a thousand of these wells containing salt water. Moreover each pit contains an inflammable air, which is conducted through bamboo tubes. It is kindled with a candle, and the flame can be blown out with the breath. When about to draw up the salt water, the fire is put out, for otherwise the air ascending in large quantities with the water would produce an explosion. Four pits in one valley, emit fire in a manner truly frightful, but produce no water, and here doubtless is the centre of the volcano. These pits originally contained water, but it having ceased flowing, the people bored on for about a dozen years to the depth of three thousand

feet and more in order to reach water, but all in vain; when suddenly an enormous jet of air burst forth, conveying with it thick black particles of matter. I saw it myself; it was more like the fumes of a burning furnace than like smoke. This air escaped with a deep rumbling noise and a frightful gasping, which was heard to a great distance; constantly emitting and throwing itself out, but never sucking in any air, for which reason I judged it to be a volcano, which received its supply of air from some lake, perhaps the great lake of Tungting in Húnán, about two hundred leagues distant. There is indeed upon a mountain a league distant, a small lake about two miles in circumference, of extraordinary depth, but I do not think that it is sufficient to supply the volcano. This sheet of water has no communication with the river, and receives its supplies only from the clouds.

"The mouth of each well is guarded with a stone curb, six or seven feet high, for fear lest, by carelessness or from malice, some one should set fire to the mouth of the pit; a case of this sort happened last August. This well is situated in the middle of a vast court, and in the centre of four large and long halls or boileries, where are the vats in which the salt is evaporated. As soon as the fire reached the mouth of the pit, it produced a frightful explosion and a violent trembling of the earth, and instantly, the whole surface of the court was in a blaze. The flame, which was about two feet high, ran over the ground, but without burning anything. Four men ventured the risk, and brought a stone of enormous size to the mouth of the well, but it flew into the air, and only one of the men escaped a scorching; neither water nor mud availed to extinguish the fire. At length, after fifteen days of hard labor, they brought great quantities of water over the neighboring mountain, and having formed a pool of it they let the water out all at once, by which means the fire was extinguished. This cost about thirty thousand francs, which is a considerable sum in China.

"A foot beneath the surface, four enormous bamboos are inserted, which conduct the gas under the caldrons; one pit furnishes enough to boil more than three hundred kettles, each of which has a bamboo to conduct the fire to it. At the head of the bamboo is a tube of clay, six inches long, and an inch in diameter, to prevent the fire from burning the wood. The streets and large hall or kitchens are also lighted from bamboos placed at proper places. They are not able to use all the fire, and the excess is conducted in a tube outside of the salt house, where it forms three blasts, with enormous sheets of flame, playing and blazing up two feet above the chimney.

"The surface of the earth in the enclosure is extremely hot and burns under the feet; even in January, the workmen are half naked, having nothing but a small pair of drawers to cover them. Like all other travelers, I had the curiosity to light my pipe at the fire of the volcano. This fire is extremely powerful; the caldrons are cast four or five inches thick, but they are calcined and burnt through in a month. The salt water is conducted through bamboos to the spot, and received in an enormous cistern, from which, by means of a chain pump, worked night and day by four men, it is raised into a higher reservoir, whence it is carried off and supplies the kettles. The water is evaporated in twenty-four hours, and forms a cake of salt six inches thick, weighing about three hundred pounds and as hard as stone. This salt is whiter than that from Wú-tung-kiáu, and sticks less to the throat; probably the charcoal which is employed at that place, or even the difference in the salt water produces the varieties. The water of this place is not so brackish as that of Wú-tung-kiáu, and produces as many as three or even four ounces of salt per pound. In Wú-tung-kián, charcoal is dear, while here, on the other hand, the fire costs nothing. Moreover the salt from the two districts is sold in different cities, and the custom-house officers forbear to meddle with this imperial regulation.

"This fire produces no smoke, but has a strong bituminous odor, which is perceptible at the distance of two leagues. The flame is reddish like that of charcoal; it does not stick close to the mouth of the tube like the flame of a lamp, but it begins about two inches above it, and rises up nearly two feet. In the winter, poor people dig a hole in the sand about a foot deep to warm themselves; a dozen of them sit about it and set the gas on fire in the hole with a handful of straw, and having warmed themselves as long as they like, fill it with sand, and put out the fire.

"The inhabitants, both pagan and Christian, are extremely afraid of this fire, for they believe it to be an exhalation of the flames of hell; and yet there are no greater villains or robbers in the province. The Christians themselves are lukewarm and very poor: a solitary man does not feel much at his ease among them. There is one who owns a well of salt water which produces him about fifty francs per day, but the expenses are great. The other Christians are beggarly venders of vegetables, or are employed in cutting grass on the mountains, for feeding the cattle employed in drawing the water."

XXIV. *The inferior department of Mei* lies on the R. Min between Chingtú and Kiáting fú, to the latter of which it once belonged. Though small, it is one of the best situated prefectures of the province. The origin of the name of Tungshin hien, one of its districts, is explained on page 314.

XXV. *The inferior department of Kung* is situated northwest of Mei chau, and west of Chingtú fu, and mostly within the limits of the same plain spoken of when describing the latter place—the number of whose towns is an index of its populousness and fertility. Kung chau lies north of Kiáting fú, and east of Yáchau fú.

XXVI. *The inferior department of Lú* lies east of Süchau fú on both sides of the Yángtsz' kiáng, adjoining Kweichau on the south. The chief town is eligibly located at the junction of the R. Chung with that stream, here called Tá kiáng 大 江 Great R., but it does not attract so much trade as Süchau fú, for the R. Chung is a comparatively small stream. All the cities in Sz'chuen on the Yángtsz' are long settled places, as Süchau, Lú, Chungking, Pei, Chung, Kweichau, and many smaller ones; most of them are often mentioned in the Annals of Confucius, the History of the Hân dynasty, and other ancient works.

The reliable knowledge we have of the province of Sz'chuen is meagre, and we fear must remain so for some time. In natural history especially, more extended researches are necessary. The Lettres Édifiantes and Annales de la Foi contain nearly as many letters written from this province as all the other seventeen put together, yet we can glean very little from them on this last subject, or on the commercial resources of the region. One of the missionaries thus gives a general idea of the country, as it appears to a traveler:—

"This part of the province where I live presents a constant alternation of hills and small plains. *Firs, oaks, and palms shade those hills which the people find too steep to cultivate. The plains, almost always submerged, resemble vast ponds, in whose bosoms are seen the crops of rice. The whole country is traversed by national roads—narrow and muddy footpaths, where two men can hardly go abreast, and if you chance to meet a sedan in the way, you must go back to where the way happens to be wider. This is all for economy's sake as the people understand it, for as the road can be improved only at the expense of the neighboring fields, they think that the traveler had better be cramped than that the harvest should suffer. Cities are not numerous here; that which is called the chief town of this region is the smallest of towns of the third rank, and yet its population is considerable. Here and there are market-towns where fairs are held nine times a month. The plain is covered with detached farmhouses hid among bamboos, apples, oranges, and other trees which remind us of the country we are in. One of them I have made my paragon, to pass the hot season, which is very oppressive.*"

The climate presents great extremes. M. Dufresse mentions that in Feb. 1784, the cold continued fifteen days, and hundreds of poor people died from exposure; while another states, that during August and September, the heats in the plains are very great. Famines afflict all parts of China, while the great water-courses, through which the surplus of one province could be so easily carried to supply the deficiency of another, are infested with water thieves to such a degree that the trader dare not venture his goods. In Sz'chuen, in 1840, thousands died of want. An eye-witness says:—

"This year the misery is frightful. Rice has doubled in price. The rich, afraid lest they shall not have enough, have not given employment to the poor, who live entirely by their labor, and are consequently reduced to the most horrible distress. Untold numbers have perished by famine. How many corpses have we seen in the highways! Want has multiplied crime. The people have exposed their offspring, many have cast themselves into the rivers to shorten their torments; and robbers (always numerous in China) inundate the country. Farmers must guard not only their rice-fields, but even their kitchen-gardens. During the day, famished children, and grown up persons by night, come down upon the unripe grain like a swarm of locusts; and if the owner strikes one to drive him off, he will perchance hang himself upon the nearest tree out of revenge, that he may be implicated in his death before the rulers. Audacious thieves infest the thoroughfares, spreading themselves over the country in the night, breaking open the doors and laying hold of garments, food, animals—anything they can get. If they are resisted, the unfortunate victims are killed in cold blood, and their cries for help are unheard, for the farmhouses are isolated, and the robbers flee before succor can come. In the mountains, these outrages are perpetrated in open day, and such is the ferocity of the bandits, that they often cut off the hands of women to get their bracelets."

This famine was followed by a plague which almost decimated the inhabitants, and when in 1841, the promising crops encouraged the inhabitants to hope for better times, swarms of insects devoured the grain before it was ripe. Society was almost disorganized through

the extremity of misery, and in the town of Nánchuen, armed robbers came in open day through the streets, and entering the shops seized all they could carry. The magistrates and police in vain exerted themselves to arrest them, seizing only a few, upon whom unusual punishments were inflicted; for as the prisons were full, the wretches were first starved, then their joints broken, and finally burnt alive. Swarms of people prowled through the fields, striving to find a little to appease their hunger, feeding on green fruits, leaves, carrion, and even each other. One family was arrested, living in a secluded spot near Chung-king fú, which had decoyed more than thirty persons into the house, and devoured them all.

The condition, number, and tribes of the aborigines still remaining in Sz'chuen offer many interesting subjects of inquiry, upon which our authentic information is scanty. M. Imbert speaks of those he calls Miáutz' as a simple, timid and unpolished race, whose chieftains are subject to the Chinese authorities, and who maintain their partial independence only by secluding themselves in the mountains. Those in the west he calls Sífán, and describes their country as exceedingly rough. These mountaineers are probably the descendants of the people formerly called Tangouts, for this region was once mostly included in the kingdom of that name, which was subjugated by Gengis khan in A. D. 1227. It is more than probable, however, that these hardy mountaineers have always submitted to foreign rule only so far and so willingly as suited their interests; and have thereby kept themselves even more degraded and wretched than their lowland neighbors. The religious control of the Tibetan lamas probably assimilates these people much more to H'lassa than to Peking.

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**ART. V.** *Journal of Occurrences: return of the Str. Reynard and Gov. Bonham; death of Gov. Da Cunha; meeting in relation to the Exhibition of Industry in 1851; licensing of tea-brokers at Canton.*

**THE** late visit of *H. M. screw-propeller Reynard*, to the mouth of the Pei ho, has given rise to considerable speculation as to its object and results. She returned to Hongkong on the 17th inst.; while absent she visited the termination of the Great Wall between Chihli and Liáutung, the same place reached in 1840 by the *St. Madagascar* (see Vols. IX. p. 421, and X. p. 579). The *Reynard* was found to draw too much water to be able to proceed up to Tientsin, and her dispatches were received on shore by Chinese officers. Further discussion on their subject matter was precluded by the assertion on.

the part of the recipients that H. E. Sti was the medium through which communications were received at Peking. Even if such was the reply, and such found to be the rule, we still think the visits of national vessels of all flags to the mouth of the Pei ho should be multiplied, and if they dropped in at other ports on the coast, as they have the right to do by Art. 32 of the American treaty, all the better. The more often intercourse can be held with the authorities of this empire by foreign powers, the better for both parties, despite of the many difficulties in the way.

H. E. Gov. Bonham and suite and family returned to Hongkong the next day after the Reynard, after an absence of nearly three months.

*H. E. Gov. Da Cunha*, whose arrival was noticed last month, died of cholera on the 6th inst., having been sick only about eight hours. His death left the colony without a head, and on opening his instructions, the Provisional Council found that no provision had been made in them for such an event by devolving his negotiations with the Chinese authorities, on any other person. We suppose therefore they can only refer the matter to Lisbon. We extract a paragraph from the Mail upon his character, and only add in reference to the last sentence, that the settlement has been quiet since last autumn, and has rather increased in business during a few months past, though none of the large native establishments have returned from Whampoa.

Macao is again without a governor, commodore Da Cunha, who arrived on the 28th of May, having died on the 6th of July, after a forty days' tenure of office. The *Boletim do Governo* has been published, containing the official intimation, besides an editorial article on the subject, and a communication from an officer in the Portuguese Navy, bewailing the loss which his country, and more especially the settlement of Macao, has sustained. With the limited opportunities we enjoyed of forming an opinion, we entirely concur in regarding the death of Governor Da Cunha as a great calamity. He seemed to us a person of much intelligence, clearness of perception, and firmness of purpose, united to great prudence, and free from strong prejudice. Probably he might not have considered it his duty to adopt extreme measures until others had been tried, to advance the interests of the colony, and preserve the honor of his country; and we believe that had his life been spared, he would have done both.

The stories afloat about the peremptory demands made by him upon the Imperial Commissioner, are without foundation, for we can say confidently, that up to the day of his death, no communication had passed between him and the authorities at Canton; and we may add, that instead of breathing hatred and fury against the Chinese people, he was disposed to regard them favorably, and had already shown how he could augment the revenues of the settlement by protecting and encouraging them.—*China Mail*.

A meeting of foreigners was held at Hongkong on the 24th ult., and at the British Consulate in Canton on the next day, to take into consideration the best means of procuring specimens of the different articles of the produce and manufacture of China for the Exhibition of 1851. The proceedings of the meeting at Canton explain the manner in which the objects of the Exhibition are intended to be furthered.

At a preliminary meeting of gentlemen held at the British Consulate, Canton. *present*, John Bowring, Esq. LL. D. in the Chair; Rev. P. Parker, M.D. Messrs. Carlowitz, Browne, Elmslie, Reynvaan, Ponder, Dent, Moore, Dunlop, Sturgis, Ellice, Livingston, Middleton, Sassoon, Heard, Parkin, Sichel, Ryder, Kennedy, and Cowazjee Pallanjee, the following Resolutions were unanimously carried.

*Proposed by John Dent, Esq., and seconded by W. Moore, Esq.*

1. That the Exhibition of the Industry of Nations, which is to take place in London in the spring of 1851, is entitled to all support and co-operation; and that for the purpose of collecting and contributing thereunto the various productions of China, the gentlemen present do form themselves into a Committee with power to add to their number.

*Proposed by R. S. Sturgis, Esq., and seconded by A. Dunlop, Esq.*

2. That Dr. Bowring be the Chairman of the said Committee.

*Proposed by Dr. Parker, and seconded by A. Sassoon, Esq.*

3. That James T. Walker and Horace Oakley, Esqs. be the Secretaries.

*Proposed by John Heard, Esq., and seconded by Robert Browne, Esq.*

4. That the Oriental Bank be requested to act as bankers to the said Committee.

*Proposed by R. Ellice, Esq., and seconded by W. W. Parkin, Esq.*

5. That a Committee of Finance, consisting of Messrs. Dent, Forbes, Dunlop, Ponder, Livingston and Heard, be appointed, and that they be requested to take such measures as may be desirable for collecting funds; and that any three of the said Finance Committee be authorized to sign checks on behalf of the General Committee.

*Proposed by W. P. Livingston, Esq., and seconded by Charles Ryder, Esq.*

6. That a sub-committee of Correspondence, consisting of the Finance Committee and Messrs. Parkin, Moore, Gilman, Elmslie, Carlowitz, Sassoon, and Cowasjee Pallanjes, be appointed to correspond with the Committees of Hongkong, Shanghai, and other places in China, or elsewhere, where arrangements may be made for furthering the objects of the Exhibition.

*Proposed by D. Kennedy, Esq., and seconded by R. S. Sturgis, Esq.*

7. That a Chinese sub-committee, consisting of Dr. Parker, Messrs. Meadows, Reynvaan, Carlowitz and Browne, be appointed for making such communications to the Chinese as may be desirable.

*Proposed by W. Moore, Esq., and seconded by H. G. I. Reynvaan, Esq.*

8. That a sub-committee of Classification, consisting of Dr. Parker, Messrs. Forbes, Ponder, Gilman, Ellice, Carlowitz, F. A. King, Sichel, Ryder, Marjoribanks, J. A. T. Meadows, and Birley, be appointed to consider the best arrangement of articles to be collected, and the best means of collecting them.

*Proposed by Dr. Parker, and seconded by Cowasjee Pallanjes, Esq.*

9. That all sub-committees, with the exception of the Committee of Finance be authorized to add to their numbers any members who are likely to forward the special objects for which such sub-committee is named, and that all sub-committees be requested to report their proceedings to the General Committee.

*Proposed by H. G. I. Reynvaan, Esq., and seconded by M. Sichel, Esq.*

10. That in order to prevent the transmission of duplicates, to obtain the most complete collection of objects, and to facilitate their conveyance and reception in England, gentlemen wishing to send articles on their own account be requested to communicate with the Committee.

*Proposed by Dr. Bowring, and seconded by John Dent, Esq.*

11. That the General Committee meet weekly at the British Consulate on Tuesday at 12 o'clock.

*Proposed by M. Sichel, Esq., and seconded by John Dent, Esq.*

12. That the articles sent under the sanction of this Committee be represented in a common fund, in which every subscriber shall have a pro rata interest according to the amount of his contribution.

*Proposed by A. Dunlop, Esq., and seconded by W. Moore, Esq.*

13. That these Resolutions be published in the Hongkong papers, and printed and circulated throughout the Factories.

*Proposed by Robert Browne, Esq., and seconded by H. G. I. Reynvaan, Esq.*

14. That a sub-committee be appointed, consisting of Dr. Parker, Mr. Elmslie, and Mr. Ellice, in order to prepare for circulation a statement of the objects of the Exhibition, with any regulations or arrangements adopted in England, and that such statement be submitted for approval at the next general meeting.

*Proposed by John Dent, Esq., and seconded by W. Moore Esq.*

15. That the thanks of the meeting be given to the Chairman.

Canon, 25th June, 1850.

JOHN BOWRING,—Chairman.

J. T. WALKER, }  
HORACE OAKLEY, } Secretaries.

Another meeting was called soon after at the same place on the 4th inst., at which there was a large attendance of the foreign community, when the following resolutions were passed.

1. *Proposed by Mr. David Jardine, seconded by Rev. Doct. Parker.*—That this Meeting feels interested in the success of the Great Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations, intended to take place in London during the early part of the coming year, under the auspices of the Prince Consort, and associated with so many illustrious names,—that the Exhibition is likely to advance the interests of science and civilization, to extend the relations of commerce, and to strengthen the friendly intercourse between the various branches of the human family.

2. *Proposed by Mr. J. F. Edger, seconded by Mr. R. S. Sturgis.*—That this Meeting approves of the steps which have been taken by the Preliminary Meeting, held at the British Consulate on the 25th June, and requests the Committee then appointed to continue and give effect to the arrangements then made.

3. *Proposed by Mr. John Dent, seconded by Mr. A. Dunlop.*—That while it is to be regretted that the short period which intervenes between the present time and that fixed for the opening of the Exhibition, does not allow of such arrangements as will enable contributions to be sent from the great Chinese Empire, displaying in their full



extent its many natural productions, the implements of labor in their various forms, its manufactures and works of art and science,—this Meeting is of opinion that a very interesting, instructive, and useful addition to the Exhibition may be made from this country.

4. *Proposed by Mr S. Ponder, seconded by Mr Livingston.*—That as the difficulties of personal intercourse with the authorities and with the people of China render it improbable that to any considerable extent they will be induced to exhibit the productions of their own country, the amounts raised by subscription form a common fund in which every contributor shall be held to be represented according to the proportionate benefits or losses, when the articles shall have been disposed of.

5. *Proposed by Mr H. Moul, seconded by Mr R. Carlowitz.*—That the Finance Committee be, and is hereby requested to take such measures as they may deem desirable for the collection of subscriptions in furtherance of the objects of this Meeting.

6. *Proposed by Mr D. Kennedy, seconded by Mr D. Jardine.*—That in the anomalous and unsatisfactory position which foreign residents occupy in this country, and from the impediments to all social intercourse, this Meeting deeply regrets that the contributions which can be furnished from hence will neither adequately represent its multifarious productions, nor enable them to carry out the views of the Commissioners in the enlightened and generous spirit in which they were conceived.

7. *Proposed by Mr Charles Ryder, seconded by Mr A. Sassoon.*—That these Resolutions be inserted in the Hongkong newspapers.

8. *Proposed by Mr David Jardine, seconded by Mr A. Dunlop.*—That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Chairman.

JAMES T. WALKER, }  
HORACE OAKLEY, } Secretaries.

JOHN BOWRING,—Chairman.

A subscription paper has since been circulated among the merchants by the Finance Committee, and upwards of \$3,000 subscribed. Considerable progress has also been made in collecting articles to be forwarded, and it is thought that the variety brought together even in the limited time allowed will exhibit almost every branch of Chinese art and manufacture. The opportunity of co-operating in the exhibition has been presented to Gov. Sti, but as was anticipated he declined having anything to do with it.

*A system of licensing tea warehouses* has recently been established by the governor-general, the objects of which are to be gathered from the following edict and regulations issued by the district magistrates.

*Petition of the old hong-merchants, Howqua and others, granted to establish tea warehouses, and regulations for levying expenses.*

Fung, district magistrate of Nánhái, and Shauki, district magistrate of Pwán-yü, &c., &c., issue their perspicuous proclamation:—Whereas, the former hong-merchants, Howqua and others, on account of the abolition by Government [of the old co-hong], having caused the tea trade to be diffused and unsettled, so that there is no fixed point for the public items, having petitioned requesting the establishing of warehouses, and levying expenses for the convenience of maintaining a supervision of the tea trade, and the liquidation of their old obligations to the imperial treasury, we have had the honor to receive the reply of the Governor-general, directing deliberations to be held upon the subject, and after joint deliberation thereon, held at the time, we reported to His Excellency the result, who in reply directed that we should enjoin upon the warehouses to conform thereto. Now, it appears that the said tea warehouses, being without precedent, the proprietors invited all the tea merchants to meet and deliberate upon regulations by which to conduct them, and they (members of the tea warehouses) have come before us with their petition to allow them to fill the station. Besides complying with their request, and reporting the same to all (the high officers whom it concerns, as H. E. the Governor-general, the Governor, Superintendent of customs, Commissary of grain, and the Prefect), that the same might be entered upon the archives, and issuing our licenses to the said warehouse firms, and enjoining upon them to act accordingly; we also, sincerely apprehending that the tea merchants, and houses engaged in foreign traffick, are not yet fully and universally informed upon the subject. as it behooves us to issue a luminous Proclamation to this end, we do

proclaim to the tea merchants of the different provinces, and to firms engaged in foreign trade, for their full information, that hereafter when teas arrive at Canton, and when the dealers with foreigners purchase these teas, it is absolutely necessary that they each conform to the following Regulations. Let there be no opposition. Special proclamation.

**REGULATIONS.** 1. Every merchant on bringing his teas (to Canton) must store them in the government warehouses, and these having been clearly examined, and their marks and number of chests ascertained at the official warehouses, the proprietors of the warehouse must immediately repair to the Consou of the old hong-merchants, and distinctly and minutely report the same. Having settled for the sale, on the day of weighing them, they must immediately report to what dealers in foreign trade they are sold, and separately report the marks, number of packages, and weight of the teas disposed of. If any of the said tea merchants, having stored teas in the government warehouses, should remove them to another place, this also must be reported in order to clear investigation and management thereof.

2. As to the discount for difference of weight and value of moneys employed in transactions between the tea warehouses and the dealers in foreign goods, of late years every hundred taels by the tea scales has been discounted at a difference of five taels and odd by the government scales. Now it has been decided, after deliberation, that in future, there shall be universal conformity to the precedent of the old co-hong, that the discount between tea scales and those of the new treasury scales, shall be two taels per hundred taels (i. e. 100 taels by tea money weight will be reckoned 98 taels new treasury standard), and only 20 taels in the hundred can consist of broken (or "chopped") money, and should there be no broken money, then there will be a further deduction, but not exceeding one tael (for each hundred taels). The tea merchants obtaining this compensatory discount in their favor, will possess a very great advantage in [receiving] their tea money, and it is right according to this regulation to deduct *two mace* for every pecul of tea, to compensate the warehouse proprietor, and by him to be delivered to the Consou of the old hong-merchants, and by them delivered over to the government treasury.

3. Warehouses for black and green teas (from other provinces), and for the Tsingyuen teas (of Canton), have been opened for many years, incurring the cost of lodging the merchants, storing teas, rent of warehouses, and various items of portorage and other requisite expenses, and in future, according to the rule hitherto existing, black teas will pay a commission of five mace per pecul, and green and native Tsingyuen teas will pay a commission according to the old regulations respecting them. (?)

4. If a tea merchant rent a place of residence for himself and for storing his teas, or if the hong-merchants manage for their own chops (i. e. send their partners or agents to the tea country, and purchase their teas), each must accordingly repair to the official warehouses and report the number of chests, and through the official warehouses communicate the same to the Consou of the old hong-merchants. On selling the teas, the said government warehouses, shall deduct a commission of three mace (per pecul), but if said tea merchant employs another warehouse to sell his teas for him, then the said superintending official warehouse shall receive a commission of only five candareens, and there must be no dispute upon the point. The dealer in foreign trade also must have the evidence of the official warehouse certificate (that the teas have been deposited in government warehouses), before he will be allowed to purchase them, and if he do not possess such certificate he will be considered as smuggling the teas.

5. When one licensed warehouse shall sell the teas of another of the same class, it is provided clear, that for black teas, it shall receive a commission of five candareens per pecul to recompense it for its trouble, and the remaining four mace five candareens shall revert to the original warehouse to compensate its trouble. In respect to green and native Tsingyuen teas, there will be a division between the two parties, according to the respective commission on each, and they will be managed in the same manner as black teas. As to the deduction of two mace per pecul of teas, to make up the deficiency in the public items, it must be done according to the original petition of the old hong-merchants, viz. the

weight must be reckoned as at the time of sale, allowing a deduction of ten per cent. (tare). And on paying the money, the weight is to be according to the treasurer's scale, and not of the tea scales, so as to pay less.

6. When chests of tea are furnished as samples to the dealer with foreigners, five catties from a chest is the standard which he is allowed to take out as a muster; should he exceed this, he must pay the tea-merchant for the excess, according to the value of the tea, and can not refuse it.

7. Persons having undertaken the warehouse business, subsequently desiring to go into other occupations, will be permitted to report the same and retire, delivering their licenses back to the old hong-merchants to be handed over to government and cancelled.

8. These regulations are established with a primary view to maintain a surveillance over the tea trade, and thus to guard against smuggling and other like evils: if any do not conform to them, then, by the tea warehouses, they are to be reported to the authorities, to be prosecuted and punished.

9. As to the deduction of two mace to repay the money from the imperial treasury, the responsibility is fixed upon the dealers in foreign trade who purchase the teas, who, upon the day of weighing and delivering the teas, are immediately to take this money, and deliver it over to the tea warehouses, to be transferred by them to the Consoo of the old hong-merchants, and by them paid into the treasury, in order to show the importance of imperial treasury items.

Taukwang, 30th year, 4th moon, 29th day. (June 9th, 1850.)

A faithful translation, PETER PARKER.

These regulations were considered as contravening the stipulations of the treaties in relation to monopolies, and this view of the matter was brought to H. E.'s notice by the foreign officials. Sti's answer to the American charge d'affaires is here introduced to explain his ideas on this point.

Su Kwangtain, hereditary viscount of the first grade, Governor-general of the Two Kwang provinces, *ex officio* a president of the Board of War, minister and commissioner of the Great Pure Dynasty, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the honorable Commissioner's dispatch making inquiries relative to the subject of the establishment of tea warehouses, and levying commissions by the old hong-merchants, which he has perused and fully understands.

It appears on examination that the old hong-merchants, inasmuch as they were in debt for money borrowed from the public item (i. e. the government treasury), and were without the means of repaying it, after deliberation decided, from the tea warehouses old hong commission of five mace, to deduct two mace, in order to liquidate their debt:— [an arrangement] which in no way whatever concerns either the Chinese or foreign merchants; therefore, during the last year, they memorialized the government upon the subject, and [were authorized] to manage accordingly. Now, the two district magistrates of Nánhai and Pwányü, according to the publicly adopted regulations of all the tea warehouses, have issued a perspicuous Proclamation, that all both far and near, universally, may understand them, and adhere to the same for ever. As requisite, I make this reply, and avail myself of the occasion to present you my compliments, and wishes for your health and happiness. The two original dispatches are herewith returned.

The foregoing communication is addressed to Peter Parker, chargé d'affaires, *ad interim*, of the United States of America to China.

Taukwang, 30th year, 6th moon, 6th day. (13th July, 1850).

*Movements of missionaries.* The Rev. W. Gillespie embarked for England in the P. & O. St. Braganza on the 24th inst.; he does not expect to return to China. The Rev. J. V. N. Talmage and Mrs. Talmage arrived at Hongkong in the Tartar from New York on the 6th inst., and soon after left for Amoy. Misses Tenney and Baker came in the same vessel, the former to join the Amer. Epis. mission at Shanghai, the latter the Baptist mission at Canton. Rev. R. S. Maclay and Miss H. R. Sperry were married on the 10th inst. at Hongkong, and have since left for Fuhchau.

## CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. XIX.—AUGUST, 1850.—NO. 8.

ART. I. *Defense of an Essay on the proper rendering of the words Elohim and Θεος into the Chinese language.* BY W. J. BOONE.  
(Continued from page 325.)

THE issue made with us by Dr. Legge on this point was thus expressed in proposition *b* :—

“ Admitting that the Chinese do not know the true God, (Dr Legge) contends that we should use a relative, not an absolute generic term to render Elohim and Θεος, because these words are relative, not absolute terms.”

On this point Dr. Legge writes : “ First of all, I deny that God is a *generic* term. If I can substantiate this, then there is no room for ‘ the single question,’ to which Dr. Boone ‘ narrows ’ the controversy, viz., ‘ What is the generic name for *god* in the Chinese language ?’ If it were intended in speaking of the ‘ generic name for God ’ merely to say that God is a term that may be applied (right or wrong) to more than one object of thought, I should let the use of the word pass without animadversion. I profess myself as much opposed as any man can be to the trifling of logomachies. But it has been employed according to its true application, which is not in questions of grammar and logic, but in the representations of natural history. Much has been said of the ‘ genus of gods,’ as if there really were in nature many gods, while at the same time and on the same page, it is stated that ‘ there is in truth but one God,’ and that ‘ there is no other being in the universe but Jehovah entitled to this name.’ We are told that ‘ the existence of a generic name for God is owing entirely to polytheism.” *page 4.*

Though this seems to puzzle Dr. Legge very much, there is to my mind no difficulty about the matter as it was stated in my Essay. The question was asked at the outset, if the Chinese knew the true God, if they were mono-theists or poly-theists? To this question the answer was given "they are polytheists, they do not know the true God;" in which answer, as I understood, all then discussing this question agreed. Not knowing the Being we call God, they could have, I contended, no name for Him—no word answering to our word *God*, when used *proprie*. Under these circumstances, it was inquired, What is a translator to do? If he takes the name of the chief god, by the admission above made, this would be only the name of a false god, which it would be derogatory to Jehovah to use as his appellative; the name of any other particular deity inferior to the chief god, would be still more objectionable: it was therefore contended that, among polytheists, where the true God is unknown, the only course to be pursued is to use the generic name of their gods to render Elohim and Θεός; and to prevent mistake, this phrase was defined to be "the name of the highest genus, or *class of beings*, to whom the Chinese offer religious worship." Still further to guard against misapprehension, I wrote: "There being in truth but one God, the existence of a generic name for God is owing entirely to polytheism. If none other than the true religion had ever prevailed, there could have been no such genus as this conceived of. The gods of a polytheistic people are merely imaginary beings, who have no real existence. The true God claims the right to displace the whole class; and this is the reason that, in translating the Scriptures into the language of such a people, the generic term for god must be used: Jehovah claims the right—not to be recognized in the place of the chief god of such a system, but—to take the place of the whole class of gods. He will not consent to propose Himself to polytheists, as their Jupiter or Neptune, their *T'ien* 天 or their *Fuh* 佛 Budha. He claims to be 'the all and in all'. . . . . We must therefore take for Jehovah the name of the whole class, and affirm that it *properly* belongs to Him alone; that there is no other being in the universe *entitled to this name*; that those whom the heathen have, in the days of their polytheistic ignorance, called gods, are mere imaginary beings who have no existence except in the minds of their blinded votaries.

"The generic name for God, when thus claimed for Jehovah, undergoes a change by Christian usage: according to this usage, it is employed in a *proper sense*, to designate Jehovah alone; and, but

for the fact that it must still be used to combat polytheism, its generic character would wholly cease. But as polytheism gave rise to so *improper* a *genus*, so the necessity there exists of forbidding men to have a plurality of gods, causes the word to retain so much of its generic character, as to make it available to prohibit sternly the recognition and worship of all the imaginary beings, who are by polytheists *strictly* and *properly* included in its meaning." *Essay, page 6.*

With all this before him, Dr Legge writes: "Much has been said of the 'genus of gods,' as if there really *were in nature* many gods, while at the same time and on the same page, it is stated that 'there is in truth but one God.'" It is very surprising to me Dr Legge did not see that I contended there was *in nature* but one God, and that the *plurality* exists only in the *imagination* of polytheists; that the word *God*, when "employed in a *proper* sense," designates Jehovah alone, and that "the genus" is an "improper" one, whose existence is entirely owing to the false views of polytheists. But whether the beings designated be real or imaginary, can not, I conceive, alter the *character* of the word, which is the common name of the class. This word, if it be a name common to several *beings*, must be a common name, an appellative noun, a generic term. Whether Elohim is actually used as the name of only one being, or as a name common to a number of beings, is a question of fact, to be determined, not by inquiring what is the first idea that comes into our minds, when they "rise rapidly and vigorously to the idea of God," but by an appeal to the *usus loquendi* of the writers of the O. T. 'The inspired writers do not suppose that there exist many gods—a class of gods—nor do we, but polytheists do; and accordingly we find that *they*, in all the languages with which we are acquainted (the languages in which the Sacred Scriptures were written included), have a general name by which this class of beings is called; and that *monotheists*, whether inspired men or not, have never scrupled to use this word when speaking of these imaginary beings; it is idle therefore to say that the word so used is not the name of a class of beings—that it is not a generic term. In Hebrew, Eloah and Elohim, and in Greek Θεός, Θεοί, are used as the name of this class of beings, and in Chinese, we contend that Shin is so used.

With respect to the fact that Elohim is used as a name common to Jehovah and all the false gods of the polytheists mentioned in the O. T., there can, of course, be no controversy between Dr. Legge and myself, nor with respect to the fact whether Elohim is, or is not, the *appellative name* of this whole class the only point of difference is

with respect to the *character* of this appellative; is it absolute or is it relative? 'This also is a question of *fact*, to be determined by an appeal to the *usus loquendi* of the word. If Dr. Legge understands generic as absolute appellative, and desires to deny that the word Elohim is generic in this sense, he makes the very issue which I desired to make in my Essay, when I defined *skin* to be the *name* of a class of *beings*, and called "it a mere *relative term*, denoting *office*, and not an appellative noun." Dr. Legge's strictures on my use of the word "appellative noun" in this last sentence, are just; I wanted the opposite of "relative," and the proper term "absolute" did not occur to me. I am glad that Dr. Legge has called attention to my mistake, and brought up the question more clearly for discussion, by pointing out the proper terms to be used, *viz.*, *absolute* and *relative*. I agree with him that the point is a fundamental one, and regret that I did not, in that part of my Essay, express my meaning more accurately. That Dr. Legge intends to maintain, in sober earnest, that God is a relative term, and not absolute, appears not only from his use of these words, but from his carefully defining the sense in which he uses the word *relative*, and from his assuring us that, "God does not indicate the *essence*, nor express anything about *the being* of Jehovah." This last statement is only a just consequence of the preceding one, "that God is a relative term;" but I should have thought the mere writing out the proposition in this form would have awakened Dr. Legge to a sense of its incorrectness, and caused him to blot out all he had written on the subject. Dr. Legge tells us very correctly, from Rees' Cyclopædia, that relative words "include a kind of opposition between them; yet so as that *one* can not be without the *other*."

Will Dr. Legge tell us then, what *that* is without which Jehovah could not be God? He answers on p. 5 its correlative is "creatures." "As soon as the first man was called into existence, Jehovah stood to him in the *relation* of God." Is the eternity of God one of the articles of Dr. Legge's creed? If so, to be consistent with the view above expressed, he must maintain the eternity of the creation also. On p. 11, Dr. Legge quotes the principle of the Grecian philosophers, "ex nihilo nihil fit." However true this doctrine may be when applied to every "material cause," does Dr. Legge regard it as true when applied to the efficient cause—to God? Does he deny a creation from nothing εἰς οὐκ ὄντων, so that there never was a time when God existed alone, before He had created anything? If Dr. Legge answers, as we have no doubt he will, that he believes in the eternal existence of the Being, and that this Being, when existing absolutely alone

without anything extrinsic to Himself, out of nothing made the heavens and the earth; then he only differs from us in maintaining that this Being could not properly be called God when viewed thus absolutely; and the question is reduced to one of the *usus loquendi* of the word, which happily is so uniform that it is easily settled.

The Psalmist says, "O LORD, *before* the mountains were brought forth, or *ever* thou hadst formed the earth and the world; even *from* everlasting to everlasting, thou art God." Ps. xc. 2.—"I said, O my God, take me not away in the midst of my days: thy years are throughout all generations; of old thou hast laid the foundation of the earth" &c., &c. Ps. cii. 24. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." When the Evangelist tells us here that the Word "was God," does Dr. Legge understand him to say that the Word merely sustains a relationship to God the Father or to men? When stating the doctrine of the Trinity, does not Dr. L. say, "there are three Persons and one God?" Is the word *God* here used as a relative term? Dr. Legge says the correlative of God is *creature*; from which we infer the word *God* means Creator: can he adhere to this explanation of the word, and point out to us what relationship is affirmed to exist between the three Persons of the blessed Trinity when we say "there are three Persons and one God?" We also speak of "our Savior Christ" as "both God and man." Do we by the words "God" and "man" express our belief in the existence of two *natures*, the Divine and human, in one Christ; or merely mean thereby, that Christ sustained two diverse *relations*, i. e. creator and creature, to other beings? If Dr. Legge can be induced to forget for a moment his thesis, "God is a relative term, not absolute," which, to sustain the cause of *Shingti*, "Supreme Ruler," he has incautiously undertaken to defend, he will I have no doubt acknowledge, with the orthodox of all ages of the Church, that by the word *God* when so used, we affirm that the three Persons are of one divine essence or nature—of one substance. This is undoubtedly the meaning the word *God* bears, and has borne in the Christian Church from the beginning, as can be shown from its *usus loquendi*.

I open a work on Systematic Theology, which lies before me, that of Knapp, and turn to the heading; "General names applied to Deity, without distinction of true or false." The first given is *Eloah, Elohim*. I turn to the next article; it is headed, "Of the *nature* and *attributes* of God." The writer tells us, "the *nature* of God is the sum of the divine perfections, the *attributes* of God are the particular distinct *perfections* or *realities* which are *predicable* of the divine *nature*."



'These attributes are then considered in the following order, "The Spirituality of God;" "the Eternity and Immutability of God;" &c., &c. Are not these *essential* attributes? If Dr. Legge, when he predicates these attributes of Jehovah, does not call Him *God*, will he inform us what word he uses as the name of this Being, when discoursing of His attributes?

But this work is a recent one, and Dr. Legge fortifies his position with the great name of Newton; we shall therefore exhibit at some length the *usus loquendi* of the word. We do this not merely for the interests of this controversy, but for the cause of truth in general, for if Dr. Legge's position be correct, our formulas, which teach us the orthodox faith on the doctrine of the Trinity, are worth nothing, and our systems of divinity, which use the word *God*, when affirming the eternity of Jehovah, affirm also the eternal existence of its correlative the *creature*.

The first quotation we shall cite to show the *usus loquendi* of the word, is from Tertullian. He distinguishes the words *God* and *Lord* as follows:—

"Dei nomen dicimus semper fuisse apud semetipsum et in semetipso Dominum vero non semper. Diversa enim utriusque conditio. *Deus* substantiæ ipsius nomen, id est, divinitatis; *Dominus* vero non substantiæ, sed potestatis, substantiam semper fuisse cum suo nomine, quod est *Deus*; postea *Dominus*, accedentis scilicet rei mentio. Nam ex quo esse cœperunt in quæ potestas Domini ageret, ex illo, per accessionem potestatis, et factus et dictus est Dominus. *Tertull. contra Hermog. cap. 3, quoted in Waterland's Works.*

Council of Nice. Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, καὶ ἕνα παντοκράτορα . . . . . καὶ εἰς ἕνα κυρίον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενῆ τούτεστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς . . . ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί; &c.

The Athanasian Creed. "We worship one God in 'Trinity, and Trinity in Unity; neither confounding the persons, nor dividing the *substance*. For the right faith is that we believe and confess; that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and man: God of the *substance* of the Father, and Man of the *substance* of his mother: who although he be God and man, yet he is not two but one Christ; one altogether; not by confusion of *substance*, but by unity of person."

The Protestant churches at the Reformation, without a single exception, I believe, define the word *God* in their standards as an absolute, not as a relative term; and in direct opposition to Dr. Legge affirm that the word *God* does "indicate essence, and express *something* about the *being* of Jehovah."

1 The Confession of England thus speaks on this subject : " We believe that there is one certain *nature* and Divine power, which we call God, . . . . and that the same one God hath created heaven and earth, and all things contained under heaven." See *Harmony of Prot. Confessions; Conf. of England*, p. 30.

2. " We believe and teach that God is one in *essence* or *nature*, subsisting by himself, all-sufficient in himself, invisible, without a body, infinite, eternal, the Creator of all things both visible and invisible," &c. See *ibid. The Latter Conf. of Helvetia*, p. 18.

3. " We believe and acknowledge only one God, who is one only and simply *essence*, spiritual, eternal, invisible, immutable, infinite, incomprehensible, unspeakable, almighty, most wise, good, just, and merciful." *Ibid, Conf. of France*, p. 29.

4. " We believe in heart, and confess with the mouth, that there is only one and simple spiritual *essence*, which we call God, eternal, incomprehensible, invisible, immutable, infinite, who is wholly wise, and a most plentiful well-spring of all good things." *Ibid, Conf. of Belgia*, p. 32.

5. " The churches with common consent among us do teach . . . that there is one Divine *essence*, which is called, and is God, eternal, without body, indivisible, of infinite power, wisdom, goodness, the Creator and Preserver of all things, visible and invisible," &c. *Ibid, Conf. of Augsburg*, p. 36.

These documents all speak one language, and that directly the reverse of the main proposition on which Dr. Legge's argument is founded. But the point is of such great importance, that I trust the reader will pardon my presenting him some additional quotations from a few eminent theological writers.

Bishop Pearson, commenting on the words of the first Article of the Creed, " I believe in God ; " after saying that the name *God* is attributed unto many, tells us that the excellency which makes it *proper* to Him " is grounded upon the Divine *nature* or *essence*, which all other who are called gods have not, and therefore are not by *nature* gods. ' Then when ye knew not God (saith St. Paul), ye did service to them, who by nature are not gods.' (Gal. iv. 8) There is then a God by nature, and others, which are called gods, but by *nature* are not so ; for either they have no power at all, because no being, but only in the false opinions of deceived men, as the gods of the heathen, or if they have any real power or authority, from whence some are called gods in Scripture, yet they have it not from themselves, or of their own nature, but from Him who ' only hath immortality,' and consequently,

only Divinity, and therefore is 'the only true God.' . . . So that the notion of a Deity doth at last expressly signify a *being* or *nature* of infinite perfection; and the infinite perfection of a nature or being consisteth in this, that it be absolutely and essentially necessary, an actual being of itself; and potential or causative of all beings beside itself, independent from any other, upon which all things else depend, and by which all things else are governed." *Exp of the Creed*, p. 25.

Archbishop Usher says, "We describe God by these properties, a spirit eternal. Or more fully, God is a spiritual substance, having his being of himself, infinitely great and good, . . . . . and hence we learn to acknowledge both our being and well-being from him, and from him alone; . . . . . and when we say that God is a substance, we mean that he is such a thing, as hath a being in himself, of himself, and which giveth a being to all other things." *Body of Divinity*, p. 41.

Waterland, having expressed his views of what is included in the Scripture notion of one that is truly and properly God, as given above at page 361, in our quotation from his Works, says: "And if Scripture has thus informed us what *properties, attributes, and perfections* (observe, not what relations) must be supposed to meet in one that is truly and properly God, our own reason must tell us that these attributes, &c., must have a subject, and this subject we call substance; and therefore the *Scripture notion* of God, is that of an eternal, immutable, omnipresent, omniscient, almighty substance." *Waterland's Works*, Vol. II. p. 37.

Dr. Clarke, Waterland's great opponent, contended as Dr. Legge does, that the word God was a relative term, implying dominion; and to sustain this view quoted from Hippolytus a sentence that Waterland comments on as follows. "The words you chiefly value are *παντοκρατωρ παρὰ πατρός καὶ ἐξ ἐλάθῃ Χριστός*, '*Christ was constituted Ruler over all by the Father.*' On occasion whereof, let me observe a thing to you, which you are not aware of; that though the ancients scrupled not to say, that Christ was *constituted* by the Father *Ruler* or *Lord*, or even *Creator*, (according to Prov. viii.) or anything coming under the notion of *office*, (the Father ever being looked upon as the *first* in order, and in virtue thereof, the fountain of every office, according to his own voluntary appointment,) yet you will never find it said by the ancients, that the Father *constituted* Christ a *God*, or appointed him to be *God*, which observation is highly deserving your special notice; as it may discover to you a fundamental flaw in your *hypothesis*, and may show you that you have taken a great deal of pains with the ancients upon a

very wrong view, and (give me leave to add) to very little purpose. Had you found ever an ancient testimony, declaring that Christ was constituted *God over all*, you would have done something; the rest are impertinent, and come not up to your point. The word *God* was never looked upon as a word of *office or dominion*, but of *nature and substance*; and hence it is that the ancients never speak of Christ's being constituted God." Waterland's Works, Vol. II, p. 415.

"The truth is, *God* denotes *all perfection*, and *Father* denotes a *relation* of order, and a particular *manner of existing*, all which you confusedly blend together, as if signified by the one word *God*." *Ibid*, p. 510.

Bishop Stillingfleet says, "We do not say that three persons are but one person, or that one nature is three natures; but that there are three persons in one nature. If, therefore one individual nature be communicable to three persons, there is no appearance of absurdity in this doctrine. And on the other side, it is impossible that there should be three Gods, where there is one and the same individual nature; for three Gods must have three several divine natures, *since it is the divine essence which makes a God*." *Enchiridion Theologicum*, Vol. I, p. 427.

Quotations on this point might be extended ad libitum, but those given above are enough to show that the word *God*, by the *usus loquendi* of orthodox writers of the Christian Church of all ages, is an absolute, not a relative term, and that it *does indicate the essence of Jehovah*.

Dr. Legge endeavors to sustain his proposition that "God is not a generic, but a relative term," by what he calls a grammatical or syntactical proof, which proof he fortifies with two considerations, and the great name of Newton. The grammatical proof is that the English word *God* may be used, either with or without the English articles. The first consideration, which fortifies the view derived from the grammatical uses of the word, is that "it (supposing the word *God* to be a relative term) meets and explains all the facts of the case;" second, "that the manner in which the name is vindicated to Jehovah in the Old Testament is inexplicable excepting on this view." We shall take up these severally in the order in which they are above stated.

The grammatical proof is thus stated by Dr. Legge. "Grammatical propriety is not violated by any of the forms of expression:—God made the world, a God made the world, the God made the world, Gods made the world. Let us take any generic term of the animal kingdom, and try to use it in the same way, and we shall find it nuprac-

ticable." The fact here brought forward by Dr. Legge is that the word *God* may in English be used either with or without the article, and the inference he draws from it is, that it is an appellative noun of the class called relative, and not of the class called absolute. I state the matter in this way to avoid logomachy, for Dr. L. says in his Essay, "it is universally conceded that God is not a proper name;" and "Grammarians divide all nouns into two classes, which are now generally denominated *proper* and common; formerly, common nouns were called appellatives, and they include all nouns which are not proper;" and that "a relative term may be as much an appellative as a generic term." He can therefore, only mean to affirm, that the individuals who have this common name are classed together under this appellative, because they sustain, or are supposed to sustain, a relationship towards men, which is common to them all, and not because of their possessing a being supposed to possess certain attributes or natural qualities, which are common to them all. What is there, then, in the known rules with respect to the use of the English article, that makes its use or non-use, a proper test for deciding such a question as this? "Proper nouns designate beings in a definite manner, so that there is no need of any sign to point out the particular individuals, to which they are applied. *Appellative* nouns" (relative or absolute) "on the contrary, being common to all the individuals of the same species, when we wish to apply them to a single individual, or a certain number of individuals of this species, or lastly to the whole species, it is of use to employ particular signs to indicate these various applications." "The words, which serve to determine the extension of appellative nouns, are denominated *Articles*."

Hence Dr. Legge, from his first example, "God made the world," might infer that as the word *God* here designates a given being so definitely, "that there is no need of any sign to point out the particular individual to whom it is applied," it must be a proper name; but he admits "it is universally conceded that God is not a proper name;" and this conclusion would be shown to be incorrect by his 2d, 3d and 4th examples of the use of the word. These last examples prove, beyond a doubt, that the word is used as an appellative, but give not the slightest hint, as to whether the beings comprehended under this common appellation, were so called because of their sustaining *relationships*, or possessing *attributes* common to them all. Dr. Legge admits that the word *man*, as well as the word *God*, may be used in these four constructions; *e. g.* "man built the house, a man built the house, the man built the house, men built the house;" but this does

not cause the slightest distrust of the value of his test, for he doubts if "man be rightly called a generic term"!!! He says, "it does not belong to our subject to explain how *man*, if it be rightly called a generic term, differs from other similar terms in this grammatical use." With all deference to Dr. L. it seems to me this is the very thing his subject did require him to explain, if he wished his readers to have any confidence in the value of his proposed test, to ascertain whether a noun be appellative relative, or appellative absolute, i. e. generic. If *man* be a generic term, and Dr. L. will explain to us why it differs from other generic terms, "in this grammatical use," we may perhaps see, by the light of this explanation how *God* may be a generic term and agree with the word *man* "in this grammatical use" of the articles.

If *man* be not "a generic term" (as Dr. L. hints), it is so commonly supposed to be one, that he might have taken it for granted his readers would have been of this opinion, and should therefore have paused to explain, how this error had become so common, by either showing that the word *man* is not a name common to the race called in Latin, the *genus homo*—or that the name of such a race is properly called a generic term, in which last case, he should have defined the sense in which he uses the phrase "generic term," as it must be one peculiar to himself. Dr. Legge may conclude, if he please, that the words, *God* and *man*, are quite anomalous in their method of both using and rejecting the article, though he furnishes us with a list of words (which list might very easily be greatly extended) that admit of the same construction; but nothing can be more fanciful than his use of this test, to ascertain whether a word be relative or absolute—whether it may be used to render *Elohim* and *Θεός* or not.

Dr. Legge does not appear to have settled in his own mind definitely, what the relation designated by the word *God* is. On p. 5, he tells us the correlatives stand thus, "God and creatures;" on p. 8, it "has regard to servants, and implies dominion;" on pp. 36, 37, "Supreme Ruler." He says he has gone over the collection of passages in Cruden's Concordance "with the view of testing whether *Shingti* (Supreme Ruler) will serve as a translation of God, and the result was that Supreme Ruler tallies with every one of them." He laughs at the distinction made in my Essay of the two senses in which the word is used (i. e. proper and improper), and declares on p. 21, "I only know of one meaning or sense belonging to it."—"To speak of God in the sense of heathen nations is absurd."\*

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\* Dr. Legge's words are, "But to speak of God in the sense of heathen nations is absurd. Heathen writers never use it without an article,—i. e. in the

"All this (the saying that the phrase "Supreme Ruler" always tallies with the word *God*) is nothing more than saying at great length what might have been said in four words, *God just means God*. Men may play fantastic tricks in the application of terms, but the meaning or significance of the terms as terms remains the same." What inherent vitality words must have in them, one is ready to exclaim, to stand out so stiffly against men's perverse *usus loquendi*! Ernesti says, "§ 16. *The meaning of words conventional*. Words, considered simply as sound, have no meaning; for they are not natural and necessary signs of things, but conventional ones. Usage or custom has constituted a connection between words and ideas."

"The first of all the laws of interpretation is certainly this:—to endeavor to investigate the sense of a writing or passage which is to be interpreted, according to the signification which the *general usage of the language*, or also the well known particular *usage* of the writer, connects with the words which he employs. The rule, in one word, amounts to this: we should seek in the first place the literal sense of every passage to be interpreted, as it must be afforded either by *the general usage*, or by one which is peculiar to the writer. This no one has doubted, and no one can doubt who is possessed of a sound understanding." *Planck's Introd. to Sacred Philology and Interpretation*. Translated by Dr. Turner, p. 128.

These writers only declare in other words, what Horace said long before them, that words are the mere creatures of usage.

sense in which it is employed in English without an article—excepting when they do so in its true application, and convey by it its real meaning." I have several remarks to make on these two sentences. What is the meaning of the last? Heathen writers never use the word *God* without an article in the sense in which it is used without an article in English, excepting when they convey by it its real meaning: in other words, the word *God* in the English language, when used without an article, is used in the sense we call *proprie*, and heathen writers never use the word in *this sense* except when they convey by it its true meaning. This is a truism Dr. L. might have spared us. Does he mean to lay down a general proposition that heathen writers universally, in their respective languages, never, &c.? This would be saying something towards the support of his "grammatical test;" but unhappily for this supposition, many heathen languages, *s. g.* the Latin and *Chinese*, have no article; the Hebrew and Greek have. Will Dr. L. venture the assertion that wherever *Elohim* and *Theos* are used *without the article*, these words always designate the Being whom we in English designate by the word *God*, when it is used without the article? My words were, "We only maintain that it (*shin*) means *god* in the sense of heathen nations." Dr. L. changes this word "god" into "God," and asserts that the phrase "God in the sense of heathen nations" is absurd. What is the difference between the phrase *I used* and that of Cudworth, "the pagan notion of the word god or gods?" Will Dr. L. as dogmatically assert the absurdity of the phrase used by "that great scholar?"

"Si volet *usus*,  
Quem penes arbitrium, et jus et norma loquendi."

Dr. Legge regards this common-sense view of the matter, we may suppose, almost in the same light as he does a heresy. His doctrine is: "Does Dr. Boone doubt that we shall remodel the *literature* of the Chinese? Whatever there is in the *literature* of this great country that is vicious and of error, will be driven away by the advance of truth, like the chaff before the wind. Nothing that *man's intellect has wrought* in the vanity of its imaginations, will abide the sifting of science, and the presence of God's book. . . . But we can not remodel the *language* of the country. The *literature* is the work of man; the *language* is the work of God. As surely as the corn that grows from the bosom of the earth is from God, so also is language that grows up out of the mind of man." p. 20. He speaks of ideas "inhering" in words, and remarks, that on a comparison of the meanings given of *God*, *Theos*, and *Elohim* in Johnson's, Robinson's and Gesenius' Lexicons, "there is *felt* (the italics are his own) the truth of the remark that *Elohim* and *Theos* are correctly rendered in English by God." If Dr. L.'s theory be true, with what reverence should we regard all the divinely inspired words of this heathen language! How impious of us to attempt to change the meaning of any word by our *usus loquendi*, (e. g. of any appellative noun, sc. the general name of their objects of worship,) as this would imply an impression on our part, that the Chinese had false conceptions of the objects, when they classed them together under a common appellative, and that "the language" was the work of their own fallible minds, not "the work of God," thus wrongly ascribing to men a work of God, and robbing him of his due!\* This peculiar view of the nature of language exercises a most unhappy influence upon Dr. L. as a philological inquirer. This we shall see as we proceed.

But to return to the point in hand: if the use or non-use of the article affords a reliable test of the suitability of a word to render *Elohim* and Θεός, we wonder Dr. Legge did not put the words he

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\* It is very strange to me that Dr. Legge did not perceive how completely these views of his are at variance with those of Bacon, quoted by him, with approbation, on the 39th page of his "Argument." "The error [of calling the Chinese *shin* gods] supplies us with a fine specimen of what Bacon calls the *idola fori*. 'These,' he says, 'are the most troublesome of all causes of error. They arise out of the commerce or intercourse of society, and especially from *language*. Words are commonly given to things according to *vulgar apprehension*, and *distinguish* things by differences apprehensible to a *common understanding*; and when an intellect more acute, and more diligent observation, would *distinguish things better* the words cry out against the endeavor



proposes to use, "Supreme Ruler," to this test. Can he say "Supreme Ruler made the world?"\* But it is time I should go on to "the considerations" which Dr. Legge adduces to fortify his inference.

The first is, The regarding God as a relative term "meets and explains all the facts of the case." This is a resort to the true inductive method, an appeal to the *usus loquendi*—the facts of the case, and by this appeal we will cheerfully abide. The facts of the case Dr. Legge tells us are, "that men served the true God before they wrongly imagined any other. When they took his *attributes*, and gave them to other beings, real or fictitious, they called them by the name which belonged to him only." This appears to us a correct account of what must have been the case with the first men, those who used the primitive language; but Dr. Legge's proposition, "men served the true God before they wrongly imagined any other," is an indefinite proposition, which is not true if it be taken universally. If he says, Some men, the first men, those who spoke the primitive language, served the true God before they conceived of false gods, and that the word *God* must therefore have been used *by them* *proprie*, before it was ever used *impropiè*, his proposition is no doubt perfectly correct; but it can have no bearing on the English word *God*, or the Chinese words *Shángtí* or *Shin*, unless he is prepared to contend that the English or Chinese was the primitive language. If Dr. Legge will make his proposition universal,—“all men served the true God before they wrongly imagined any other,” its fallacy is at once apparent; it would require all men to have been monotheists before they were polytheists, which is contrary to what we all know to be the fact. The facts of the case, so far as they can affect the present nations of men and their languages, appear to me to be these.

In the 10th chapter of Genesis, we read, "And unto Eber were born two sons; the name of one was Peleg; for in his days was the earth divided." And in the next chapter: "The whole earth was of one language and of one speech. And it came to pass, as they journeyed from the east that they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they

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\* The reason the word *god* in English does not need the article to designate definitely the true God seems to me capable of very easy explanation. The English are monotheists; they hold that there is only one God; this word therefore according to their faith is properly the name of but one being, and "designates this being in a definite manner, so that there is no need of any sign to point out the particular individual to whom it is applied." It is natural that monotheists should fall into such a *usage*, so that the word standing absolutely should designate Jehovah, and that it should require a sign to make it refer to any other being.

dwelt there. And they said one to another, Go to, let us make brick and burn them throughly. And they said, Go to, let us build a city and a tower *whose top may reach to heaven*, and let us make us a name (or a sign) *lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth*. And the Lord said, Go to, let us go down and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth." From this we may infer that when Peleg was born, men received a Divine command to divide themselves into separate groups, and go into different quarters of the earth, that the whole might be inhabited. Against this Divine command they determined to rebel, and as a rallying point to prevent their being "scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth," they commenced building "a tower whose top should reach to heaven," a lofty object that could be seen afar, and would serve to bring them all back to a common centre. For this rebellion God confounded their speech, and by this means enforced obedience to his command, which they were in the act of disobeying. "So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth;" and we hear nothing more of the scattered groups, except those immediately connected with the chosen people, until they come up, hundreds of years afterwards, on the pages of profane history. Whether the men who were building this tower had taken God's attributes and given them to other beings, and called these beings by His name, and thus become polytheists, we can not tell; the account in Genesis is too brief.\*

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\* Dr. Hales (Chronology, Vol. I, page 358) thus speaks of the "ringleader" in this rebellion "The prime author of this rebellion against the divine decree, and grand corrupter of the pure patriarchal religion, by *Sabianism* and *Demonolatry*, was the Cuthite *Nimrod*, "the Rebel," as the name implies, who was afterwards deified himself under the title of *Belus*, and supposed to be translated to the constellation *Orion*, in the heavens. And from the central region of *Babel*, this grand apostacy from the primitive faith, seems to have been transplanted into the four quarters of the world; as proved from the remarkable fact of the general resemblance of the pagan mythology, in these its two leading outlands, in Asia, Africa, Europe and America; and from the conformity between the leading doctrines of the primitive pagan priesthood, the *Mugi* in Chaldea, the Brahmins in the East, and the Druids in the West, as circumstantially proved by Faber in his elaborate work."

Faber says, "When the children of Noah left the high land of Armenia they journeyed until they reached the flat country of Shinar. During their progress, or possibly before they quitted Mount Ararat, the ambitious Nimrod, at the head of his enterprising Cuthites, accustomed them to submit to his rule, and laid the foundation of that idolatrous apostacy, which he after completed at Babylon. Noah and the three great paternal patriarchs were now dead: and I am strongly inclined to suspect that even before the emigration from Armenia, the worship of the true God on the summit of Ararat, was perverted to the worship, or at least to the excessive veneration of the self-triplicating great

But let us suppose that, up to the time of this act of great rebellion, they had not forsaken the true God for any false gods; admitting these to be the circumstances of the case, what is the weight of the inference in favor of the fact that each of these groups of rebels would teach their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren, generation after generation, to worship the true God? They are rebels punished with a great curse for their rebellion. Such men, we know, do not "like to retain God in their knowledge." On what then are we to base the inference that their descendants, after the lapse of several hundred years, would still retain a knowledge of the true God? Look at those nations which, from their proximity to the chosen family, are mentioned in the Scriptures, and what does the narrative tell us of their state? What is the state of the Canaanites, Hivites, &c.; of Sodom and Gomorrah? To keep alive a knowledge of the true God upon the earth, Abraham is thus addressed by God: "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee." The reason of this command was, that even in this favored family, the true God had been forgotten, and the worship of false gods set up. "And Joshua said unto the people; Thus saith Jehovah, the God of Israel, Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood in old time, even Terah, the father of Abraham and the father of Nahor; *and they served other gods.*" Josh. xxiv, 2.

Thus we perceive, where we have history to lead us, and are not left to inference, that by the time of Abraham, polytheism had become so prevalent, that to keep alive a knowledge of the true God, he must be separated from his country and his father's house, for there the plague had commenced. If we look too at the proneness of the chosen people to forsake Jehovah their God for strange gods, even after he had made bare His arm on their behalf, and led them out of Egypt through the Red Sea, we shall be convinced, that, with the

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father and the vessel out of which he had been born into the post-diluvian world." Faber on Pagan Idolatry, Vol. III, p. 238.

In his first volume, having discussed at length, and with great learning and ability, "the common origination of the various systems of paganism," he sums up his opinion in these words: "Thus, so far as I can judge, it indisputably appears, that the idolatry, by which all the various nations of the earth were infatuated, was a system originally invented at Babel under the auspices of Nimrod and his Cuthites, and afterwards in the progress of replenishing the world with inhabitants, by the various scattered members of his broken empire, carried off alike to the nearest and to the most remote countries of the globe. Such being the case, though the hypothesis of Mr. Bryant is certainly not affected by *this* circumstance, all those theories which would deduce the origin of pagan mythology either from Egypt or from Hindustan, or from any other country peopled after the dispersion from Babel, *must*, according to the Scriptural account of the matter, fall to the ground." *Ibid*, Vol. I., p. 76.

limited attainments in knowledge which the men of that infant age of the race had made, the temptation to polytheism must have been very strong—perfectly overwhelming where there was nothing but a faint tradition through a long line of ungodly men, or the light of nature, to instruct them in the unity of the Godhead. We think from these considerations, that the inference is against our finding, hundreds of years after the dispersion from Babel (when they have become sufficiently civilized to begin recording events, and their history commences), in the language of any of the tribes that were completely separated from the chosen people, a word which answers to *Elohim* when used *propriè*: that is, a word which is used as the name of a self-existent, almighty, spiritual Being, who created the heavens and the earth. At any rate, the circumstances are such that no one is entitled to take it for granted that there must have been such a word in each of the dialects now spoken by men, which was afterwards corrupted by the usage of polytheists. Polytheism may not be older than the word *Elohim*, as the Hebrew may have been the language spoken by Noah; but we know it was much older than the time of Moses, who is the first writer in Hebrew whose writings have reached us. We think it is probably older than either of the words  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , *Deus*, or *God*, and shall in a subsequent part of this Defense state some of the considerations which have led us to think that in Greece at least,  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  was used *impropriè*, long before it was used *propriè*. It is time however, now to return to Dr. Legge's first fortification of the inference derived from his grammatical argument.

If we admit the fact to be, in the case of all existing languages, as Dr. Legge supposes, I can not see how he can derive any inference from it in favor of his supposition that the word must be a relative term. Whether we suppose that the word *god* was first used as the name of the true God, and was afterwards applied to false gods, or that it had been previously applied to a number of beings, and was claimed afterwards as properly applicable only to one, would not at all affect, so far as I can see, the question whether the word was first used as a relative or absolute term. To decide the point we are contending about, we must inquire, Why, in either case, was this name given? 1st, Whether the being or beings, as the case might be, were called by this name because he or they were supposed to possess certain properties or qualities, which constituted them subsisting beings? or 2d, Whether they had this name from their being regarded as merely sustaining a certain relation to some other beings or things? To prove that it must have been from the latter view that the name

was given, Dr. Legge quotes a passage from the first chapter of Romans, which appears to me to show in the plainest manner the incorrectness of his views of the character of the word *God*. I commence the quotation a few lines above those quoted by Dr. Legge. "Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them (*marg. or, to them*); for God hath showed it unto them: (for the invisible things of him from the creation are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead); so that they are without excuse: because that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts and creeping things;" and "changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshiped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever, Amen." With the same view, on p. 36 of his Argument, he quotes the words of St. Paul in I. Cor. viii. 5, 6; "For though there be that are called gods whether in heaven or in earth, (as there be gods many and lords many), but to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him." On this he remarks; "Nothing can be plainer to my mind, from this passage, than that the apostle dealt with *θεός* as a relative term, having its *proper* signification, and *expressing a relation*, of which the one party could *only be the Supreme Being*, of whom are all things and we by him, and from whom therefore it could never be diverted, excepting by the depravity of men, and a falsehood imposed upon themselves. *And this* is the signification of the term, and thus it is dealt with *throughout the Scriptures*. Jehovah says, 'There is no God' *i. e.* no Supreme Ruler, 'beside me.'

It would consume too much time to examine closely both of these passages; we shall therefore take the first one quoted by Dr. Legge, merely remarking on the latter, that if the words "God" and "Father," in the sentence "one God, the Father," are both so clearly *relative* terms in Dr. Legge's view, that nothing can be plainer to his mind, we should like to know what construction he can possibly put on what is commonly called the orthodox statement of the doctrine of the Trinity?

In examining the first passage quoted, that from Rom. i. 19, we shall merely give the views of a few eminent commentators, and leave Dr. Legge to answer them if, after reading their views, it still continues

so plain to his mind, that the apostle Paul uses θεός as a relative term. The first question to be asked, in determining whether St. Paul uses the word *God* as an absolute or relative term, here, is, what are "the invisible things of him," which "from the creation of the world are clearly seen?" Bloomfield says, *ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ* mean "his nature and attributes of Godhead, not discernible to mortal eyes." Stuart, '*ἀόρατα* means the attributes or qualities of the Divine Being; . . . . of course the expression refers to the attributes belonging to God considered as a spirit." Hodge, "These invisible things are seen, *being understood*, that is, it is a mental vision of which Paul speaks. The eye of sense sees nothing but the exterior, but the mind sees mind, and mind possessed not of human *power and perfections*, but of eternal *power and divinity*." But we are not left merely to his commentators; the apostle himself tells us what "that which may be known of God" is—"even his eternal power and Godhead." The power here spoken of is not, to use the words of Tertullian, merely "*accidentis rei mentis*," but an absolute and eternal property of the Being mentioned.

If Dr. Legge's opinion of the way in which St. Paul always uses the word θεός is correct, then the word here rendered by our translators "Godhead," should have been rendered "Rulership," or "the state or condition of being Ruler." How then should this word θεότης be understood? Stuart says, "Θεότης is distinguished by Tholuck and others from θεῖτης, for they represent the latter as signifying the *Divinity, or the Divine nature*, while the former is represented as meaning the *complexity of the divine attributes*, the sum or substance of the divine attributes. I can not however, find any good ground for such a distinction. Θεότης is the abstract from Θεός; and from this latter is formed the *concrete* or adjective derivative θεῖος divine. To θεῶν of course means *divinity*, and from this comes another abstract noun with the same signification. So Passow, θεῖτης, divinity, divine nature. He then adds, "In particular, divine greatness, power, excellence, eminence, &c., &c.; i. e. θεῖτης designates the divinity with special reference to these qualities—the identical manner in which the word is employed in our text." Bloomfield, "his omnipotence and the other attributes of his Godhead."

The next question is, what is meant by the sentence, "When they knew God, they glorified him not as God?" Does the apostle mean that they did not regard and treat him as a being, standing in such a relationship to them, should have been treated; or that they served him in a manner derogatory to his divine nature?

Bloomfield says, "the glorifying of God as God must consist in the thorough recognition of all his glorious attributes—his eternity, power, wisdom, &c., &c. Tholuck says, "To glorify God as God is to acknowledge him in the integrity of the divine attributes, and then, for the sake of these, to love, invoke, and fear him."

Hodge, "The apostle says, When they knew God they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful. These two expressions include every act of worship. The former refers to the recognition of the *divine perfections*, the latter to the acknowledgement of God as the source of all good. To regard God as possessed of all excellence and as the giver of all good, is true piety."

With one more question we must close our examination of this passage. Did their folly, in making an image of the incorruptible God, arise from a mistake with regard to the relationship indicated by the word *God*, or a mistake with regard to the Divine nature, which is expressed by this word? That it is the last, all the commentators are agreed, and the nature of the case puts it beyond all question. Bloomfield, "They dishonored the glorious nature of the incorruptible God, by representing him under the likeness of corruptible man, and birds, &c." Tholuck, "False conceptions of God gave rise to false representations of him." Hodge, "Their soul lost all right apprehensions of the divine character and perfections, and they were hence able to worship as gods, birds, beasts, and creeping things." Stuart, "They foolishly and inconsiderately indulged evil imaginations, *i. e.* base and degrading views respecting the nature and attributes of God, and the honor due to him."

I can not think that Dr. Legge's "view of the term *God*. . . meets and explains all the facts of the case."

The second consideration, by which Dr. L. endeavors to fortify his view of the word *God* as a relative term, is, that "the manner in which the name God is vindicated to Jehovah in the Old Testament is inexplicable excepting on this view." I wish Dr. L. had mentioned the difficulties which he saw in the way of vindicating the name *God* to Jehovah on the supposition that it is an absolute term, *i. e.* a word "indicating the essence, the being of Jehovah" (to use his own words), for my mind can not conceive any.

We have seen above, that Dr. L. admits "that appellatives include all nouns that are not proper;" whether, therefore, this word is absolute or relative, it is a name that is confessedly common to many individuals, which is vindicated as properly belonging only to one. But what is there, in the meaning of this word, if it be supposed an absolute

name, to render its vindication to Jehovah, in the passages quoted by Dr. L., so inexplicable? These passages from the Old Testament are, "There is no God with me," "I am God, and there is none else," &c. If we suppose the word *God* to be a relative term "implying dominion," if it be supreme dominion, there is nothing inexplicable, I admit, in vindicating such a title as due only to Jehovah. But what is there inexplicable in the vindication of this name to Jehovah, if we suppose the word to imply the possession of attributes, qualities, nature? Are there any beings beside Jehovah who have the same nature with Him, so that if the word be used in this last sense, it can not be claimed as properly belonging to Him alone? The passages quoted by Dr. L. declare that polytheists are wrong, there is only one God; but they do not say whether the word *God* is used as the name of a Being, regarded as standing in a given relationship, or as possessed of a given nature: in which of these two senses the word is used, we must learn from its general *usus loquendi*.

From the passages quoted by Dr. L., which give no intimation in which of the two senses the word is used, I must however except the last, as it is very clearly in this case used not "to imply dominion," but nature. The passage is from Ezekiel xxviii, 2, 9. "Son of man, say unto the prince of Tyrus, Thus saith Jehovah God, Because thy heart is lifted up and thou hast said, I am a God, I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the seas; yet thou art a man and not God. . . . Wilt thou yet say before him that slayeth thee, I am God? But thou shalt be a man, and no God in the hand of him that slayeth thee." What is the antithesis between "a man and not God," if the word *God* here only "implies dominion"—means "Supreme Ruler" as Dr L. contends it does? Waterland was so far seeing anything inexplicable in regarding the word here as an absolute term, that he quotes this very passage to show that the word implies nature, not dominion. He says, "When the Prince of Tyre pretended to be God, he thought of something more than mere *dominion* to make him so; he thought of strength invincible and power irresistible: and God was pleased to convince him of his folly and vanity, not by telling him how scanty his *dominion* was, or how low his *office*; but how weak, frail and perishing his *nature* was; that he was man only, and "not God," and should surely find so by the event. When the Lycaonians, upon the sight of a miracle wrought by St. Paul (Acts xiv, 11), took him and Barnabas for gods, they did not think so much of *dominion*, as of power and ability beyond human; and when the apostles answered them, they did not tell them that their *dominion* was only human, or that their *office* was not divine, but that they



had not a divine nature; they were weak, frail, and feeble men, of like infirmities with the rest of their species, and therefore no *gods*." Waterland's Works, Vol. I, p. 305.

The two considerations mentioned by Dr. L. do not, it appears to me, in any way "fortify" the inference he derived from his fanciful grammatical test, in favor of God's being a relative term, which raises so very slight a presumption in its favor, that it left, I suspect, on the minds of most of his readers, the whole weight of the proposition to be sustained by these subsequent considerations.

In answer to the simple authority on which he relies—that of Sir Isaac Newton—I will take the liberty to quote a paragraph or two from a very clever and excellent review of the Doctor's "Argument," which was published in the China Mail of the 23d May, 1850. The Reviewer says, "The third fortification is 'the great authority of Newton.' The quotation from the Scholium of the Principia is in point, and seems to agree with the Doctor's view, but can not corroborate it. Newton, beyond the limits of abstract and natural science, becomes as another man. Does not the Doctor feel this in reading his conjecture respecting prophecy, and his tracts on 'Those two noted corruptions of Scripture?' If he adhere to Newton in all these things, from the convictions of reason, will he not bring the great author to the same test here, according to the maxim quoted by himself, *non enim tam auctoritatis in disputando, quam rationis momenta querenda sunt?*

"But is it not this philosopher's sole object to refute the doctrines of the Epicureans, who believed in the existence of inactive deities, and the Stoics and others who held to *anima mundi*? Newton is maintaining, we apprehend, a question of *facts*, and not of the *application of words*. He does not wish to prove that the term *God* is equivalent to the term *Lord*, but that *God* is the *Lord*, the universal Ruler over a dominion distinct from himself, which the ancient philosophers denied.

"Again; in the Scholium on his profound contemplations on the works of God, Sir Isaac naturally views the Infinite One as the God of nature, and not as the self-existent, prior to all secondary beings. A plurality of objects is necessary to constitute relation, but when God dwelt alone, He sustained no relations, and the term applied to Him in that state is not a relative. Newton says, 'a being without dominion however perfect, is not the Lord God;' but God he surely was without a creature and without a subject. If Newton had been writing a book of synonyms, he would not have defined the word *God* merely by *Lord*, and made the term relative because another title of the same being necessarily implies relation."

There is one thing to be admired in Dr. Legge's "Argument"—he lays aside so entirely the indefinite style, in which the "advocates of *tí* and its cognates" have conducted their part of the controversy, and speaks his mind out fearlessly and fully. Dr. Medhurst, as we have seen, contented himself with saying that "the Supreme in their estimation is variously designated *T'ien*, *T'í*, or *Shángtí*;" and "by *T'í* the Chinese mean the Supreme God so far as they are acquainted with him." Supreme god here may mean, either the chief god of a polytheistic system, or the God over all, the true God: most readers would perhaps understand it in the last sense. Dr. M. however, in his Reply to Dr. Boone's Essay, says that the Chinese know as little of the true God as the Greeks did, and that they have *never conceived* of a self-existent, almighty Being who made heaven and earth; and in his Letter of the 13th January, 1850, "that when he employs the Chinese phrase *Shángtí* as the name of God, in preaching, he does not use it as even alluding to any being with whom the Chinese are acquainted. Dr. Legge speaks out fully and at once on this subject: he rejoices "to acknowledge in the *Shángtí* of the Chinese classics, and the *Shángtí* of the Chinese people, Him who is God over all, blessed for ever."

What Dr. Medhurst's opinion of the meaning of the phrases *Sháng-tí* and *T'í* is, I have found it difficult to decide from reading his Inquiry, his Reply, or the Letter of January 30th. Dr. Legge speaks his opinion out fully: "*T'í* means Ruler; it may be the Supreme Ruler, or it may be any other." p. 28. Of the phrase *Shángtí*, he says, "Separate its constituent characters, and we shall translate them 'Supreme Ruler.' "*T'ienti* 天帝" he says, "simply denotes, in itself, the Heavenly ruler, or Heaven's ruler."

Dr. L. on p. 22, defining appellative or general names, says, "If the idea be of a *dignity* or *office* common to many individuals, it is a relative term." The class denominated by the Chinese word *tí*, he here designates by the word *ruler*; they are therefore classed together because of a "common office or dignity;" thus he sustains the view of this word taken in my Essay, pp. 79, 80, 83, in opposition to that of Dr. Medhurst, as expressed in his Inquiry, p. 110, "The inference therefore is that *tí* is *descriptive* of a class of beings beginning with the highest and passing down to inferior divinities, and is therefore generic for *god* in Chinese."\*

\* In a paper drawn up by Dr. Medhurst when he was proposing to use *tí* with a definition, as mentioned by him on page 6 of the letter of January 30th, 1850, the definition he proposed to use is as follows:—"In this book (the New

Dr. L. has so fully persuaded himself of the truth of this proposition, and of the fact that he has demonstrated its truth, that he risks, and acknowledges that he risks, his whole cause for *Shangti* upon his correctness in maintaining it and another proposition, viz., that the word *god* is *mis-used*, if applied to any other being than the Supreme Being. He speaks out here in the same decided manner which we have admired before:—"I may be permitted to intreat my readers to consider well the fundamental positions on which I have constructed the argument. If these be sound, solid rock—the presumption is that the building reared on them must stand. For myself, I can say, that if the two propositions (those just mentioned) in which I have summed up the preliminary discussion, can be unsettled, I shall feel at once that I must gird up my loins afresh, and commence anew my inquiries for a term in the Chinese language to correspond to the term *God*." p. 41. And in a previous part of the "Argument," after telling us in a passage already quoted, that, "as surely as corn that grows from the bosom of the earth is from God, so also is language that grows up out of the mind of man," he thus warmly expresses his sense of the great impropriety of using a generic term to render a relative: "Change that mind, and you will change the nature of language. Depose the old laws that since the creation have governed the association of ideas, and introduce new ones in their room, and we may use terms of classes" (generic absolute-appellative) "for relative terms. In a word let us make the Chinese, and also ourselves, from being men into beings of a new class—then, *and not till then*, can we employ the character *Shin*" (because generic) "to render *Elohim* or *God*." Dr. Legge thus declares an interminable, internecine war between absolute and relative terms. If the general verdict shall be that *God* is an

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Test.) wherever *Ti* occurs, it is not used in the sense of *human rulers*, but in the sense of *celestial rulers*, and spiritual beings generally worshiped by men. There is however but one *Ti*, the maker of heaven and earth, most honorable and without compare, besides whom no other ought to be worshiped; we therefore call him *Ti*."

In the preamble that precedes this definition, Dr. Medhurst stated, as he and his friends maintain in their letter of the 30th January, that "Messrs. Medhurst, Stronach and Milne contend, as they have always done, that *Ti* is employed in the Chinese classics and other writers, to denote God by way of eminence: while it is used also with reference to other beings worshiped by the Chinese." From this definition, we learn the sense in which they understand the word to be employed, when it denotes "God by way of eminence," viz., "the Ruler by way of eminence," "the celestial Ruler." They say, "Wherever *Ti* occurs" in the New Test., they use it in the sense of "celestial rulers," not "human rulers;" it is plain therefore that they consider the meaning of the word to be "*ruler*" not *god*, and that "*celestial ruler*" is taken as a general equivalent to the words *God, god, gods*

absolute appellative, and not a relative term, the fate of *Shángti*, Dr. L. admits, is decided; indeed he has precluded himself from saying one word in favor of using it as the rendering of *Elohim* (regarded as absolute) unless he hereafter discovers that "*ti*, ruler" is absolute. If then the reader, who does not understand Chinese, wishes to have the issue upon which this question, viz., Whether *Shángti* should or should not be used to render *Elohim*? presented to him in such a way that he needs no knowledge of Chinese to enable him to judge for himself, Dr. L. here brings the matter perfectly within his reach. He admits that *ti* means *ruler*, and that the whole case turns on the decision of the point, Are *God* and *ruler* both relative terms or not? If then the reader should conclude that *God* and *ruler* differ in the one being an absolute term and the other a relative, he may conceive, from the lively picture given us by Dr. L. above, what sad consequences would follow from rendering *Elohim* and *ἔσως* by *Shángti*. And if he wishes to realize more fully the sad consequences that would follow from such a rendering, let him read over the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, substituting the words "Supreme Ruler" and "Supreme Rulership," for the words "God" and "Godhead" wherever they occur; and we think he will be as firmly convinced that "Supreme Ruler" and "Supreme Rulership" (*i. e.* *Shángti*) will never answer as the rendering of the words "God" and "Godhead," as Dr. Legge can be of the correctness of the point on which he "takes his stand."

Dr. Legge confounds the *name* with the *being*. The Being we call *God* sustains numerous relations to us and to other beings, and when we wish to refer to these relations, we call him Creator, Ruler, Father, &c.; but these relations are not implied in the name *God*, as he was *God* before these relations had any existence. And from this fact, that *God* sustains to us not one, but many relations, we derive an additional argument against the use of any relative term to render this word. Relative terms can *strictly* and *properly* be used to designate only a single relationship. Dr. Whateley defines them as follows: "When any object is considered as a part of a whole, viewed in reference to the whole or to another part, of a more complex object of thought, the noun expressing this view is called *relative*; and to *relative* noun is opposed *absolute*, as denoting an object considered as a whole: Thus "father" and "son" are relatives, being regarded each as a part of *the complex object* father-and-son; the same object designated absolutely would be termed a *man*," &c

This complex object of thought is changed in every new relation, so

that if we have occasion to speak of several relations sustained by the same subject, we must designate the subject of which we would predicate these relations, by its absolute name, the name by which we call "an object when considered as a whole," and not by the name of any of these relations. For instance, we may say, This man is my father, her husband, his uncle, &c., &c.; he is a lawyer, merchant, European, Englishman, &c., &c.; but we could not predicate all these several relationships of this same subject, if we designated him by the name of any one of these relations. We could not say, This father is a husband, uncle, lawyer, Englishman, &c. So here, I contend, we can not, as the rendering of the word *God*, use the name of any one of the relations he sustains to us (*e. g.* Supreme Ruler), because no relative term can be used to express all the various relations that God sustains to us and to his other creatures, as I have illustrated in the case of the word *man*. If Dr. L. should, therefore, succeed in proving to our satisfaction that the Being, whom the Chinese designate by the term *Shángtí*, is to be regarded as truly and properly God, I would still object, as I said above, to the use of this phrase to render *Elohim* and Θεός, on the ground that *Shángtí* is a relative term, and not the absolute name of this Being.

Relative terms, Dr. L. tells us, express the idea "of a dignity or office common to many individuals; . . . they do not indicate the essence;" it becomes therefore a question of much interest to inquire, what being it is that the Chinese call "the Supreme Ruler," or "Ruler on high." In my Essay I stated that this being was *Tien*, Heaven, the chief god of the Chinese, and that *Shángtí* was used as one of the titles of this being.

On this point, Dr. L. is very sensitive. Referring to this opinion of mine, he says, "Turning to the 46th page of the Essay, we find that Dr. Boone, to support the idea he is there advocating, quotes and comments as follows: 'In the *Shí King*, *Síau-yé*, *Ching-yueh* section, p. 21, we are expressly told that *Shángtí* is the God of Heaven, *Shángtí t'ien chí shin yé* 上帝天之神也.' This is wonderful. Heaven is the chief god of the Chinese. Then *Shángtí* is the god of the chief god. Vail bonnet,' as Chillingworth says, O chief god, to your chief. It does not matter though your chief be only your own title. 'Thus and thus 'we are expressly told,' and though it seems rather an unreasonable requisition to you, there is no help for it. Ah, chief god! I am afraid you are like some great men upon the earth, vain of their little elevation, and worshipers of their sounding titles!" He then with great naïveté adds, "I really do not know in

what better or more *kindly* way, to expose as truth demands, the erroneousness of such rash statements as that I am now animadverting on."

My statement, which is no obnoxious to Dr. Legge, contains two points; first, that *Shángtí*, "the Supreme Ruler" is *T'ien*, heaven; and 2dly, that this *T'ien* is the chief god of the Chinese. Is the first point correct? If we turn to the Dictionary of Kánghí, we find *Shángtí* thus explained:—*Shángtí t'ien yé*, 上帝天也 the Supreme Ruler is Heaven."

If we turn to Dr. Medhurst's Inquiry, we shall find that he devotes the whole of his second section to the proof of this point, viz., "*Ti*, or *Shángtí* is said to be synonymous with 天 *t'ien*, Heaven....Imperial heaven and *Shángtí* both refer to Heaven, the difference is only in the variation of the expression; the mode of *expression* is different, but the subject matter is the same." Vol. XVII. p. 122.

That Heaven is the divinity, Dr. Medhurst makes the foundation fact of his argument to prove that *Ti* or *Shángtí* means God. "The word which most readily conveys to the Chinese the idea of Divinity is 天 *T'ien*, Heaven: and yet in defining Heaven, they do not say that it is the Being who is the special object of religious worship; but say that Heaven is the one great One who dwells on high and regulates all below. They call Heaven the great Framer, from whom all things originally come, who disposes of all things according to his own decree; in short, in the words of Morrison, Heaven is the unknown God of Confucius. In illustrating anything as divine, the Chinese do not say that it is an object of religious worship, but that it resembles Heaven; when they wish to say that *Ti* means *God*, they assert that *Ti* is synonymous with Heaven, and is one of the names of Heaven; when they wish to exalt their living monarchs by ascribing the most exalted epithets to them, they call their emperor Heaven, or the Divinity; his throne is Heaven's throne; his presence Heaven's countenance; his envoys, Heaven's messengers; and his troops, Heaven's soldiers, &c. When they intend to pay divine honors to imperial ancestors after death, they 以之配天 associate them with Heaven in sacrifice." Reply, Vol. XVII. p. 557.

Again: "The most usual method is to speak of this Being, under the simple designation of *T'ien* 天 Heaven; by which they do not intend the visible heavens, but the being who presides over all, or in other words, the Divinity." *Ibid.* p. 516.

"*Ti* is one of the names of Heaven. (or the Divinity in the estimation of the Chinese); the reason why Heaven is called *Ti* is because *ti* means to judge; this application of the word signifies that Heaven

is *widely extended over all*, without any private feeling, &c., &c." *Ib.* p. 494. On the next page, explaining the sentence, which is from Káng-hí's Dictionary, he says, "A name is that by which a thing is called, the appellation of the being referred to: *that being is T'ien* 天, the Divinity in the estimation of the Chinese, and Tí being *one of his names*, it is equivalent to God in western languages." Dr. Medhurst here certainly regards T'ien as the proper name of this being, and tí as one of his appellative names, which appellative, Dr. Legge contends, is a name of dignity, or office, a relative term.

That "the Supreme Ruler" is, in the opinion of the Chinese, "Heaven," is so universally admitted, that I can not suppose this is the very rash statement that Dr. Legge feels called upon so indignantly to expose. We must then next consider what the Chinese understand by the word *t'ien*. In answer to the question, what is the meaning of the character 天 in the *king* and classics generally (經傳), Chú fútsz' replies, "Men must see and distinguish for themselves; sometimes it means the material heavens (蒼蒼); sometimes it means the ruling power (主宰) and sometimes merely destiny, fate 理." In my Essay, I gave the following explanation of the meanings of *t'ien* :—

"From the earliest antiquity to the present times, the two highest objects of veneration in the national rites of China have been called *Tien* 天 Heaven, and *Tí* 地 Earth; and to the worship of these two objects, a sacrifice called *kíu* 郊, offered at the winter and summer solstices, has, from time immemorial, been appropriated.

"The question that occurs to every one upon learning this fact is, Do the Chinese understand by these words the visible heavens and earth upon which they tread, or are the words used by metonymy, for the invisible beings who preside over heaven and earth respectively? To this, we answer, it is conceded on all hands, we believe, that the material objects are not the objects of worship; and that the words, when used as the names of objects of worship, are employed metaphorically. What then is the object definitely designated by the word *t'ien* 天 heaven, the highest of the objects worshiped in the national rites?

"To this question two different answers may be given, according as regard is had to one or the other of two opinions held by Chinese of different sects, on this point. During the Sung dynasty (about A.D. 1100) there sprung up a sect of philosophers to whom the Romish missionaries have given the name of *altheo-politique*, and to whose views great prominence has been given in all the editions of the classical works published during the present dynasty. This sect would answer the question, what is meant by *Tien*? as follows: *Tien* 天 is *Shángti*, 上帝, the Ruler on high; and *Shángti* is *li* 理, the rule of order, destiny, fate.

"There is another class, however, who we conceive, represent the polytheists of China, and the old views of the state religion, as represented in the *Chau Li* (Ritual of the Chau dynasty, B. C. 1100), who answer as follows: The *T'ien* worshiped at the winter solstice is *T'ien chi shin* 天之神 the God of heaven, and this *T'ien chi shin* 天之神 is *Shángti*, the ruler on high."

"It will be observed that according to both of the opinions above expressed, the word Heaven is used metaphorically, and that 天, the title of *Shángti* 上帝 the Ruler on high, is given by both parties; but the one party so explain their views as to lead to a mere lifeless principle *li*; what they say 'neither wills nor wishes, acts, nor does,' while the other party leads us to polytheism, and to regard the *T'ien chi shin* 天之神, the *Shin* of heaven, and the *ti chi ki* 地之祇 the *Ki* (*Shin*, as he is also called) of the earth, as the two greatest gods in their pantheon."—Vol. XVII. page 34.

It will be observed that in the above view I omitted one of the meanings of *T'ien* given by *Chú fútsz'*, viz., that which regards it as the material heavens. I did so, because "it was conceded on all hands," i. e. by all discussing the subject at the time my Essay was written, "that the material objects are not the objects of worship." There are four or five views of this subject, which can all be sustained by competent Chinese authority. 1st. That of Dr. Morrison, 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." See above, p. 38; which view, we saw, was also that of M. Visdelou. It can be clearly shown that this is the only sense the word will bear in many parts of the classics, where the production of all things is ascribed to heaven and earth; and that it is the material heavens many writers have in mind, when they speak of heaven as the object worshiped in the *kiáu*. Take, as a proof of this, the names "expansive heaven," "bright heaven." The explanation given of the phrases is material. Thus Ching-shí Nghoh's explanation of the words *háu* and *sháng*: "Because of the immensity of its substance (氣 i. e. amount of primary matter which it has), we call [the ruling power] *Háu T'ien*, Expansive Heaven: because its ruling seat is on high, we call it (the power, above called Expansive Heaven) *Shángti*, i. e. the Ruler on high. See Essay, Vol. XVII. p. 45.

It is owing to this we suppose, that Dr. Medhurst, as great a stickler as he is for the doctrine that *T'ien* is the Divinity, the Supreme Being in the estimation of the Chinese, yet says, "The idea they (the Chinese) had of God, was of an originating, *overshadowing*, protecting,



and governing something." Reply, &c. p. 553. And in his Inquiry: "This application of the word *ti*, judge, signifies that Heaven is widely extended over all," &c. page 110. And at page 128, (where he maintains that *Shángtí* is not merely the supreme God of the Chinese, their chief god, &c.) he says, "To all this it will be sufficient to answer, that the Chinese represent the being referred to as, with respect to supreme authority and universal dominion, synonymous with Heaven: now Heaven is *not supreme over one nation but all nations; it over-spreads the whole world*, and is looked to with reverence by every one; therefore we conclude that by Heaven is not meant the chief god of the Chinese, but the supreme ruling power, known and acknowledged in China and everywhere else; the word being used in almost every nation by metonymy for God." But I shall not pursue this subject, as my object at present is not to sustain any one of these views; and this view of the subject has been sufficiently presented by Dr. Morrison and M. Visdelou in the quotations made from them as given above.

The second view is that which regard *Tien*, "the Supreme Ruler" as *Tuu*, the Primitive Reason, or *ti*, destiny, fate. This is the view of the other political school, whose views have also been sufficiently presented above, and are most easy of illustration, as they are made very prominent in all the editions of the classics published during this dynasty.

The third, fourth, and fifth views agree in that they regard "the Supreme Ruler" as *Tien chí Shin* 天之神 "the Shin of Heaven," but differ in the method of understanding the words *heaven* and *shin*. The view taken in the part of my Essay quoted by Dr. Legge is that heaven is here used as the name of a place, and *shin* as the name of the spiritual being, the god, who presides in, or rules over this place; the proper name of which god is *Tien*, Heaven, and his distinctive title *Shángtí*, "the Supreme Ruler," or "the Ruler on high," as this phrase is rendered by some Chinese.

It is clearly shown, I think, in my Essay that this is the opinion held by some of the writers quoted by me, who I suppose, represent the views of the polytheists. This view of *Tien*, as the proper name of *this shin*, and *Shíngtí* as his distinctive title, is borne out by the case of the *Wú Tí* 五帝 Five Rulers. These, Dr. Medhurst allows, are gods, and that they are the *shin* 'who preside over' the five elements; now these *Shin* are distinguished by proper names, *Ling-wei ngáng*, *Chih-piau-nú*, &c., and by the titles "Azure Ruler, Vermilion Ruler," &c. See Essay, p. 77. This is the view which Dr. Legge endeavors

to render ridiculous in his off-hand way. The view may or may not be correct; and if it has, to the reader's mind, anything ridiculous in it, when correctly presented, I am perfectly willing to encounter his ridicule for holding such a view; but I think I was entitled to have my own view presented by Dr. L., when he wished to show that it was absurd, and not another view substituted instead thereof.\*

The fourth view is that of the pantheists. *Tien* is viewed as a compound being, and *Shin* as the informing divinity or spirit. The word *divinity* or *spirit*, may be regarded as either abstract—signifying the divine energies of *Tien*; or concrete—the spirit, soul of this compound being. Dr. Medhurst thus represents these views:—explaining a Chinese sentence, which he thus renders, “*Shángtí* is the same as Heaven; if we were to collect together [in thought] the spiritual energies of Heaven, and speak of it (*i. e.* the collection) we should call it *Shángtí*,” he says, “The way in which the Chinese represent it is something like the following:—*Shángtí* is *Tien*, Heaven, or the Divinity. The *shin* or spiritual energies of Heaven, are diffused throughout all nature; when viewed only as producing wind and rain, such portion of the celestial energies, if personified, would be called 風伯 *Fung Peh* the Manager of the Wind, or 雨師 *Yü Sz'*, the Director of Rain; or if viewed as guiding the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, and the various seasons, would be 六宗 *Luh Tsung*, the Six honored Ones. But supposing all the spiritual energies of heaven collected into one and personified, the name attached to the individual possessing in himself all celestial energies, would be *Shángtí*.† Should it be objected that

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\* Dr. L.'s misrepresentation of my view was, I have no doubt, unintentional, and arose from not adverting to the explanation given of this matter in the previous part of my Essay. Though he renders the word *shin*, *Spirit*, and *God*, yet he understands the word *t'ien* just as I do, and adopts substantially the same explanation of the passage that I gave, as we shall see immediately below I say the same, because I can not suppose that Dr. L. regards the “*Spiritual Being*” who “*possesses* this supreme power,” and *who is* the *Shángtí* (“*Supreme Ruler*”) whom he believes to be “*God over all*,” as only the spirit or soul of the compound Being *Tien*. Whether a spiritual Being possessing such power and dominion should be called a *god* or not, let the reader judge. If we are content to take Dr. L.'s opinion, we must regard this *Shin* as “*God over all, blessed for ever*.”

† This view seems to agree with that set forth by St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*. Lib. IV. Cap. XI.

The subject of the chapter is “*De multis diis, quos doctores Paganorum unum eundem que Jovem esse defendunt*.” We select only a few sentences. “*Quotquot libet igitur physicis rationibus et disputationibus asserant: modo sit Jupiter corporei hujus mundi animus, qui universam istam molem ex quoque, vel quot eis placet, elementis constructam atque compactam implet et movet; modo sit æther, ut ærem Junonem subterfusam de super amplectatur; .....modo autem (ne sit necesse per cuncta discere) deus unus de quo multi a poeta nobilissimo dictum putant.*”

in this way there would be two divinities, Heaven and Shángtí, we reply in the words of the Chinese writer, that *Shángtí* and *Heaven* are the same." See Reply, Vol. XVII. p. 547.

The views of another class he gives us at p. 551 :—" Dr. Boone then (p. 49) alludes to the prayers used in the national worship, according to the 周禮 Ritual of Chau, and affirms that those prayers were addressed to the *Shin*, *Kwei*, and *Ki*, adding that they were presented at a time when the people sacrificed to heaven, earth, and ancestors. From this we perceive that the objects sacrificed to were the great powers of nature, with deceased progenitors; and that *Shin*, *Kwei*, and *Ki*, were the spirits of those objects, sometimes used elliptically for the objects themselves. The annual prayer for grain was said to be offered to Shángtí, from which we are left to infer that Shángtí is included among the spiritual beings to whom prayers were offered; to all which we have no objection to offer. But from neither statement are we entitled to infer that the spirits of the object sacrificed to were the gods of those objects, or that all spiritual beings are gods, because Shángtí is reckoned among them. It appears from the whole that the Chinese prayed to heaven, earth, and deceased men, for certain blessings;\* showing that they considered these capable of conferring the

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Deum namque ire per omnes,  
Terrasque, tractusque maris, cœlumque profundum :

Ipsæ in æthere sit Jupiter, ipse in ære Juno, ipse in mari Neptunus ....in terra Pluto, in terra inferiore Proserpina, in focus domesticis Vesta, in fabricum fornace Vulcanus, in sideribus sol et luna, et stellæ, in divinantibus Apollo, etc. ....hi omnes dii demque sit unus Jupiter."

The reader will observe that it is Shángtí and Jupiter, the chief god of each system, who is thus made the universal, impersonal power, recognized under different names, according to the different offices or works performed by this power. The sentence which Dr. Medhurst here explains was translated in my Essay on the supposition that *shin* was here used as a concrete noun; I am now satisfied that Dr. M. took the more correct view in regarding it as abstract. As the management of the heavenly bodies, &c., however, is rather a divine than a spiritual function, I should prefer to render 天之神 "divine energies," and not "spiritual energies" as Dr. M. has done.

\* If Dr. Medhurst's view is correct, that the Chinese worshiped, in the times of the Chau dynasty, B.C. 1100, heaven, earth, and deceased men, and conceived of the heaven and earth so worshiped as material beings possessed of spirits or souls; it is a great confirmation of the opinions of Dr. Hales and Mr. Faber mentioned above. I may mention that, by demonolatry, both those writers mean the worship, not of devils, but dead men. Dr. Medhurst's theory expressed above, that the Chinese addressed their prayers to, and honored by their worship, the material and not the spiritual part of the object worshiped, seems very strange: take the case of the earth, for instance; that they prayed to the mud, and not to the spirit animating this compound being. May we not better suppose that the class of writers, whose views Dr. M. is here stating, conceive of heaven and earth, the sun, moon, stars, &c., in a manner answering to Cudworth's animalish gods, in which case they would regard the whole compound being as their god—the object prayed to and worshipped.

good things they sought. But we may observe that heaven, earth, and ancestors were the *beings* on whom they relied, and their spirits were prayed to *only as connected with those beings*. They would not have prayed to the *kwei*, if those *kwei* had not belonged to their own ancestors. So also they would not have called upon the *shin* and *k'i*, if they had not belonged to heaven and earth; which great *powers of nature were the objects of their worship*."

Thus we see there are four or five views taken of this subject by different Chinese writers, and there may be as many more for all I know. The holders of these views all agree in calling *t'ien*, *Shángti*, "the Supreme Ruler," whether they understand by this name *t'ien*, on the one hand the material heavens, or a lifeless, senseless, principle; or on the other, the *shin* of heaven, *i. e.* a spiritual being, a god, who resides in or rules over heaven; or the informing divinity, spirit, or soul of the compound being called Heaven, or the divine energies of heaven—all agree in calling *t'ien*, in whichever of these ways they understand the word, "the Supreme Ruler." This shows that *Shángti* is, as Dr. L. contends, a relative term, and does "not indicate the *essence*, or express anything of the *being*" of the supreme ruling power; and it has been for the purpose of illustrating this important point, much more than to defend myself against the ridicule of Dr. Legge, that I have thus commented at length on his remarks on my views of *Shángti* and *T'ien*.

From the views of the Chinese writers introduced above, another fact is apparent which is worthy of our especial notice: it is that the *only ray of theism* that breaks in upon us from these various explanations of *t'ien*, is through the word *shin*. From the phrases "Expansive Heaven, the Supreme Ruler" (with its immense *k'i* 氣 substance and ruling seat on high), and *T'iu*, Primitive Reason, and *li*, destiny, fate, we get no indication that *T'ien*, the Supreme Ruler is "an understanding being" (to use Cudworth's phrase): it is

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When we address a man, we surely do not anatomize him after Dr. M.'s method, and consider whether we are speaking to the material or immaterial part of him. If by the *shin* and *k'i* here referred to, we understand the independent, separate spiritual beings, who preside over heaven and earth, it is as easy to understand why they are considered more honorable and more powerful than any of the other *shin*, as it is to understand why his Imperial Majesty, the *Hwángti* 皇帝, is considered more honorable and more powerful than any other man. It is not as a mere man, that he is made so much an object of honor, but as the ruler of so great a nation: So here, the *shin* of heaven, who is called *Shángti* 上帝 is not superior to the other *shin*, on the score merely of being a *shin*; but is regarded as the chief of the *shin*, and the Supreme Ruler over them all because of his imperium— heaven.

only when we come to those explanations in which *shin* is used, that the Divinity of *T'ien* becomes possible; and in these explanations, *Shángti* is neither more nor less than *this shin* 上帝天之神也. "*Shángti* is the *shin* of Heaven." If *this shin* be a separate, independent being, *ruling over heaven*, a god, *Shángti* is *this god*. If *this shin* be the soul of the compound being *T'ien*, *Shángti*, according to our explanation, is *this soul*. If *this shin* be merely the divine or spiritual energies of *T'ien*, *Shángti* is the title by which it pleases pantheists to designate *these energies*. As long as *Shángti* is defined to be "the *shin* of heaven," the phrase "the Supreme Ruler" must stand or fall with the meaning we attach to *shin*. *T'i*, ruler, does not "indicate the essence," nor "express anything of the being."

It is not easy to determine which of the above views of *shin*, Dr. L. adopts. I should suppose however, it is the one I have placed third, and which he has ridiculed me for rendering "god of heaven." He explains the matter thus: "There is indeed some little perplexity in the way in which the Chinese speak of Heaven, which can only be explained by adopting the conclusion of Dr. Medhurst, 'that by Heaven is not meant the chief god of the Chinese, but the supreme ruling power, known and acknowledged in China and everywhere else; the word being also used in every nation by metonymy for God.'" (Inquiry, p. 128.) Dr. L. continues, "*Shángti* is the *T'ien chi Shin*, the spirit that possesses this Supreme Power. The term *Shángti* declare that possession, and express the meaning of God unadulterated, without diminution and without increase. The very nature of the term declares that it is not a proper name. It is relative, and I appeal to my missionary brethren whether the idea which they get from the characters themselves, and which they know the multitude of the Chinese to get, does not terminate in the Spiritual Being (*shin*) so denominated, instead of leading away their minds to the God Heaven, as the "*substans*," or "*ens*," in which the power is to inhere."

On this explanation, I shall offer two or three remarks. First, Dr. L. considers the *shin* of heaven to be the spirit that possesses *supreme power*; with what right therefore can he complain of my calling *this shin* "the god of heaven?" 2d. This *shin* is called *Shángti*, which "terms," he says, "declare that possession, and express the meaning of God unadulterated, without diminution and without increase." If this be so, instead of writing "the god of heaven," which Dr. L. complains of, I should have written "the GOD of Heaven." 3d. Dr. L. feels the need of some "*substans*" or "*ens*" in which "the supreme power" indicated by the relative term "Supreme Ruler," "is to in-

here :” and he finds it in the *shin*, the spiritual being here called “ the Supreme Ruler.” If then *god* is an absolute term, the “ nomen ipsius substantiæ,” as Tertullian explains it, Dr. L. here makes *shin* the “ *substans*” or “ *ens*” in which this Supreme Power inheres, “ the god of heaven,” and *Shángtí*, the mere title of this god.

If it is my calling *t'ien*, the chief god of the Chinese, instead of calling him, or it, “ God over all, blessed for ever,” that Dr. L. regards as “ the rash statement” he is bound to expose, I can only plead all I have said in the previous part of this paper, on the cosmogony and worship of the Chinese, to show that *Shángtí* is not the true God, in extenuation of my offense. Amidst all the various and conflicting opinions advanced by the Chinese, one fact seems to be certain, viz., that *t'ien* 天 heaven, and *tí* 地 earth, have been worshiped in the *kiáu* sacrifice from the earliest times recorded in their books, and that this is the highest act of worship offered in China. It follows therefore, that these words, whether we are to understand them strictly and properly, or metaphorically, are the names of their two greatest gods. This matter can be put into a nutshell. Unless *T'ien* is the only God, he must be the chief god, or some or all of the other gods must be his equals, or some other god must be superior to him. Which of these will Dr. L. take? He can not say that *T'ien* is the only god the Chinese have ever acknowledged or worshiped, and he is welcome to any of the other suppositions he prefers. Dr. Medhurst sets up a claim, in behalf of the Chinese, for a monotheism similar to that which Cudworth claims in behalf of the Greek philosophers; but his statement is, I think, very rash, and calculated to mislead those unacquainted with the facts of the case—stating these facts, even as Dr. M. has himself stated them in other parts of his writings.

Dr. M.'s statement of the Chinese monotheism is as follows: “Cudworth thinks that the Greeks were both monotheists and polytheists at the same time; that is, understanding the word  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  combined in the two terms in different senses (see Vol. I, p. 374). In the first, as conveying what he calls the natural idea of God, viz., an all-perfect being, the ruler of the universe; and the other as alluding to certain supposed invisible intelligences, who were the objects of religious worship, but subordinate to the one Supreme. *What Cudworth pleads for in behalf of the Greeks may be allowed to the Chinese*, and they may be considered as monotheists, because they believe in one supreme God, *the Author and Ruler of all.*” Reply, Vol. XVII, page 490.

Cudworth claims for the monadic  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  of the Greeks, as Dr. M. himself shows on pp. 553, 554, that he was an absolutely perfect Being,

αὐτεὶός, self-existent, the cause of all other beings, and possessing infinite power, &c. Of *Shángtí*, Dr. Medhurst admits that he is no where said to have "created the heavens and the earth;" and that we do not find that the Chinese predicate of him self-existence, nor do we remember any place in which they expressly describe him as existing from eternity." Again, on p. 553 of his Reply, he writes, "On p. 51, Dr. Boone says, although we admit that the word *skin* is never used by the Chinese to designate the self-existent, almighty Being who made heaven and earth, still we contend that the highest being they have ever conceived of is included in the class called *shin*. We will admit the *first part* of the above statement, because the Chinese have *no idea of such a being* (see Inquiry, p. 109.); and there is no need of contending for the latter, as we do not deny it." Knowing these facts, as Dr. M. did, I can not understand how he could write, "What Cudworth pleads for on behalf of the Greeks may be allowed to the Chinese, and they may be considered as monotheists because they believe in one Supreme God, *the Author and Ruler of all*." Is *Shángtí* an absolutely perfect Being, is he the Author of all, of heaven and earth? The whole statement is calculated to mislead those unacquainted with the facts of the case, and is irreconcilable with Dr. M.'s own acknowledgements given above.

The comparing the Chinese *t'ien* or *Shángtí* to the Greek Ζεὺς or Latin *Jupiter*, does not imply that those who make this comparison suppose there is much similarity in character between the chief gods of these several nations; but what is meant to be affirmed by it is, that they are man-made gods, without holiness, and devoid of those characteristics which distinguish Jehovah, the true God. In some respects the Greek Ζεὺς is very superior to the Chinese *T'ien*; they resemble each other in that the one is Βασιλεὺς "king of gods and men," the other is *Shángtí*, Supreme emperor, or emperor on high: if there are many acts of Ζεὺς unworthy of him, and such as we do not find predicated of *T'ien*, he has, to balance this, a much nobler character in other respects, and an unmistakeable personality. *T'ien*, on the contrary, is a perfect puzzle; impassible, impersonal, and is guilty of no gallantries, and always faithful to *tt* 地 earth, with whom he begat all things;\* yet he is as entirely devoid of all holiness as Ζεὺς was, and indifferent who shares with him the honor of religious worship.

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\* To denote this matrimonial relation, *T'ien* in the Chinese cosmogony, is called the *yáng* (male), and *Ti* is the *yín* (female).

ART. II. *Letter to the Editor of the Repository, accompanied with a translation of a Chinese tract upon Nourishing the Spirit* By

W. H. MEDHURST, D. D.

*To the Editor of the Chinese Repository,*

DEAR SIR, I have the pleasure herewith to forward you the translation of a paper, extracted from the writings of a learned man recently deceased in Kiáng-sí. This paper forms one of many hundreds which he has left behind him. His posthumous works, amounting to about forty volumes, have been published by his disciples, and are distributed gratuitously. The writer was a genuine modern Chinese philosopher, having derived his ideas solely from native sources, of which his productions are sufficient evidence. The essay now sent exhibits some indications of mental activity, and I have endeavored to give it an English dress, in order to show to your readers that mind is not entirely asleep in China. My principal object, however, is to adduce it as an instance of the way in which the word 神 *shin* is employed by the learned of this country.

Lest any should think I have taken an unfair advantage of my author, I herewith inclose a copy of the original paper. You will perceive that the word in question occurs very frequently, and there can be no doubt that the writer uses it in the sense of *spirit*, including both the human spirit and the invisible beings who are sacrificed to by the Chinese. I may safely challenge the warmest advocate of *shin* in the sense of God to make sense of this paper by thus translating it throughout. One who is firmly opposed to me in this controversy, has made use of something like the following observation: "There are writings in Chinese, in which *shin* is so employed up and down, that a man must be a fool to suppose that it means anything else than spirit." The paper now sent you is in my estimation of that character. Let those who maintain that *shin* means God, and who insist on telling the Chinese that there is only one Shin, look to their position, for it is philologically untenable. Let them come forward, and answer the argument derived from the writings of this Chinese, who as it regards the use of terms is one of millions, and whose *usus loquendi* is established by the practice of thousands of years: if they can not, let them not attempt to force the language of a mighty people, nor presume to instruct a whole nation as to the meaning of their own terms, with which natives are much better acquainted than foreigners can possibly be.

But to come to our author; it is evident, from the very title of his piece, that he uses *shin* primarily in the sense of the human spirit. In all that is said about the Rationalist doctors nourishing their *spiritual energies*, and the proud literati allowing their *minds* to wander after the external objects, there can be no doubt that the writer means by *shin* the *spirit of the mind*. When he comes to speak of the prayers that are offered by some to 神明 *spiritual intelligences*, it is evident that the meaning he attaches to the term *shin* is still *spirit*, only in the concrete instead of the abstract sense: and in order to prevent his being mistaken, he calls the one class *spirits* connected with the *seen*, and the other *spirits* belonging to the *unseen* world. These two classes, he says, "*spirits with spirits*," hold intercourse together, without being limited by external form.

On this phrase, Mr. Editor, I am content to rest my argument: 神與神 *spirit with spirit*. That these two words thus coupled together, mean substantially the same thing, no man who is not resolved to maintain his hypothesis, "malgré all objections," can reasonably doubt, and there can be no mistake about the application. The one refers, according to the writer's own explanation, to the spirit of the mind, and the other to the spiritual beings whom the Chinese are in the habit of worshiping, and yet both are *shin*,—unnistakably *shin*—without any adjunct or qualification, *shin*. The inference from



this is unquestionable; either that the human spirit is absolutely God, or that the beings to whom the Chinese people are in the habit of praying are like their own minds mere spirits, in the sense of being invisible and intelligent, yet more powerful as connected with the unseen world, and more honorable as being the spirits that pervade heaven and earth, and the manes of their deceased ancestors.

I wish to call attention to the proof afforded by the present paper, that *shin*, when in regimen, as the *shin* of any person or thing, does not mean the *god*, but the spirit of that person or thing; witness the expression 人之神 *jin chi shin*; will any person venture to contend, that this phrase, as used by the Chinese writer, means the *God of a man*? What, when the author says, that a man's *shin* is incapable of perceiving anything but what takes place in his own body, and what is cognizable to his senses? Is this his *God*? A pretty divinity truly, which knows nothing except what comes through the media of sensation and reflection exercised by the man's self! The person who would imagine this to be his *God*, must himself be what the Chinese call 神思不足 *shin sz' p'uk tsuk*. But there is another expression of the same kind, to which

I would call particular attention, viz. 吾之神 *wú chí shin*. This is a phrase which the advocates of *shin* have used, and to be consistent, must use in the sense of "my *God*;" but see how the Chinese employ it? If 吾心之神 *wú xin chí shin* the spirit of my mind, can only become acquainted with what comes in contact with my eyes and ears, hands and feet; then that which is not cognizable to the senses can not have any communication with 吾之神 *wú chí shin*. Here it is evident that the writer means by *wú chí shin*, my spirits, and no ingenuity can torture the phrase into meaning "my *God*." But suppose we thus understand it, then what absurdities are we landed in! That which is not cognizable to my senses can not have any communication with, or be communicated to, my *God*! Is this a being a man would wish to choose for his *God*? A being that can know nothing but what comes to him through the medium of a man's own senses? A being whose knowledge is as limited as my own, and acquainted only with that which flesh and blood reveals! Let those who will, choose such a being for their divinity, he shall never be my *God*. Now all this absurdity a man must admit who would insist upon it, that *wú chí shin* means "my *God*." It is of no use any longer for our opponents to contend that the Chinese would not understand the phrase "*wú chí shin*," in the sense of "my spirit." Here is a Chinese who *does* so understand it, and who would be astonished if any one were to pretend to understand it otherwise. The remarks of the American Missionary, who lately gave us his thoughts (see page 201 &c.) on the proper term to be employed to translate Elohim and Theos were just, when he said, that the beautifully expressive phrases, My *God*, &c., can not be translated intelligibly by *shin*: the objection urged by an intelligent Chinese was not without its weight, that the passage "My *God*, my *God*, why hast thou forsaken me?" were *shin* employed as the rendering of *God*, would present to his mind the idea of a person sensible of the approach of insanity, and exclaiming, "My senses, my senses, why are you leaving me?"

The remark of the abovenamed writer, that the *God of Abraham*, &c., could not be intelligibly rendered, if *shin* were employed, is also borne out by the phrases used by this Chinese Essayist; for we meet with the expression

周公之神 *Chau kung chí shin*, and 高宗之神 *Káu-tsung chí shin*, which are not used in the sense of the *God*, but of the spirit, of these individuals. So also with 聖人之神 *shing jin chí shin*, in the sense of the spirit, not the *God* of the sages. Thus 亞伯拉罕之神 *Apel*

*lá-hin chí shin* would undoubtedly mean the "*spirit of Abraham*."

In the course of his paper the Chinese author speaks of his *skin*, in the same language precisely as western writers speak of *spirit*. It has its origin in the mighty Infinite, and is the opposite of *body* and *form*. This incorporeal and invisible *spirit* is with difficulty comprehended; it is the most mysterious of all things; without haste it is rapid, without moving it arrives at its point, it can not be intercepted by intervening objects, it can penetrate both metals and minerals, it can not be described as either far or near, it can mount up to the heights of heaven, and dive into the depths of the earth. The spirit associates with spirit in a manner incomprehensible by those who are engrossed by material things, and yet it is the spirit with which men are born into the world, the spirit which animates them—and the spirit which they are to cultivate; in some it is neglected and can not retain its seat, but gets subverted and overturned, as in the case of one foolish, drunk, or dreaming; and in others it can soar aloft till it hold intercourse with the spirits of heaven and earth—or with the Supreme. Surely, if ever there were two corresponding terms, in languages so dissimilar as the Chinese and English, none ever suited each other so exactly as do *skin* and *spirit*.

Suppose then a Chinese theologian endeavoring to prove to his countrymen the divinity of the Savior, were to bring forward the clearest evidence that Jesus is a *skin*—what would he have gained? He would have proved that Jesus originally was, and now is, an invisible, intelligent being. That which every inhabitant of the celestial world, every disembodied human soul, yea, every mischievous sprite is equally with the blessed Savior, i. e. a *spirit*. There is nothing in the term *skin* that would raise the individual claiming it above the nature of angels or human spirits. Jesus may be really and truly a *skin*, as the Chinese understand the term, and yet be far, infinitely far, from possessing a Divine nature. What a door would this open for the future Arians and Socinians of the celestial empire? And how would the stoutest defender of our Lord's divinity be able to shut the mouth of a Chinese objector who should say, "Is Jesus a *skin*? that, as it regards my mental constitution, am I: wherein does your boasted sage exceed?" Let the advocates of *skin* reflect on this, and think on what dangerous ground they are treading.

Having undertaken to write you on the subject of the controversy which has so long been discussed in the periodicals of this country, I can not close without a few remarks on the method adopted by some of the combatants on both sides, in concealing their names. It is rather amusing to see what a number of nameless heroes have gallantly stepped forward, well screened from observation, to have their fling at opponents who really show themselves. First, we have a variety of *articles* on the subject of this controversy in the Repository, not all from the pen of the Editor, without any name attached; then a series of communications from a Correspondent in Ningpo; followed by a Reader, a Constant Reader, an Impartial Reader, a Brother Missionary, an American Missionary, a Lover of plain Common Sense, and Philo; another rejoices in the name of Sciolus (in one sense perhaps not inappropriately); another reviews a pamphlet without owning himself, and not a few come out under the various letters of the alphabet, such as X. Y. Z., Z. Z., L. N. N., to be followed, it may be, by O. Some of these may have withheld their names, in order that their arguments might be left to rest simply on their own basis, unaided by the adventitious influence which might accrue to them from the extensive reputation of the writers; others again, may have been induced to keep their names a secret, lest their announcement should lessen the effects which might otherwise be produced on the public, who look for an extensive acquaintance with a language in those who argue on philological questions. Some might be induced to appear anonymously, in order that when beaten out of their position by the arguments of their opponents, they might be able to carry on the war under another name, and thus avoid the unpleasantness of having to acknowledge their former mistakes; or a single writer may choose to adopt a variety of appellations, in order to induce the impression on the public mind that there are a number of independent advocates on the same side of the question; or a man may wish to aid his cause by alluding to his own writings under another signature. But you will say, we ought not to impute motives to any man, particu-

larly those of a questionable kind. To real men, Mr. Editor, we should not : but would take their *character* as a guaranty for the uprightness of their intentions ; but to men who hide themselves, *men of no name*, and consequently no reputation, we are warranted in ascribing such motives which we have ascribed to them, as those which most probably induced them to conceal their names ; let them come forward with their real signatures, and tell us their motives for concealment, when we will believe them. But seriously speaking, Mr. Editor, it does appear to me, that in a great controversy like this, where interests of such magnitude are involved, and where evangelical laborers abroad, as well as Missionary and Bible Societies at home, watching with anxiety the progress of the argument, desire to know, and have a right to expect to be made acquainted with, the combatants on both sides, it is every way undesirable that men should conceal their names. We are not like political parties striving to undermine each other's influence, and to build up our own cause on the ruin of our opponents ; but earnest men, seeking after the truth, in a most important inquiry connected with the translation of the Holy Scriptures for the most populous nation in the world : anything like a wish to fight under a mask, or avoid discovery, is in my estimation unbecoming the occasion.

And now, I have a word to say regarding the conduct of the Editor of the Repository in this affair. As the conductor of a periodical, it appears to me, that he ought, with reference to this controversy, to act impartially, and to make his publication a vehicle for conveying the sentiments of all. He is of course entitled to his private opinion, and is at liberty to express it editorially. But when a question is started in his pages, and statements are made likely to prejudice any of the controversialists in the eyes of the public, he ought to guard such statements, so as to show that as editor he does not sympathise therewith. Still more, when any of the parties implicated defend themselves, it becomes the editor to give them the benefit of his pages, if in those pages they have been represented, or conceive that they have been represented in an unfavorable point of view. To be explicit. In the No. for July, 1848, the Editor of the Chinese Repository published a letter, entitled "A few Plain Questions addressed to those missionaries, who, in their preaching or writing, teach the Chinese to worship Shangti ;" signed by "A Brother Missionary." In the course of his letter, the writer asks, "Is not the conclusion irresistible that he who shall worship Shangti, or shall teach men so to do, is guilty of breaking the first and chiefest commandment of God?" There were those who, when the letter appeared, considered it likely to prejudice the missionaries who were opposed to the writer very considerably, in the estimation of the public generally, and of the religious Societies who sent them out, in particular. Did the editor approve of the language employed? If not, how came he to admit the letter into his periodical, without qualification or remark? But supposing it to have been done inconsiderately ; ought he not, in common justice, to have inserted any reply that might have reached him, from any of the parties who considered themselves aggrieved, that at any rate, the *defense might travel as far as the implied charge?* It was six months after the date of publication before the abovenamed letter reached me ; as soon as I saw it, I drew up a Reply to the Few plain Questions of a Brother Missionary, and in order to secure its early appearance among my friends, I had it printed under my own eye. A copy of it was sent among others, to the Editor of the Chinese Repository. Why did he not, if desirous that his readers should hear the other side, give it instant admission to his pages? His periodical had been the medium of circulating the "Questions," and why did he not make it the means of giving equal publicity to the "Reply?" Was the argument badly constructed? Was the spirit in which it was drawn up blameworthy? Let the public judge. The writer put his own name to it, and was alone responsible for its contents.

But you will say, all this was done during the absence of the present Editor. Be it so. I will now come to some editorial remarks made by the present conductor of the periodical in question. In the number for February, 1850, you, Mr. Editor, have appended a few observations to the anonymous letter of L. N. N. in the course of which you say ; "We are not willing that gentlemen standing in the position that Messrs. Medhurst, Stronach, and Milne do as the

delegates of their fellow missionaries to revise the New Testament, should separate themselves from the Committee at large, and assert that the insertion of such a term as *shin* for the translation of *theos*, will render the whole work unclassical and contemptible, without entering a protest against it. Some of those whom they represent believe *shin* to be the best word, all things considered; and to designate the revision by such epithets is unnecessary and unseemly." May I beg of you, Mr. Editor, to explain what you mean by the above paragraph. Have not Messrs. Stronach, Milne, and myself a right to assert what we think to be true? Does the fact of our being delegated by others, or representing others, deprive us of that right? Have we put forth the statement complained of as the opinion of our constituents, for which they are responsible, or as our own? If the latter, what have our constituents to do with it, except to point out its fallacy, if they can? Some of those whom we represent, you say, believe *shin* to be the best word, all things considered, and what of that? Some of them think it to be the worst word, all things considered; are not the latter as much entitled to their opinion as the former, and where is the unseemliness of their asserting it, or of our asserting it for ourselves and them? Even supposing that by so doing we have to separate ourselves from the Committee at large, where would be the harm of that if we thought the Committee at large in the wrong? Surely the men whom you have named, who have been considered by the general sentiment of the missionary body as among those who are the most fit for the work of translation, are entitled to express an opinion on the subject, even though they should differ from *all* their brethren. But they are *not* so situated. One of them is sustained by the united voice of the station which has delegated him, and the others by the unanimous opinion of all the missionaries from the same Society, as well as by the recorded opinion of the British and Foreign Bible Society, that *shin* is not the most appropriate word to be used as a translation of *theos* in the New Testament. They do not therefore stand alone. Or do you, by the General Committee, mean the missionaries who assembled at the original meeting at Hongkong, in 1843? Search the records, and you will find that a majority of the missionaries who were then assembled, and who gave the impulse to the movement for revising the Chinese version of the Scriptures, were opposed to *shin*. But what is it against which you protest? The assertion that "the insertion of such a term as *shin* for the translation of *theos* will render the whole work unclassical and contemptible?" Instead of protesting against this, would it not have been better to try and prove that the use of *shin* as a translation of *theos* in the New Testament, particularly in passages where *theos* is spoken of as possessing infinite power and universal dominion, is in conformity with the usages of the Chinese classics. Those classics do speak of such a being: do they designate him *Shin*? and would not a Chinese classical scholar deem the work, in which such a term was used to designate such a being, contemptible? I again assert it, that the use of *shin* as a translation of *theos* in the New Testament would render the whole work unclassical and contemptible. Now prove the converse of the proposition; and if you can not, your protest is unavailing. But after all, you, or those in whose behalf you enter your protest, only believe *shin* to be the best word, "*all things considered*:" you say also that against *shin*, as well as against other terms, strong arguments might be urged. It seems then you do not esteem your favorite term unexceptionable—that there are strong reasons to be urged against it. And are you then in a position to protest against those who go a little further than you do, and discard it as a translation of *Theos* altogether? Permit me to refer you to the exhortation of a "Brother Missionary," in your number for July, 1848, whose authority you will not question, "This matter is of such grave and solemn import, that I can not conclude without alluding to a precept of great importance in all questions of casuistry, viz., In all doubtful cases take the safe side."

I remain, My dear Sir, Yours faithfully,  
Shanghai, June 11th, 1850

W H MEDHURST.

On *Yáng sin shin* 養心神, *Fostering the Spirit of the Mind.*

THERE is nothing more 靈 intelligent than 神 spirit, but when men do not know how to foster it, then spirits become spiritless, because of their want of intelligence. When men allow the seven passions and the six objects of desire to disturb their spirit, although at the time, their 血氣 bodily powers are most vigorous, and they might otherwise promote the growth of their spiritual energies, yet their spirits remain dark. That their spirits should be dark is still a small matter; but by gratifying every kind of relish and attachment, and by thinking on things that they have no need, and ought not to think of, they leave their spirits without a moment's rest, until their spirits are dissipated and confused, and have no home to return to. Hence the Rationalist doctors laid so much stress on 養神 fostering the spiritual energies, considering that when the spirit was kept still, wisdom would spontaneously spring up; when wisdom sprang up, the virtuous nature decreed to be conferred by heaven, would manifest itself in the very centre of our 心神 mental being; until, without aim and without effort, we might combine in ourselves the natural tendencies to good which emanate from the 太極 Mighty Infinite; thus, by cultivating stillness, they nourished their spiritual energies. Their disciples having missed the original aim, have been despised by the literati and the Buddhists, because they aimed only at nourishing their bodily powers; and their spirits, bright and intelligent though they be, were unable to attain to the virtuous nature conferred by the decree of heaven: all this because they allowed the spirit of emulation to contend within, esteeming themselves to be right and others wrong, con-sorting only with men of similar views, and opposing all who differed from them, little thinking that that by which we can cause our virtuous nature to expand, until it fills the universe is the human spirit; and that that by which our natural life is enabled to extend its pangs, is also the human spirit.

The modern alchymists however, swallowing medicaments in order to foster their spirits, are very gross in their conceptions, and would never succeed in fostering the same by stillness, without renouncing their sensualities and passions, so as not to be influenced by them. The way in which men enter deeply into the great principles of reason (大道) is by cultivating perfect stillness, when their spirits become settled: as when a sharp bodkin is employed to penetrate substances, there is nothing so hard that it will not perforate. The literati employing their energies in the pursuit of knowledge, and making it their

daily business to increase their acquaintance with things, consider that their 靈 intelligence is sufficient to understand all matters, while they have a pit before them which everybody else can see, and they stalk on till they fall into it. What is the cause of this, but their al-  
 loving the 心神 spirit of their minds to gallop away after external objects, like a man occupied with looking at distant mountains, not knowing that his feet have already fallen into a quagmire? The polished scholars of the present day esteem themselves to be the most clever people in the world, and sometimes they are outwitted by men of a very inferior stamp, and entangled in the meshes of their nets, because their spirits are dissipated about external annoyances, and they are unable to cultivate an acquaintance with themselves; all this arises from a want of silent meditation. Others again, seeking to avert calamities and obtain blessings, pray to 神明 spiritual intelligences, because they think that such are intelligent and incomprehensible by mankind, not knowing that the visible and invisible worlds, being separated one from another, the medium whereby 吾之陽神 our spirits in this seen world, can communicate with the invisible spirits of the unseen world, is just because 神與神 spirit with spirits hold intercourse together, without being trammelled by the limits of external form.

Since then our own spirits can hold intercourse with the spirits of the invisible world, it is clear that our spirits must like them be intelligent. Hence it was, that when the ancients offered sacrifices, they fasted to a great extent, in order to settle their own spirits, and then they could hold intercourse with the spirits which pervade heaven and earth, together with the manes of their ancestors. Some however, who insist upon discerning some visible traces of their being, think that the existence of 鬼神 spiritual essences is after all a mere pretense. But when our bodies, from the hair on the head to the sole of the foot, happen to experience the least pain or itching, it is immediately perceived by the mind: the reason of this is, that our spirits, though collected in the heart, pervade at the same time every part of the body. Taking our bodies therefore as a ground of argument, we should say that there is not a separate mind for every part of the head, eyes, hands, and feet; but the heart resides in the centre, and is fully acquainted with every pain, connected with each hair and fibre: it is not necessary for the ear to listen, or the eye to see, or the hand to feel, but the 心神 mind is instantly acquainted with it, as speedily as echo follows sound. If the mind however be absent, a man sees without perceiving, and hears without noticing, because the spirit is taken up with something

else, and impeded by that one thing. The mind is however the same, and when sensation and perception are sometimes different, are we to account that the spirit is different? But how can the spirit be different? The spirit although unobstructed by 形 matter, can not avoid being influenced and enslaved by every partial and private thing it observes; and although pervading the whole body, as that which is general passes through every particular, yet being influenced and enslaved by other things, the spirit can not be in everything perspicuous and clear; but let it be silent and still, then the bite of every little insect on the body is invariably perceived, because their spirit sits there to superintend, and extends its observations to every part.

Hence, when a person wishes to foster his spiritual energies, he must first exclude the observation of what is private and partial, and then his spirit will be in everything perspicuous and clear, but 人之神 the human spirit, with the exception of what takes place in a man's own body, and with the exception of what he sees and hears, is capable of perceiving nothing; how difficult then is it for a spirit connected with the visible world to extend its observations; but the spirits of the invisible world are on the contrary acquainted with everything. If 吾心之神 the spirit of my mind can only become acquainted with what comes in contact with my eyes and ears, hands and feet, then that which is not cognizable to the senses, can not have any communication with 吾之神 my spirit. If then, I can not extend my observations to that which is not in some connection with my body, it follows that there are many 有形者 corporeal things that I can not become acquainted with, how then can I become perfectly acquainted with the invisible world, and 祭禮之神 those spirits which are sacrificed to? The spirit which men have when they are born into the world, has its origin in the Mighty Infinite; although the Mighty Infinite has conferred a variety of forms on the myriad of things, yet there is one 氣 subtile fluid that pervades them all: as in the 元氣 constitution of the human body, one subtile fluid pervades every part of it, and can not be held not to pervade it, because the eyes and ears, the hands and feet have different forms, and are put to different uses. The intelligent man, aware of this, ought not, because of the bodily members, to say, this my body sustains no connection with heaven and earth, men and things. If indeed there were no connection, how is it that the body of each individual must depend on the sustenance of heaven and earth, with the men and things around it, before it can become a body? It is because the one subtile fluid pervades all, that men produce and sustain each other; and since one

subtile fluid pervades all, is spirit alone to be held as not pervading all? But the pervadings of this incorporeal and invisible spirit, can not be comprehended in the mind, unless that mind be kept perfectly still; and such matters are with difficulty perceived and believed, unless a man's contemplations are deep, and his mind unprejudiced and intelligent. Spirit may be held to be the most mysterious of all things: without haste it is rapid, without moving, it arrives at its point: it can not be intercepted by intervening objects; it can penetrate both metals and minerals, and can not be described as far or near; it can mount up to the heights of heaven; it can dive into the depths of the earth. Men being impeded by matter and form, can not conceive how spirit can associate with spirit; amongst these latter, connections and separations are of a nature not to be fathomed by human thought; but when men do not foster their mental energies, their spirits will not even be able fully to blend with their own bodies, but will be subverted and overturned, which is what is called in common discourse 失却魂魄 losing one's senses. Sometimes also the spirit does not retain its seat, as in the case of one foolish, drunk, or dreaming; and how can one expect with this human spirit thus diminished, to hold intercourse with the spirits of heaven, and earth, and all things?

The spirit of Chau Kung could cause great storms of thunder and lightning in the skies: the spirit of Káu-tzung could hold intercourse with the 帝 Supreme, so as to obtain a minister from 傅嚴 Fú-yen: the sincerity of these was all-penetrating, because their spirits were thus. We may carry out the same idea to Tsang-tsz,' who when his mother bit her finger, felt in his 神心 mind a sympathy, and when his father became sick, felt his heart affected; all which is to be ascribed to the penetrations of spirits, which are not in the slightest degree impeded by the distance to which bodies are removed from each other. Thus it is that the spirit of the sages can influence all men and things under heaven, and extend even to future generations; his heart being correct, and his 氣 energies abundant, his spirit can expand and influence a myriad ages, without being limited to a single time and place. Therefore when the work of nourishing the spirit is carried out to perfection, most assuredly all the 神靈 spiritual intelligences in heaven and earth, whether in ancient or modern times, will be accumulated in the spirit of my person; and the spirit of my mind will be able to comprehend the success or failure of former or later affairs and things throughout the whole world; which state of mind is what is commonly called that of an 仙 immortal. How can there be anything more wonderful than this?



The results of nourishing our spirits are, that we regain our original perfect nature, and that which was decreed by Heaven to bestow, we make our own; it is no longer necessary to talk of a renewed cultivation of such virtuous nature, for such virtuous nature is already firmly established. This is the way in which Líu-tsz' adopted the method of nourishing the spirit, to cause men to revert to their originally virtuous nature, and connect themselves with that which Heaven had decreed to bestow, without men's being themselves aware of it. Some people ask how it is, that when the affairs of human life are so multifarious and ever-changing, we can ever succeed in nourishing our mental energies? not knowing that these affairs do not come of their own accord, but are constantly brought on by men themselves. Should there be any matters that come upon us without our intervention, we should just treat them in a natural and unconstrained manner, without attempting to force them. When in trouble we should go through our troubles, and when in poverty we should bear our poverty, leaving the matter of life and death to the disposal of Providence, and not allowing our minds to be moved by anything that respects life or death. When such things are incapable of annoying and moving our hearts, how can they annoy the spirit of our minds. Mencius said, "A man of resolution does not disturb himself about being buried in a ditch, and a brave man cares not if he lose his head." When we can compose our minds in the most distressed and trying circumstances and affairs, we shall be able to go through the dangerous passes of life as if they were an even path. It is only because men in the present life are desirous of contending with their circumstances; when poor, they are not content to remain poor, but adopt schemes for seeking after riches; when low they are not content to continue low, but speculate in search of honors. Moreover, when they are rich, they aim to become more rich; and when noble, they aspire to be more noble; and thus meet with all sorts of annoyances and disappointments, the whole of which they bring upon themselves.

If now, we could but leave all these matters alone, and when poverty comes, let it come; when degradation assails, let it assail; being content under every circumstance, what would then prevent us from nourishing the spirit of our minds. But we have not been able thus to nourish our spirits; could we really succeed in so doing, then we should find no difficulty in discerning every matter in the world, in whatever direction the 神光 light of our minds might be brought to shine. Water may dash down a steep place, without having any intention of so doing, and the white clouds may gather a round the sun-

mit of a hill without designing so to do; in like manner we may keep our minds in perfect stillness, although daily engaged in the arena of public strife. In this way the three religions [of China] may be united in one, by merely cultivating stillness, and then 神可養 our spirits may be nourished, our virtuous natures regained, and we unite in virtue with heaven and earth. Some men object and say, it is easy to talk about being still, but it is difficult to accomplish it, not knowing that the fault lies in men's unwillingness to remain still.

*Note.* As Dr. Medhurst calls on us in the introduction to the preceding translation to explain our remarks on page 95, we can not well decline to do so. In replying to his letter, we shall endeavor to confine our observations to the subjects he has touched upon, without entering upon the general argument involved in them, of which our readers have already the leading features. We are not quite sure, however, that we have done the Doctor much of a kindness in publishing his prefatory letter.

Dr. Medhurst seems to know whether the Editor is the author of articles in the Repository destitute of any signature; and rather smiles at the nameless heroes who have come into the arena of conflict with their visors down, and cyphers for their crests. But as this is a general and allowed usage, we are not careful to inquire who are the authors of all the articles sent us, for we are willing to let every one speak, who does so in proper terms. A fair inference is that Dr. Medhurst himself is the writer of articles which he knows so well are not editorial, though without any signature; and we hold that if he is not, it is rather impertinent for him to make the assertion which he has in his letter, and he can choose between a breach of good manners, or writing *sub rosa*. We do not suppose that any of the writers are unwilling to have him or any one else know their names; and we can not see how this knowledge would make the slightest difference with the force or justness of their arguments. Although we have before been charged with a want of impartiality in this controversy, we have not deemed the assertion worthy of notice, for the simple reason that we have, with one trifling exception, inserted everything on both sides sent us upon this topic, deeming this to be as impartial as was expected. Was it a breach of impartiality to insert the letter signed "A Brother Missionary," in Vol. XVII, page 356, just as it was sent, without note or comment? We think Dr. Medhurst's zeal in the discussion has rather obscured his ideas of the meaning of the word, if he calls our silence a breach of impartiality; and when as "senior wrangler," he took up the cudgels on behalf of those who use Shángtí, and printed his Reply of several pages himself, "in order to secure its early appearance among his friends;" was it incumbent on us, because, as well as others of his friends, we received a copy, to fill our pages with it too, when moreover we were never requested to reprint it? It was no fault of our's if the July number of the Repository did not reach Shánghái till December; and we have nothing to do with his printing his Reply; but where is Dr. M.'s candor and courtesy in belaboring us as he does for saying nothing, when he never even refers to Bp. Boone's remarks in Vol. XVIII, p. 97, in explanation of this very article signed A Brother Missionary, which was written and sent us for insertion just as soon as he heard those Questions had given umbrage? Would not that explanation travel as far as the original article, and was it not enough to satisfy any reasonable man of its intent? We think it enough to state these facts of the case. His Reply contained no new facts upon the discussion, which made it worth reprinting, it was written with some asperity, and as it was widely scattered, we supposed every one in China interested in it would see quite enough of it without having it over again in the Repository. Our readers would not thank us for reprinting all which proceeds from Dr. Medhurst's pen and press, merely because he sends us a copy. More of our pages have already been occupied with the views he advocates on this question, than with their opposites; there having been 313 pages of the last six volumes taken up with the former, and 316

pages with the latter, besides some thirty or forty pages more of a general nature, not exactly on either side. Dr. Medhurst has printed nothing on the opposite side of the question to that which he takes, while his own writings on this subject not inserted in the Repository, and those of Dr. Legge on the same side, exceed 550 octavo pages. It is not for want of industry, therefore, on the part of these brethren that we have not been convinced that *Shangti* is the word by which to render Theos; but we are quite willing to leave the charge of editorial unfairness to the decision of our readers.

If, however, we are so summarily accused, convicted, and condemned by the worthy Doctor for saying nothing, we hardly know what he would have done to us, if we had expressed our honest convictions upon Dr. Boone's Few Plain Questions. We have now no doubt that, for years we were unwittingly upholding idolatry in the minds of such Chinese as heard our explanations of the New Testament by using the title *Shángti* for God proprié, and that they confounded the God over all, blessed for ever, whom we referred to, with their idols of that name. And even Chinese well instructed in truth make the same confusion. In a small volume of hymns, printed at Malacca and also at Hongkong, at the L. M. Society's press, entitled *Yang-sin-shin Shi* 養心神詩 (which we shall be accused of unfairness and ignorance, if we do not now translate Hymns for Fostering the Spirit of the Mind, as it bears the same title as the preceding tract, though we suppose the author meant Divine Hymns for Nourishing the Heart), are many terms for the Almighty. In the first line it is said, "*Shin* is an almighty, eternal, living *ling*;" then in another place, "*Shin-ti* is three persons and one body;" then, "*Shángti* is omniscient;" and in a fourth verse,

"How did they know that *Yuh-ti* from his seat in heaven,  
Would laugh at their foolish plans and schemes?"

No one can doubt that by *Yuh-ti*, or Gemined Emperor, every Chinese refers to the idol called *Yuh hwáng Shángti*, and the author of these hymns must be supposed to have known the same, and also that no one was likely to mistake *Shin* in the first line for spirit. Really, we should like to know what form of phraseology, a Chinese should adopt to express his idea that *shin* meant God or god, supposing Dr. Medhurst was willing to allow that any individual Chinese really believed such a meaning to attach to it, as we suppose the writer of this hymn book did. The confusion is almost inevitable in the mind of a Chinese. Does not every native who passes by Union Chapel in Hongkong, for instance, get a more correct idea, vague though it may be, of the Divinity worshiped there by seeing the words *Chin Shin táng* 真神堂 over the door, than if the chapel should be called *Shángti táng*? Would Dr. Medhurst venture to put up the sign 上帝廟 over a Christian temple?

In entering a protest against Messrs. Medhurst, Stronach and Milne, publicly stigmatizing a version with *shin* in it used for *theos*, as unclassical and contemptible, we wished in the first place to put in a caveat against the use of hard words. On page 460 of Vol. XVII, Dr. Medhurst properly says, "they do not serve the interests of truth, and are not likely to carry conviction with them." We doubt if he could find a harsher word than *contemptible* with which to blackball a version he disapproved of. In whose eyes would it be contemptible? If in the eyes of himself and his coadjutors, then they have been for the last ten or fifteen years circulating a contemptible version, for the present one, chiefly revised by Dr. Medhurst himself, contains the term *shin* used in hundreds of cases for God by way of eminence. Dr. Morrison also issued a contemptible version, and both of them we hope have been blessed to the conversion of souls; thousands of contemptible tracts have moreover been circulated, productive it is to be hoped of no small amount of good. In the second place, we think that these brethren lower themselves by applying such epithets to any version of the Word of God; and though they may not thank us for being more careful of their own reputation than they are themselves; yet we can but animadvert on the use of such epithets.

That a version with the word *shin* used for *gods* would be, as Dr. M. and his condutors assert, *unclassical*, depends upon the literary taste of a people. They, as well as the rest of the Committee of Delegates and all persons interested in the revision, no doubt wish to make the Bible as much a classic in Chinese as it is in English, and as much as a translation can be in any language; but the use or misuse of one word can not stamp it as unclassical, especially when that word itself has a great diversity of meanings. Dr. Medhurst has here given the translation of a piece in which *shin* is no doubt used for *spirit*, but this surely does not prove that it is never used for anything else, much less that it would be unclassical to use it for *god*,\* or for the highest object of worship. *Shin* probably never was used for God proprie by any Chinese writer, for the people of this empire are yet ignorant of Him; but, just as surely as we who use the word *god* in English apply it correctly as the common term for all objects of worship among heathen nations, as can be abundantly shown from the English Bible, so is the term *shin* used for objects of worship in Chinese from Slangti down to the lowest. We will make a few quotations to show this from a living writer, who is quite as well acquainted with his own language as the author of the tract introduced above.

In a Geography lately published, speaking of the Persians, he says, "As the source of life they carefully respect and sacrifice to the sun as (*ho shin*) the god of Fire." Also, speaking of ruins at Orinuz, "There is an old temple there where the sun, the god of Fire, was honored." And again, "The Africans worship trees, birds, and beasts as gods (*shin*), and whoever kills an enemy offers him in sacrifice to them. . . . The people of Guinea also worship birds and beasts as (*shin*) gods." Now *shin* is rightly translated *gods* in these extracts, or else the author did not know how to use his own language, or else objects of worship are not properly called *gods* in English, as in Isaiah xliv. It is impertinent to our common sense and usages of speech as Englishmen to tell us the latter; and if the governor of Fuhkien means anything else than god or gods by the word *shin* in these places, he is still alive, and his ideas can be ascertained. The Persians had but one object of worship, was it not a *god*? The Africans had many, were they not *gods*? What spirit or spiritual essence did His Excellency suppose existed in trees, birds, and beasts, when he called them *shin*? We allow *shin* means spirit in some places, but if Dr. Medhurst will permit us to apply his own quotation, "There are writings in Chinese in which *shin* is so employed up and down, that a man must be a fool to suppose that it means anything else than god." We also introduce another extract from the same work which we think "fortifies" this application of *shin* to *god*; but previously beg to call Dr. Medhurst's attention to the meaning given to the words *tien shin* in his translation of K'anghi's Dictionary,—“the celestial gods who draw forth or develop all things.”

"In ancient times, the Indians and Persians all served (*sz'*) the god of Fire; in Judea and west of it all served (*tien shin*) the God of Heaven. Those who served the god of Fire worshipped the rising sun, with burning faggots turned towards it, and bowing down. The people [believed] that without the influence of fire they would die, and that if there was no sunlight, the whole world could not see; therefore the people of these two countries from of old had this custom, considering that in so doing they required their origin, and that this was not a (*sh' shin*) false god. The worship of the God of Heaven (*tien shin*) began with Moses, about the rise of the Sh'ang dynasty in the reign of Wu'lung. According to his words, the God of Heaven descended upon Mt. Sinai (in Arabia), delivering ten laws to instruct mankind; the observance of a seventh day of rest began at this time. Jesus was born a thousand and several hundred years after this. The (*tien-ch'ü ki'üw*) religion of the Lord of Heaven originated at this time, but it was not that we now call the Tiench'ü ki'üw (or Romish religion).

"The sect of Fuh sprang from India, thus altering the custom of worshipping fire; but the custom of worshipping fire is still maintained in two countries in the west, Koadooz

\* Not *God* proprie as Dr. M. incorrectly writes above; for the word *god* and *God* differ in English as much as *man* and *Man* (i. e. Mr. Mau) do. The absence of a capital letter is a hindrance to the easy understanding of many words in Chinese, but Dr. Medhurst must know that by leaving a blank space before the character *shin* when used for *God*, and none when used for *god*, the phrases "My God, my God," "the God of Abraham," "the gods of the nations," &c., will to an attentive reader of the Bible be far more intelligible than he represents them as likely to be.

and Bombay in Southern India, which thus give us very clear evidence of the fact. Persia had not yet changed this custom before the T'ang dynasty, but after that she was overrun by the Mohammedans, she first adhered to their religion, and to this day observes it; yet some also worship the god of Fire, and it is for this purpose, that there is an old temple at Ormuz to the sun as the god of Fire.

"In China, before the Five dynasties (A.D. 907-959), there was a temple to the (*shên shên*) God of Heaven, one to the (*hâ shên*) foreign Heaven, and one to the fiery Heaven. In the time of T'ang, there were Persian religious books; and in the 4th year of T'ienp'au, it was ordered by government that the Persian monasteries or churches in both capitals should be changed to the (*T'â-tsin sz'*) Judean monastery. There was also a Tablet [commemorating] the diffusion of the illustrious religion of Judea in China, set up in the 2d year of Kienchung (A.D. 781), of which the priest King Tsing of the Judean church wrote. His doctrine arose in Fuhlin,\* which was on the eastern borders of T'â-tsin. † That which we call (*hâ shên*) foreign Heaven is (*shên shên*) the God of Heaven, and seems to belong to T'â-tsin; ‡ and to foreshadow or refer to the religion of Jesus.

"If the religion of the god of Fire began from Persia, then it had nothing to do with that of Judea, but is what is called (*ho shên*) heaven of Fire. To mix up the god of Fire with the God of Heaven is to say that the Persian faith proceeded from Judea, which is as absurd as to say that my family ancestor belonged to a family of another surname. The tablet about the 'Illustrious religion' is still more absurd, for this is the fire worshiper's doctrine; in the tablet it is said, 'A bright star proclaimed the happy event; he suspended the bright sun to break open the abodes of darkness; at midday he ascended in truth;' &c., all which point to the sun's fire. The expressions, 'Determining in the form of the cross to establish the four quarters of the earth, and once in seven days there is divine service; show that it is connected with the *shên-châ k'iao* or Romish religion. Who is referred to in the expression, 'the mysterious Three-one, the true, eternal Lord Aloah,' we do not know. The whole of the composition, however, partly resembles the vagaries of Budha, but if it is not of the Persians, or the Romanists, or the Buddhists, we do not know of what doctrine to call it, for the worship of the god of Fire among the Persians is an old custom, while the Buddhist doctrine was promulgated in India, the next country on the east, and that of the God of Heaven came from Judea, adjoining it on the west. Since the days of the T'ang dynasty, the doctrine of the Romanists has greatly extended and flourished, and the clever foreign priest King Tsing combined the tenets of the three religions, and formed one which he called the *king k'iao*, or Illustrious religion, by which he made himself exceedingly famous. The Chinese did not know this origin of it, but respected and believed it just as he told them, in this showing how just the observation of Ch'ang Li is, 'You wish for and hearken to whatever is strange.'

"It is further said in the Tablet, 'In the 12th year of Chingwân (A.D. 639), Olopan, a man of great virtue from the kingdom of Judea, bringing the Scriptures and images from afar has come and presented them at our capital.' This Olopan being from Judea, he was of the Romish religion without doubt, and these scriptures were the sacred books and gospels which have come to us from Europe, and the images were those of Jesus on the cross, though at that time we do not hear of them as like this. As to what is said of the Illustrious religion, that it was chiefly imitated from the tenets of the Persians, and the external adornments and rites were gathered from the observances of Buddhists, I can not fully explain it; but since the days of T'ang, while the doctrines of Budha have extended and flourished, the temples of the god of Fire and foreign God, and the Persian and Judean faiths, have not again been seen. According to western writers, the Judean faith still exists in Abyssinia in Africa, and is the same as the fire worship of the Persians."

Not to extend these remarks too far, we may observe that these quotations, and others which might be added, show that Sh'angti is not regarded as a generic name proper to apply to the gods of foreign countries, but that where the writer is ignorant of the title of a divinity, he uses *shên* to show that it is worshipped as a god. Where the author of this work obtained the preceding account he does not tell us, but we think it shows that to use *shên* will be neither unclassical nor contemptible, for his testimony of the use of the words *shên-shên*, when taken in connection with the power ascribed to *shên-shên* in K'anghí, is authority enough for the use of *shên* for *God* and *god* in the S. S.

\* This country (Philistia) is Judea, which was first established by Moses, of whom Jesus was a descendant.

† T'â-tsin is the country of Rome in Italy; the men of the Han dynasty seeing that the people were tall and powerful, like the Chinese, called it T'â-tsin, but this name is unknown to the people themselves.

‡ Fuhlin was governed by Rome from the Han dynasty, but in the days of T'ang, it was seized by the Arabians.

We are willing to rest the philological evidence of *shin* for *god* upon this work, while too we admit that it has much wider significations in Chinese than *god* has in English; and the reason appears to us plain why it is so much applied to spirits, viz., because of the greater importance paid by the Chinese to the worship of ancestral manes than was ever the case in other heathen lands. The wide diffusion of the Scriptures will tend to restrict its modern usage to one being, and remove the plural ideas so intimately connected with it in the minds of this people; this idea of plurality is one of the objections we referred to on page 95, and its variety of meanings is another; but they together have not half the weight of the objection that *Shángtí* is the title of several idols, and will be and is so often confounded with them if used for God.

It is difficult to reason upon this subject with a man like Dr. Medhurst. At one time he translates *shin* as *god, gods*; then says it means *spirit, sages, fairies*, and can never be rendered *god*:—he first says *Shángtí* is not the proper name of an idol, but denotes the Supreme Being; and presently explains that this Supreme Being is not the true God, but comes as near to him as the Chinese know; and lastly declares that it is a generic term for *god*, because it applies equally to six *Shángtí*:—he at one time upholds the use of *Shángtí* for the true God and *shin* for false gods, and then maintains that the former is the only term by which to render *Elohim* and *Theos*, fortifying both these positions against all attack; but soon after dismantles his fortifications, and runs up a third for *Tientí* out of their ruins; which again he abandons to find refuge in the transferred term *Aluah*, declaring each of these positions one after the other to be impregnable, and yet giving no explanation for leaving them so rapidly, but on the contrary rather displeased when his old artillery is brought to bear on his new fortifications:—and finally, after declaring that he would not use *shin* for *spirit* in the new version, if others felt it their duty to use it for *god*, he now capitalises his declaration, "That upon *shin*, and *shin* alone, do we feel ourselves compelled to fall back, as the only legitimate and suitable representation of *ruach* and *pneuma* in the sense of spirit and spiritual being," thus involving the versions of the Scriptures in the most unhappy confusion. He now re-asserts in the strongest manner that to use *shin* for *god* and *God* in the Bible would render the Chinese version unclassical and contemptible, though our readers will conclude, we think, that one who has come to so many different decisions, has little right to expect us to regard his assertions to this effect. If the matter was a trifling one, this philological versatility would be less disastrous, but we earnestly beg Dr. M. to reflect upon the consequences of carrying out this last determination. We are pleased to see that Dr. Legge has adverted to the melancholy results of the double use of *shin* for God and Spirit in two versions otherwise the same. In conclusion, we beg Dr. Medhurst to revise his opinions on all these points. He says a majority of those who assembled at Hongkong in 1843 were in favor of *Shángtí*, but they had not then examined the subject; and as the large majority of them are now in favor of *Shin*, it should lead him to doubt the tenableness of his own position, for he can hardly think that their conversion has been altogether for the sake of arguing the matter against him.

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ART. III. *Journal of Occurrences: endeavor to prevent foreigners from living in Fuhchau; disturbances in Kwángsi; North-China Herald; port of Shánghái; fall of roof of Trinity Church; accident at Tsz'ki; bridge of Boats at Ningpo; completion of the revision of the New Testament.*

THE citizens of Fuhchau have lately shown considerable hostility to the residence of foreigners within their city-walls, quoting the proceedings of the people of Canton in justification of their course, and their authorities sheltering them

selves under the example of Governor Sô, for their tacit compliance. No foreigners have heretofore had a residence within the precincts of the walls, except those connected with or residing at the English Consulate, the others all taking their houses in the suburbs. Some two or three months ago, the Rev. Messrs. Welton and Jackson made an effort to locate themselves within the walls by leasing some tenements connected with the Shin-kwáng sz', or Divine-Light monastery, situated east of the Wu-shih shán, or Black-rock hill on which H. B. M.'s Consulate is located. The priests were willing to rent these houses, the price and other points were agreed on, and these gentlemen had taken possession, when the people assembled with the evident purpose of forcing them to remove, but no damage was done to life. The people were, it is supposed, urged on by the literati, and there is some reason to believe that they were countenanced and directed in their schemes by Liu Tschéu, the late governor-general of Yunnan and Kweichau, now residing at Fuhchau for the benefit of his health. Soon after the first expression of popular discontent, a Notice of a few pages appeared, which though drawn up in respectful terms, was determined in its tone; and was generally regarded as having been issued with Lin's approval, if not written by him. The paper is called, "A Notice to the scholars and people within and without the city for a public consultation to expel the *fán tsi*, or foreigners;" but the inner heading is, "A public letter from the scholars and people of Fuhchau to the English foreign officer," i. e. H. E. Gov. Bonham; the reason for this discrepancy does not appear. By the kindness of Rev Mr. Peet, we have been furnished with a copy of the tract, and give a translation of it entire.

A Public Notice. Having lately heard that your honorable consul had rented the Shin-kwáng monastery for the missionaries (*kiáng-king min-jin*, people expounding the sacred books), and that the lease had received the seal of the district magistrate, and that they were about to move in to reside, the scholars and people of this city were all much surprised at it, and immediately repaired to the magistracy to present a petition. In accordance with its request, we now hear that the magistrate has consulted with your honorable consul, and [requesting] that the lease be immediately revoked, to the end that there be mutual harmony. Should the missionaries of your country still desire to move in at any rate, there will then be dissatisfaction in men's minds. If we consider these three points—the feelings of the people, the reason of the thing, and the consequences of forcing it, they all forbid it; and the united will of myriads of people clearly exhort him (Gov. B.?) who manages affairs to stop.

The residence of your country's merchants at Fuhchau for trade, should be, according to the Treaty of peace, only at the mouth of the river; and at the time the consular officers came within the walls, and took a residence at the Tsih-tsui monastery on the Black-stone hill, we, the gentry and people of the place were not at all pleased at it; but because of the repeated intreaties of the officers, who declared it was only a temporary matter, we treated them kindly at the time, and looked forward to a future adjustment, unwilling to act as the Cantonese did, and oppose force to them. In all our bearing towards your country, we have ever been liberal.

If those who reside at the Tsih-tsui monastery are officers of your country, it may be allowed; but what will be the result if missionaries also rent residences within the walls? This does not at all correspond with the Treaty. The people residing within the gates formerly assented to it as a matter of favor; and now having got one thing, you think about asking for two,—which shows that you not only have not had a due sense of our liberality, but that you presume upon it to insult us. Are not the tens of thousands in this city as able to quit themselves like men as those of Canton? Do not arouse us, and peace will still exist; but egg us on, and it is to be feared the wrath of the populace will not soon be appeased. These remarks show how the first proposition—the feelings of the people forbids it.

The original treaty says (Treaty of Wánghia, ART. XVII.), "When persons from any country wish to rent land the local authorities of the two governments shall examine with a due regard to the feelings of the people, and settle the matter in an equitable manner, the proprietors on the one hand not demanding

an exorbitant price, nor the foreigners on the other unreasonably insisting to rent, but both must conduct with consideration and moderation." Now the Shin-kwáng monastery is the place where the graduates and students of this region continually meet to study and pass their examinations, and the people and literati are alike unwilling to lease it. You have therefore inconsiderately gone contrary to the Treaty, and committed the offense of taking forcible possession. The priest was only employed to attend to burning incense and candles, but he could not act as a landlord to rent the place. And though the district magistrate has already used his seal of office, and thus settled the contract, still he should have a regard to the popular feelings. In this district, the seal of the magistrate is daily used to certify papers relating to the revenue, and to suits which come up for decision, thousands of times, and it is impossible to wait for the magistrate to decide upon and point out each paper to be sealed. In the case of getting this lease stamped, it was evidently done by the local interpreter in the court; for when your honorable consul sent it in, there was not the least delay so that the magistrate might be informed of it, but the seal was first stamped on, and then it was carried in for his inspection. Having subsequently received the public petition of the gentry, and apprehensive lest the affair might grow to something serious, he confessed his indiscreet haste before the assembly, and requested to be allowed to immediately rectify his error, and attend to the removal [of the tenants]. Thus the magistrate having spoken according to right reason, your excellency ought also to act thereto, and restore things as at first. Further, you have usually paid great regard to truth and equity. If, now, for the trifling matter of renting a house, you take what this treaty of peace, originally framed to last for ages, says, 'The feelings of the parties shall be regarded, and [the foreigners shall not] unreasonably insist on renting,' and of your own will violently set it aside, where will be the truth and justice of such conduct? This shows how the second proposition—the reason of the thing, forbids it.

Though the Tsh-tsuí monastery, standing as it does high on a hill, in a thick grove of trees, can still be defended and protected, even if vagabonds come and make trouble, yet the Shin-kwáng monastery is lower down the hill, close to a thoroughfare, where fellows of the baser sort are very numerous, and its fallen wall offers a road, so that thieves can go in and out there from their lurking-places. Further, the men of your country wish to expound their sacred books there, and they will of course call people in to see and hear, whereby these miscreants will come together still more, and no one can tell what may arise at any moment.\* If from doing this, it should happen that property be stolen or people wounded, neither scholars nor people would stir a step to rescue them, because of the dislike felt against them, and the magistrates show no alacrity to arrive in time to help them. If they should then lay their complaints before the rulers, the offenders would certainly escape not to be retaken, and the property irrecoverably lost. Truly their regrets would then be useless. These remarks show how the third proposition—the consequences of forcing it, forbids it.

The right and wrong, the benefits and disadvantages, of these three propositions can be easily seen and understood; and also that they are not the empty words of the scholars and people of this place used to intimidate and prevent [from renting the place]. Soon after the missionaries first came, they engaged an officer (who is appointed to look after foreigners) to seek out a convenient and safe residence for them, either in or out of the walls was immaterial, and their own desire at first was not to rent this monastery. There are many temples and dwellings outside of the walls far more desirable than this, and the

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\* The Black-rock hill is situated in the southwest corner of the city, and includes several acres on a side hill, with two or three buildings, the principal one of which has been converted into a residence for the English Consul, and the others are appropriated to the use of the Consulate. The Shin-kwáng monastery lies east on the same side hill, separated from the Consulate a few hundred yards, the intermediate space being occupied by other public buildings and a few private residences. Its grounds are less spacious than the other, and its location not so convenient for a private residence. Only a portion on the rear and a part of the main building has been rented for Mr. Welton. The interpreter (now acting consul) rented the place from the priests, and thus H. M. Government has become interested in it.



officers will look out one for them; why then wish so unreasonably to rent this particular one, whereby the citizens are all disturbed in this way? We infer that as your honorable consul has been in China a long time, he is well acquainted with affairs; and we therefore make these remarks upon the propriety and equity of the question, fully disclosing our thoughts and views, and hoping that he will take proper measures for the just decision of the case, so that all can enjoy the blessings of peace, and both be greatly rejoiced. A public declaration. This paper is given to Hing, the district magistrate of Haukwan that it may be forwarded to the English officer.

This document has been forwarded to Gov. Bonham, and the citizens are willing to wait for his reply to their statement. It is noticeable, that the view here taken of the meaning of that part of the Treaty which speaks of the residence of foreign merchants being at the *kiang-kau*, or mouth of the river, the mart where trade is carried on, is the same as that given by us last year, when discussing the question of entering the city of Canton (see Vol. XVIII, p. 276), and we have no doubt that the citizens of Fuhchau are philologically in the right in their interpretation. The *kiang-kau* and the *ching*—the mart and the city—are there three miles asunder, and the difference between the signification of the two terms is plain; consequently H. E. Gov. Bonham will need to show from some other documents than the Treaties with foreign countries that foreigners plainly have the *right* to live within the walls of Fuhchau. The fact of the Consulate lying within the walls is, however, a good precedent to urge for Messrs. Welton and Jackson to be allowed quietly to remain, and by kindness and decision on the part of the English authorities we think the point will be carried.

The governor-general of Fuhkien, Liú Yunko, was not in Fuhchau at the time of the fracas when the populace endeavored to drive the tenants from their residence. The literati, as at Canton, have been the chief movers in the attempt, and the body of the people have not sympathized in their desire to expel the foreigners so much as to make it unsafe to remain in the monastery. The influence of Lin is probably one moving cause of the affair, but it is not unlikely things will soon return to their former course, and Mr. Welton be allowed to open his hospital.

*Disturbances* in Kwángsi have lately risen to such a height, and the insurgents have become so numerous and so well organized as seriously to alarm the authorities of Canton. The governor-general is the only one of the rulers here who can officially notice them, and it is reported that he is not at all inclined to proceed to the scene of trouble, and the troops under his command are still more unwilling to leave their garrisons and face their refractory countrymen. What particular grievances have aroused the people of Kwángsi to take up arms, we can not clearly ascertain, nor who are their leaders, though we have little doubt that more are induced to join the original movers from hope of plunder or expectation of bettering their position, than from any well concerted plan of asserting acknowledged rights. Rumor states that a body of fifty thousand has laid seige to the large town of Wú-chau fú on the borders of this province, and put an embargo on all trade on the West river on which it is situated. It shows how little sympathy exists between the various parts of this large empire, and how little information transpires of what is going on elsewhere in it, when we state that one of the most tangible consequences in Canton of a sedition involving the peace of a neighboring province containing nearly ten millions of people, is the rise in the price of cassia of six or eight dollars per pecul, and the collection of a large fleet of boats, whose crews are afraid to proceed westward.

"*The North-China Herald*" is the name of a new weekly paper commenced on the 3d inst, at Shánghái, Mr. Henry Shearman, publisher and proprietor. This new sheet has started into life a full grown newspaper—advertisements, occurrences, editorials, and all, as if it had emerged out of a box of types all

ready to hand. Its typographical appearance is creditable, and we have no doubt the foreign community at Shánghái will support the efforts of the editor to make known the capabilities of that port and region. We quote what he says on the port of Shánghái :—

Shánghái is most admirably chosen as the principal seat of commerce for the North, the West, and the whole interior of the empire; the Yáng-tsz' kiáng, the noblest river of the world, which traverses the centre of the kingdom (intersecting three of its largest provinces) and which communicates with that other splendid river the Hwang ho (Yellow river) by means of the Grand Canal is the main river into which the Shánghái river falls; one tide brings ships of the largest burden from the ocean into harbor, and above thirty sail of European ships sometimes ride at anchor before this new and important mart, the centre of civilization of the Middle Kingdom, and the only seat of perfectly free commerce with other nations.

Shánghái, by its excellent central position, as regards the coast line, must by its connection with all the principal watercourses of the country command its inland trade throughout the length and breadth of the land; it is therefore most desirable that the British Government should exert her influence at the Court of Peking, to extend the facilities of trade with the interior—to do away with the pernicious interference of local authorities, and to establish our commercial relations on such a firm basis, that the enterprise and integrity of British and foreign merchants may have a fair and open field for their exertions, and become the promise of a far wider spread of civilization—refinement, science, arts and true religion, than has ever yet obtained in China since it became an empire.

It is evident, that our merchants require greater opportunities to carry out their speculations. They require access to the first markets; the vast plains watered by the two great rivers of China, and their numerous tributaries offer ready communication with every province, and once our merchants can obtain secure footing upon their great trunk lines of inland trade; we shall obtain ample scope for the pent up energies of our capitalists, and place them in such a position, as must yield vast sources of wealth to all who embark with well considered zeal upon the new routes laid open to them.

Some may be disposed to inquire how the “influence of the British government at the court of Peking” is wanted “to do away with the pernicious interference of local authorities” at the “only seat in China of perfectly free commerce with other nations,” but we let this incongruity pass, to remark that there is a tone running through the two leaders of the Herald which we do not think pleasing. Previous authors on China, we are told, have “obstructed the path leading to an accurate knowledge of China and the Chinese,” and expectation is thus raised to see how far the editor will remove the “malignant inventions” of one, and correct the “ill-digested statements” of another. He is rather free, too, with accusations against the Chinese government, which is charged “with the gravest criminality in daily and hourly violating the letter and spirit of the main provisions of our treaty with them, even to the utter extinction of all hopes of the further extension of the recognized import trade of Great Britain.” We think the opium trade and its results should have been brought to mind before writing this and a few like passages, and then the expectations held out as likely to result to China from foreign merchants having “access to first markets,” and carrying their goods everywhere throughout its provinces would have been moderated. Commerce alone is too selfish ever to carry many benefits in its train, and the people of this land think they have already suffered much from foreign traders, and may yet suffer more. We commend the enterprise exhibited in publishing the Herald, and hope it may fulfill all the promises made in its Address. We introduce two or three extracts from the number before us.

*Port of Shánghái.* It is every way important for the best interests of Shánghái, that an early effort should be made to redeem the reputation of the port from the alleged difficulty of its approach, seaward. We hope some of our nautical readers will favor us with a note of the requirements necessary to render the Yángtze' kiáng navigable to Wusung with safety, from going on shore. But for the apprehensions entertained of our river, it is nearly certain that we should have many of the American whalers, which navigate the contiguous seas paying us a visit for supplies. And now that the navigation laws are abolished, it would seem a more economical mode to re-ship the oil here to Europe or America, and then return to their cruising grounds; the principal

one, viz. the Japan sea, being in our immediate vicinage. It is estimated that the American whaling fleet numbers some 500 ships, mainly engaged in "pursuing their gigantic game" in the North Pacific Ocean. More recently we find them among the trembling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating the deepest frozen recesses of Behring's Straits, going as high as 70 North latitude. Still it is believed, that within two weeks' sail from this port, there now from 150 to 200 whalers pursuing their hardy industry, and under favorable circumstances, a ship could, we are assured, be on her cruising ground in one week from leaving this Port. What whalers want is merely fresh meat and vegetables; both of which are here abundant and cheap, and would ere this have been availed of, but that strange navigators, generally, are afraid of the entrance to our river; and would avoid coming hither, if possible, on all occasions. At the present time any part of China would be preferred to going the other way to California or the Sandwich Islands; as the gold fever now raging leads to the immediate desertion of a large portion of the crews—to say nothing of the high pay still given at San Francisco for sailors. The *Science* recently arrived from San Francisco, paid \$150 per man for the run from thence to the Sandwich Islands, which occupied but 16 days. From thence seamen were to be had at \$40 per month.

*Falling in of the roof of Trinity Church.* The roof of this sacred edifice fell in with a great crash, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of June, about half past five A. M.; a great deal of rain had fallen throughout the preceding day (Sunday), much thunder and lightning accompanied it, and some of the claps were very heavy. The span of the roof was very wide between the walls, and it appears that a water spout had poured its stream just over the beam in the centre, and had so injured it and the surrounding brickwork, that the continued deluge of rain caused the walls to bulge out, and give way. It was most providential that it did not occur during Divine service on the preceding day, as the whole of the central roof fell in, and from the heavy construction of Chinese roofs generally, in all likelihood it fell instantly: the majority of the congregation occupied the centre of the church, and so heavy was the fall, that all the pews and seats beneath it were crushed to pieces. It is supposed that it will cost four thousand dollars to repair the damage done. Through the liberality of a resident a large upper room has been placed at the disposal of the Trustees, which has been fitted up temporarily for the performance of Divine service.

*A Millionaire at Tsz'ki,* (a city near Ningpo) who had become a sportsman, but who had not learnt the use of gunpowder, was about to amuse himself with his newly purchased fowling-piece, when his powder was ignited from the tobacco-pipe of his wife. The explosion (there were several pounds!) blew up himself, his wife, concubine and two female servants. One of the number died soon after, and of the rest none are likely to survive. Dr. Macgowan has spent several days with the family. About all such things the Chinese are proverbially careless.

On the 3d of last month, the celebrated Bridge of Boats at Ningpo gave way while a junk was going through the passage made for that purpose. A crowd of women and children were carried down the river several miles. A number of lives were lost, owing to the apathetic disposition of the spectators.

*Revision of the S. S.* The Committee of Delegates convened at Shánghái for the revision of the Chinese version of the New Testament completed their work on the 1st inst., and have offered it to their brethren engaged in Protestant missions among the Chinese, and to the Bible Societies in Europe and America. The words to represent God and Spirit, being still undecided, are left blank in the revision, and this we understand will delay the printing of the work a while, affording time for others to examine it, and forward such criticisms and suggestions for the consideration of the Committee at Shánghái as they shall deem proper. So far as we have examined the revised version, it is decidedly superior to former ones for clearness of style and close translation, and with a few corrections can safely be offered to the Chinese as a fair rendering of the New Testament. The members of the Committee on the N. T. have all been re-elected to serve with other delegates on the revision of the Old Testament, who now consist of the Rev. E. C. Bridgman, D.D. from Canton; Rev. James Legge, D.D. and Rev. T. Hamburg from Hongkong; Rev. John Stronach from Amoy; Rev. S. Johnson and Rev. M. C. White from Fuchau; Rev. M. S. Culbertson from Ningpo; and Rt.-Rev. W. J. Boone, D.D., Rev. W. H. Medhurst, D.D., Rev. J. L. Shuck, and Rev. W. C. Milne from Shánghái. This Committee organised itself on the 1st inst., and held the first meeting for revision on the 3d, the delegates from Hongkong and Fuchau not being present.

## CHINESE REPOSITORY.

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ART. I. *Defense of an Essay on the proper rendering of the words Elohim and Θεός into the Chinese language.* By W. J. BOONE.  
(Continued from page 444.)

IN the next step of our argument we find Dr. Legge differing from those who agree with him in advocating the use of *Shángti*. He contends that *Shángti* should be used to render Elohim and Θεός in all cases, whereas Sir George Staunton and the American Missionary contend for its use "only when the true God is intended to be signified," and respectively propose *skin* and *skin-ming* as the rendering of these words in all other cases. These views were expressed above in propositions *c* and *d*.

Dr. L. contends for the use of *Shángti* in all cases as follows: "I return now from this long digression to the point I was urging, the employment namely of *Shángti* in every case, to render Elohim and Θεός. It was observed that the sacred writers had no option of their own. Similarly, I observe, we have no option of our own. Our simple duty is to follow their example, and to give the name that we use for God, the Supreme, to false gods, in every case where the same thing is done in the Bible. And indeed we could not otherwise be faithful translators: we could not convey to Chinese readers 'the mind of the Spirit.' Granted that it may at first seem strange to them to see the name of 'the Supreme Ruler' so widely given; this is one thing to be taught them—that the people of whom the Scriptures tell us were so foolish as to do so." page 40.

Though I differ so entirely from Dr. Legge with respect to all the points on which his argument in favor of *Shángti* is founded, and in the conclusion at which he has arrived, that *Shángti* should be used to render Elohim and Θεός; yet I must declare my full concurrence in

his determination to render *Elohim* and Θεός always by the same word. The only objection which can be urged to this course, is, that the Chinese have no word, that according to its usage among themselves, answers to *Elohim* in both the senses in which it is used in the S.S., i. e. *proprié*. This objection, instead of being with me an argument against the uniform rendering of the word, seems only to make manifest the necessity there is for our pursuing this course. As Christians, the Chinese will need a word exactly answering to *Elohim* and Θεός; as heathen polytheists they have no such word; we therefore must by our *usus loquendi* make such a word for them. So far I entirely agree with Dr. Legge; "We have no option of our own; we must select the most suitable word we can find in the Chinese language, and by our use cure all its defects; in short, make it correspond exactly to *Elohim* and Θεός, as these words are used in the S.S. Here, however, my agreement with Dr. Legge ceases. He fancies that he has found a *phrase* in the Chinese language answering to the words *Elohim* and Θεός when used *proprié*, and contends that we should take *this phrase*, and make it by our use entirely correspond to those words. If he can prove that *Shángtí* is the absolute name of *the Being* whom we regard as God, there can, we think, be no doubt of the correctness of his conclusion. But this we are persuaded he can never prove; the first point, absolute name, a point of *vital importance*, he does not even contend for; and as to the second point, that the being designated is the true God, we are constrained to call for much more direct and strict proof than has yet been attempted. The difference between Dr. L. and myself consists in this: he contends that the Chinese have a *phrase* that answers to the words *Elohim* and Θεός when used *proprié*; but have nothing answering to these words when used *improprié*: I, on the contrary, contend, that they have no word answering to *Elohim* and Θεός when used *proprié*, and that *shin* exactly answers to these words when used *improprié*. Dr. L.'s view makes the Chinese agree with those nations who have enjoyed a Divine revelation, or who have derived their views from thence; as the Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans, in having a word that corresponds to our word GOD; but differ from Jews, Christians, Mohammedans, and *all other people*, in having no word answering to our words *god, gods*. If Dr. L.'s view be correct, it becomes a question of some interest to account for the fact how *such a people* came to be classed for so long a time among the heathen nations of the earth.

Should however his readers refuse to go with him in the opinion that the *Shángtí* of the Chinese classics, and the *Shángtí* of the Chi-

nese people, is "God over all, blessed for ever," Dr. L. maintains they should still stand to *Shángtí* as the rendering of Elohim and Θεός. His words are "Let me observe that however others may differ from the opinion which I have just unhesitatingly expressed that *Shángtí* is not the chief god merely of the Chinese, but the true God also, such difference of opinion will not justify them in rejecting the term as not being the proper rendering of Elohim and Θεός. It is a relative term which implies dominion that inheres in a spiritual being. It ought therefore to belong to Jehovah; and granted that to every being to whom the Chinese have given it, it has been given wrongly, it is for us now to take and rescue it from such perversion, and give it to Him 'whose right it is.' Jehovah *Shángtí* will just express in Chinese what Jehovah Elohim does in Hebrew, and Jehovah God in English." If I understand Dr. L., he here contends that the title, "the Supreme Ruler," should be used to render Elohim and Θεός, even if it should appear that the Chinese have never used this title to designate God proprié, but have used it only as the distinctive appellation of one or more of their false gods, because these words are titles which have the same meaning as the Chinese phrase *Shángtí*. If we determine that the word *god* is an absolute term, this point of Dr. L.'s argument is wholly set aside by such determination; but even if any one should be induced to regard the words Elohim and Θεός as relative terms, he would be very unwary, I think, to follow Dr. Legge in his conclusion that these words must be rendered by the phrase *Shángtí*. And this because *Shángtí*, by both classical and popular usage, when standing alone or absolutely, does not designate indifferently any one of the individuals who may be so called, but is the distinctive title of a definite individual being, and this individual being is a false god.\*

That *Shángtí* is, according to common usage a singular, not a common term;—that it is a relative, and not an absolute term;—and that

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\* To this objection it may be answered, that Elohim, when standing alone, designates an individual being as definitely as *Shángtí* does. True, but this individual so definitely designated is the true God, the proper object of worship. If it can be proved that the Tien of the classics is the true God, the more definitely *Shángtí*, when standing absolutely, designates this being, the better; but if the individual definitely designated be a false god, the objection seems to me unanswerable and fatal. It was no doubt a feeling of the truth of this, that made Dr. Medhurst, when he maintained that the individual being designated was the true God, testify so strongly (as we shall presently see he does) that *Shángtí* in the classics always and invariably means the same individual being and "him only." After, however, he had admitted that the Chinese do not know the true God, as he did in his Reply to Dr. Boone, and letter of 13th Jan. 1849, given above, it was as manifestly for the interests of *Shángtí* to deny that it definitely designates a single individual; accordingly Dr. M. in his "Reply to the Few Plain Questions of a Brother Missionary," makes it "a generic term"

being thus *singular* and *relative*, it is the distinctive title, not of the true but of a false god:—these points constitute the very ground on which we enter our solemn protest against the use of this phrase to render Elohim and θεός, when used either *proprié* or *improprié*. We have already discussed two of these points, viz., Whether the Chinese *Shángtí* is the true God, and whether *god* is an absolute or relative term, at sufficient length. We shall therefore here only inquire whether the phrase *Shángtí*, when standing alone, is according to Chinese usage, classical and popular, a common or a singular term.

And first, of the use of this phrase in the Chinese classics. On this point we have the most unqualified testimony from the pen of Dr. Medhurst: "Dear Sir, you ask me if we must not give up the use of *Shángtí*. I answer, No, until we can find a better. It is not the name of the chief idol among the Chinese, as your correspondent argues, but (when standing alone without any prefix) *always* and *invariably*, in every Chinese book of note and worth, means the Supreme Being, and him only." Letter to the Editor of the Chinese Repository, Vol. XVI, p. 34. The italics and capitals are Dr. M.'s.

"Mistakes are anticipated and sought to be corrected by the Chinese commentators on the classics, who supposing it possible that *such* misapprehensions may arise, tell us *distinctly* that it is a mistake to imagine that the (*wú-tí*) five rulers, presiding over the elements, are synonymous with (*Shángtí*) the Supreme Ruler, that it is wrong also to think that the Supreme Ruler is unequal to the Five Rulers, &c. Thus out of 175 instances in which the word *Shángtí* is used in the Chinese classics, only *one* refers to human rulers, and *all* the rest to the Supreme Ruler." See Theology of Chinese, p. 273.

Dr. Medhurst afterwards in a pamphlet, entitled "Reply to the Few Plain Questions of a Brother Missionary," states the character of the phrase *Shángtí*, and the *facts* of the case to be directly the reverse of what he so plainly and unequivocally testifies they were in the quotations above given. In this pamphlet, he says, "The phrase *Shángtí*, even according to the Literati, is not the name of an individual being, but a *generic term* at least for the six beings above mentioned"—i. e. Tien, and the *shin* who preside over the five elements, the Five Rulers, who, Dr. M. says in the quotation above, are so carefully distinguished by the classical writers. As in the case of his testimony about the word *Shin*, mentioned in a previous part of this Defense, so here, Dr. M. takes not the slightest notice of the plain, explicit testimony to the contrary of the *statement* he is now making, that he had published only a few months before. To sustain his first

statement that *Shángti* when standing alone *always* and *invariably* means "the Supreme Being and him only," Dr. M. pledged "*every Chinese book of note and worth*," and in addition gave us the result of a careful concordance of the passages in which the phrase occurs "in the Chinese classics;" from which it appears that the phrase *Shángti* in 174 cases designates the individual being styled "the Supreme Ruler," and only once any other being, a human ruler; which last is ascribed to flattery.

If this be a fair view of the use of the phrase "in the Chinese classics," who can doubt that according to this usage it is a singular term, and that *Shángti* denotes a definite, individual being. Now what does Dr. M. produce from "the Chinese classics" to set aside this conclusion? A single sentence from the *Hsiáu King* (a very secondary classic) in which the commentators suppose the phrase *Shángti* must refer not to *Tien*, the Supreme Ruler, but to the *Wú Tí*, or Five Rulers. This is the solitary instance Dr. M. can produce to add to the one above given, in which in the classics the title *Shángti*, "the Supreme Ruler" does not designate the god *Tien*. Dr. Medhurst, and all other Europeans who have made translations from the Chinese classics, uniformly render the phrase *Shángti*, when standing alone, "the Supreme Ruler," and never "a Supreme Ruler," or "Supreme Rulers." Dr. Legge, throughout his "Argument" so renders it: I think we may therefore take it for granted, that according to the *usus loquendi* of the Chinese classics, *the phrase designates, when standing alone, a definite individual being; and that the literati of the present day, if we exhort them to worship Shángti, would understand us to be referring to the definite individual being so called 174 times in their classics; the being whom the ancient emperors Yáu and Shun worshiped under this title. As a practical question, it is of very little importance to me whether Shángti has been used in the classics to designate any other being than Tien once, or thrice; the really important practical question is, If I exhort a Confucianist to worship Shángti, will he understand by this phrase a definite individual being? And then, is this definite, individual being, the true or a false God? If you answer, he will understand by it the being whom Yáu and Shun worshiped at the round hillock; and say further that this being is not "the God over all, blessed for ever," but a man-conceived, a false god; how can I, if the matter stand thus, exhort him to go and worship Shángti? Would it not be directing him to commit idolatry by the worship of a false god? Is it any answer to this to say with Dr. L., "It is a relative term that implies supreme dominion which*



ought to belong to Jehovah ;” and we must therefore use this title as his appellative name ? If *Shángtí* meant “ a Supreme Ruler,” or “ a Ruler on high,” thus conveying only a general idea, which would be correct as far as it went ; though such a phrase would not suit as the rendering of Elohim and θεός, still there could be no objection to designating Jehovah occasionally by this title, as we say in English, King of kings, &c. ; but since the phrase *Shángtí* is understood, not in this general way, but as the specific designation of a false god, the case is entirely changed ; and if we, knowing a man would understand us to refer to this false god, should notwithstanding exhort him to worship *Shángtí*, how can we doubt but that we should be held responsible for the consequent idolatry that would ensue upon his complying with our exhortation ?

Dr. L. admits that *Shángtí* designates a definite, individual being ; this being he has persuaded himself is the true God ; he therefore can have no scruples in exhorting any one to worship *Shángtí*. In this he is quite consistent ; but if *Shángtí* designates a definite individual being, and this being *be not* the true God, how can Dr. L. tell his brethren who take this view of the case, that “ such difference of opinion will not justify them in rejecting the term as not being the proper rendering of Elohim and θεός ? I am constrained to pause here, and ask Dr. Legge if the fact that a phrase is the *distinctive title* of a false god, will not justify (!) a Christian missionary in rejecting it as the rendering of Elohim and θεός, what would, in his eyes, serve as a justification for rejecting any phrase ? He justifies his extraordinary adherence to the phrase *Shángtí*, whether it designates the true or a false god, on the ground that it is “ a relative term,” and “ not a proper name ;” and he appeals to his missionary brethren to say whether “ the idea which they get from the characters themselves, and which they know the multitude of the Chinese get, does not terminate (observe, not in a spiritual being, or one of the spiritual beings so called, but) “ in THE Spiritual Being so denominated.” Here then, Dr. L. agrees with me ; *Shángtí* designates “ the Spiritual Being so denominated :” if THIS “ Spiritual Being ” be the true God, it is our duty to exhort the Chinese to worship Him ; if he be a false god, we can not, as we fear THE jealous God we serve, either worship him ourselves, or exhort others to do so. To show that *the Spiritual Being*, “ denominated ” *Shángtí*, is the true God, appears to me essential to Dr. Legge’s success ; even if he prove to the satisfaction of us all that *god* is a relative term. If the phrase *Shángtí*, by its usage in the Chinese classics, designates the definite individual being *Tien* 天, and

this being is not the true God, we shall be just as responsible for exhorting men to worship *him*, calling him by his *distinctive title Shángtí*, as we would be if we called him by his absolute name *Tien*. I have never contended that *Shángtí* was a *proper name*, but always, on the contrary, that it was a mere title: but a title, which, by Chinese usage, designates so definitely an individual being, that it is *in effect*, and as far as concerns the particular point we are *now* discussing, to *all intents and purposes* a proper name. A being may be as definitely designated by a title of office or dignity—by a relative term—as by an absolute proper name. We have a remarkable instance of this in the fact that Jehovah, the absolute, proper name of the revealed God, is rendered in the English Bible by the phrase “the LORD.” Common instances occur in such phrases as the following, “the Queen,” “the Iron Duke,” “the Founder of Rome,” &c. In England, these phrases would designate the individuals referred to quite as definitely as the words Jehovah, Queen Victoria, the Duke of Wellington, Romulus, &c. And so too, in Chinese, the phrase *Shángtí*, in the classics, designates the chief god quite as definitely as the absolute name *Tien* does. The question *here* turns not upon the *character* of the *phrase*, but of *the being* who is designated by it: if *he* be the true God, it is lawful for us, yea, our duty, to worship him, and to teach others to do so; if *he* be a false god, and any one, upon our exhorting him to worship *Shángtí*, should commit an act of idolatry by worshiping *this* false god, of what avail would it be to say that we only designated *him* by his *title*, and not by his *proper name*? If an Englishman, talking to other Englishmen, in England, should tell a number of stories of “the Queen,” which though true of the Queen of Spain, were wholly false if referred to her most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, should we not hold him responsible for any misunderstandings and scandals his stories might give rise to—the phrase “the Queen” being by common usage, at the present time, in England, so distinctive a designation of Victoria? In like manner, we contend that when speaking to Confucianists, the phrase *Shángtí* is quite as *distinctive* a designation of the chief god *Tien*, as “the Queen” is at present of Victoria in England; and that therefore if *Tien*, *the being* whom the literati style *Shángtí*, the Supreme Ruler, be not *the* true God, we shall be responsible for their worship of a false god, if we teach them to worship *Shángtí*, without taking pains to warn them against the false god worshiped under *this title*, at the winter solstice by Yáu and Shun, and *the successive emperors of China to the present time*.

But though it be granted that in the classics the phrase *Shángtí*

designates a definite individual, the Rationalists and common people also use this phrase, and by it designate other beings than the *Tien* of the classics; therefore, argues Dr. M., it is a generic term.

"It would appear from the line of argument pursued by the writer of the letter, that by the phrase *Shángtí*, the Chinese (Dr. M. should have said, the Chinese *literati*) will understand only the supreme *Shángtí* (query, supreme Supreme Ruler?) spoken of in the classics. According to a statement made by the late Mr. Lowrie, it seems however, that the Chinese, with whom he came in contact, were perpetually thinking of *Yuh-hwáng Shángtí* when he spoke to them of *Shángtí*." "We have proved that there are many other fabulous deities known under the name of *Shángtí*. The term is therefore not a proper name but generic." pp. 3, 4.

Dr. Legge says, "We have from that (the Táuist use of [the term *Shángtí*]) three different beings all called *Shángtí*, that relative term being made proper to an individual being in each case, by the adjunction of the respective terms, *Yuh-hwang*, *Huen-tien*, and *Yuen-tien*. These examples completely refute the notion that *Shángtí* is merely the name of the chief god of the Chinese, and they show us that the name is used just as the words *Elohim* and *θεός*" I agree entirely with Dr. Legge that *Shángtí* is not merely the name of the chief god of the Chinese; it is a title; I admit that this title is not restricted to a single individual, and that the individuals mentioned by Dr. L. are severally styled *Shángtí*; but what I contend for is, that in the Confucian classics, when standing alone, the phrase *Shángtí* designates the being named *Tien* or *Háu Tien*, the Expansive Heavens, worshipped at the winter solstice, which being is a false god; and that when speaking to a Rationalist, if we use the phrase *Shángtí* without any adjunct, he will likewise understand us as referring to a definite being, namely *Yuh-hwáng*, who is also a false god: so that either party, Confucianist or Táuist, would understand us as referring to his chief god, which chief god in either case is a false god, and no proper object of worship. Therefore, if we look at the matter practically, we shall see that to exhort either of these to worship *Shángtí*, without any explanation, is equivalent to sending them off to worship *Tien* and *Yuh-hwáng* respectively.

The American Missionary says; "Brethren, you all know that *experience* is worth more than *theory*; when the two clash, the former must prevail." It has been the submitting the phrase *Shángtí* to the practical test referred to by the "American Missionary," that has convinced the great majority of the missionaries in China that the

title *common* to the *chief gods* of the two native sects, (i. e. Confucianism and Rationalism), can not be used as the rendering of Elohim and Θεός. There was everything, when the five ports were first opened, to induce the missionaries to make a full and fair trial of *Shángtí* in their new fields of labor; our oldest and most distinguished missionaries used this phrase for God in their version of the N. Test., and in their tracts and preaching. Our teachers were all sure to be Confucianists, and to favor *Shángtí*. When we told them anything of *Shángtí* that did not agree with *their classics*, they listened quietly, and took it for granted we should become more correct in our representations of him, when we became better acquainted with *them*. Thus everything conspired to induce the missionaries to make trial of *Shángtí*, and this trial has induced the great majority of them to give it up—I am fully persuaded to give it up for good, and all with good reason. Dr. Medhurst, and those who act with him, first gave it up for *T'ien-ti* and *T'í*, and now, rejecting all native terms, for *Aloho*; in taking which last position, they assure their brethren at the five ports, that they “*can not go wrong*,” they are “*unmistakably and incontrovertibly right*.”

Soon after the opening of the ports, missionaries proceeded to Ningpo, Shánghái, and Amoy; they commenced preaching *Shángtí* as their seniors were accustomed to do, and the results were such as startled some of them in a manner never to be forgotten. A missionary at Ningpo, after being there only a short time, wrote to inform his brethren at the South, that the use of *Shángtí* must be abandoned; for that one of their number, having exhorted a man to the worship of *Shángtí*, and told him that *Shángtí* had sent his Son to save us, was met by the offer on the part of this man to show him his god, who thereupon led him into a temple, and pointing to the image of *Yuh-wáng Shángtí* (the chief god of the Rationalist sect) said, “There is the father of Jesus; there is THE god you worship.”

At other stations, without the slightest concert with each other, many of the missionaries complained of being thus misunderstood, from using this phrase *Shángtí*. A most painful case of misapprehension occurred in our own mission. We were using a Catechism on the Creed, and put it into the hands of all who came to inquire of us our doctrines, to give them an idea of Christianity. The first Article was rendered thus: “I believe in *Shángtí*, the Father Almighty,” &c. A man of some intelligence, who read his own language very well, after hearing us preach, applied to the Rev. Mr. Syle for special instruction; he gave him a copy of this Catechism, and requested him

to come to his study every morning. The man came regularly for some ten days, and exhibited great interest. He read over with Mr. Syle all the attributes predicated of Shángtí, which we are accustomed to predicate of God, and appeared to understand thoroughly what he read. It occurred to Mr. S. to inquire one morning whether he followed the advice he had given him at the commencement of their inquiries, to pray to Shángtí every morning and evening. The man replied with great simplicity, that he had not failed to visit his temple twice a day for this purpose. This answer led to inquiry, and Mr. S., to his inexpressible grief, learned that the man had been understanding him for ten days as recommending the worship of this idol.

Thus it will be seen that it will not answer to say, as many in England and America have said, no matter what name is used, if only under this name you take care to describe the true God by his attributes; for the Divine attributes were set forth at some length in this Catechism, much stress being laid on Shángtí's having no form or image, and on his being a pure spirit; and yet the title *Shángtí* was so perfectly identified with this false god *Yuh-hwáng*, in this man's mind, that as soon as he was told to pray to *Shángtí*, he, notwithstanding all he had read in the Catechism, went immediately to this filthy idol. The reader will not be surprised to learn that we immediately, in our mission, ceased to teach and to preach Shángtí.

The circumstance led me to make extensive inquiries of the Chinese with whom I have come in contact, whether in town or country, as to what they understood by the phrase Shángtí; and the conclusion to which I have been led is this: the phrase *Shángtí*, when used alone, without any adjunct or qualifying word to limit or explain it, although it is used by different parties to designate several different beings, does yet, like the phrase "the Queen" in the illustration given above, designate a *definite individual*, and is never used as the appellation of these individuals regarded as a *class*, so as to designate any one of them indifferently. If the individual of whom I inquired was a literary man, he understood by the phrase "*the being*" so called in the classics. If he was a Rationalist, or one addicted to the worship of this sect, he understood by it "*the being*" represented by the idol above mentioned, *Yuh-hwáng*. A third party understand by this phrase, Heaven and Earth, the universal father and mother; a very common object of worship at weddings, &c., though not commonly worshiped under the title *Shángtí*, but under the name *T'ientí*. That by the Heaven and Earth thus worshiped, the vulgar understand the material heaven and earth, I think, there can be no doubt. I have

had a man in answer to the question, What do you mean by the heaven and earth you worship, and which you say is *Shángti*? point with his hand to heaven, and stamp with his feet upon the earth.

In looking at this matter practically, it should be remembered that nine-tenths of our congregations are composed of common people, by whom the *Shángti* of the Táuists is much worshiped; whereas the *Shángti* of the classics is worshiped only by the Emperor: from this it follows, that if in addressing the common people we exhort *them* to worship *Shángti*, they will naturally understand us to mean *this* being, as was the case in Ningpo, and with Mr. Syle in Shánghái.

But should our hearers understand by it the being whom Yáu and Shun worshiped, this being, I am persuaded is a false god, as well as *Yuh-hwáng*, and it is not worth while to stop and discuss the difference between them, as it would show great fastidiousness in a Christian teacher to choose between two false gods, which he would commend to his fellow-men as an object of worship. So that could it be made to appear that our hearers would certainly understand by the phrase *Shángti*, the *T'ien* 天 or *Háu-t'ien* 昊天 (Expansive Heaven) whom Shun worshiped under this title, at the same time with the six venerated objects and the hundred *shin*; and that they would in consequence of our exhortation address their prayers to *him* or *it*, such conviction would not in the least mitigate my objection to the use of this phrase, as I should have no doubt that they would be as much guilty of idolatry in worshiping *Háu-t'ien Shángti*, i. e. Expansive Heaven, the Supreme Ruler," as if they were to pray to *Yuh-hwáng Shángti*, "The perfectly Imperial great celestial *Ti*, who at the *extreme beginning* opened out *heaven*, and who has ever since regulated the various kulpas, possessing divinity and embodying reason, the *most honorable* in the glorious Heavens, &c." \*

Dr. M. in his reply to the Plain Questions of a Brother Missionary, denies the fact he had formerly so positively affirmed, viz., that *Shángti* in "every book of worth and note," when standing alone, *always* and *invariably* meant the Supreme Being, and him only. In this last document he affirms on the contrary that *Shángti* is a "generic term." Dr. M. fancies that he has proved this last position when he shows that in addition to the *T'ien*, or *Háu T'ien* 昊天 Expansive Heaven, of the

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\* This is the title of *Yuh-hwáng*, the Supreme Ruler of the T. uists, given on p. 33 of Dr. L's argument. We shall search the classics in vain for such predicates of *T'ien*, or *Háu T'ien*, the "Supreme Ruler" of said classics. *T'ien* is nowhere described therein as he "who at the *beginning* opened out *heaven*" (i. e. *T'ien*), or he "who has ever since regulated the various kulpas," &c.

classics, there are several other beings styled *Shángtí*. But this is not sufficient to prove that the term is used as the name of a class: it may be a name common to many individuals, and yet be always used to designate a definite individual, and not any one indifferently of the individuals so called. There are great numbers of individuals called William, Thomas, &c., yet these are singular terms, not common: in each different family, the William designates a different person, yet the speaker uses this word to point out definitely a single individual as the subject of discourse, and the family and other circumstances define who the person spoken of is. So with the title "the Queen," in England, at the present moment, notwithstanding the fact that so many have borne this title, it is in effect a proper name, or, in other words, it designates H. M. Victoria as definitely as a proper name would. This, I am persuaded, is the case with the title *Shángtí*, the Supreme Ruler. It designates, when standing alone, the chief god of either the Confucian or Táuíst systems, and the family in which it is spoken renders definite which one is meant, as in the case of the common proper names William, Thomas, &c.

I would earnestly beg my missionary brethren who are in the habit of using *Shángtí* for God, to inquire quietly of their teachers and other literary men, and then of the common people, what they respectively understand by the phrase *Shángtí*, and I am persuaded that the result of such investigation, if conducted carefully and without a resort to *leading questions*, will be the conviction that by this phrase a definite individual being is *always understood*; and that this being will be found to be either the *T'ien* of the classics, the *Yuh-hwáng* of the Táuísts, or the *T'ien-tí*, Heaven and Earth, of the common people. If either one of these be the true God, this fact might justify one in using the phrase, but if they are *all* alike false, and the hearer will be sure to understand us, as exhorting him to worship *a given one of them* (which one, his creed would determine), how can we, if under these circumstances we exhort the Chinese to worship *Shángtí*, avoid the charge of exhorting them to the worship of a false god?

But if *Shángtí* should be proved by classical and popular usage to be a common term, the fact that it is a relative term, which "can not indicate the *essence*, nor express anything of the *being* of Jehovah," is *sufficient* to decide the question against its use to render Elohím and Θεός. If the word by which we render Elohím and Θεός "does not indicate the *essence*, nor express anything of the *being* of Jehovah," but is *merely* the *exponent* of the relationship he sustains to his creatures, what *word* are we to use in our Chinese treatises when we

speak of the *nature, being, and attributes* of Jehovah? How are we to express the doctrine of the Trinity by the use of this word, if when we say the three Persons are one God, we mean to assert by the word *God* they are of one divine *essence or substance*? This matter has been sufficiently discussed when we were inquiring whether *god* was a relative term or not; but I can not pass on without calling the reader's attention to one remarkable point.

The Romanists used the character *wei* 位 for the Persons, and the character *t'i* 體, substance, to express that in which the *oneness* of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost consisted. In this they have been followed by all the Protestants whose statements with respect to the Trinity I have seen. The remarkable fact in connection with this point to which I desire to call the reader's attention is this: that the Chinese writers themselves (without of course having any reference to this subject) explain the phrase *Shángtí* as not referring to the *t'i* 體 *substance*, of the being so styled. Take, for instance, the explanation of the words *t'ien* 天 and *tí* 帝 given by Ching-tsz' when commenting on the 18th Section of the *Chan Li*: *T'ien yú tí yih yé; t'ien yen k'i t'i, tí yen k'i chú* 天與帝一也. 天言其體 帝言其主. *T'ien* (Heaven) and *Tí* (Ruler) are the same; [the name] heaven refers to its (the ruling power's) (*t'i* 體) *substance*; *tí*, the Ruler, refers to its *ruling*." So also the explanation of Ching Shí-ngoh quoted Vol. XVII, p. 45 of my Essay: "Because of the immensity of its *substance* (*k'i* 氣) we call it (the ruling Power) Expansive Heaven; because its *ruling seat* is on high, we call it (the Power above called Expansive Heaven) *Shángtí*, i. e. the Ruler on high."

If we are correct in using the word *t'i* 體 *substance*, to express that in which the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are *one*; when we say "the three Persons are one *Shángtí*," how can the phrase *Shángtí*, which does not refer to the *substance* of the being indicated, but only to *his ruling*, teach that the oneness of the three Persons consists in their having only one *t'i* 體 *substance*, or their being con-substantial? Will the words "Three Persons and Supreme Ruler," express the Athanasian view of the Trinity?

The last objection I shall urge against the use of the phrase *Shángtí* to render the words Elohím and Θεός, is that it is a compound term, consisting of an adjective "supreme" and a noun "ruler," whereas we want a simple uncompounded word like God, Elohím, Θεός.

The unsuitableness of such a compound phrase is easiest tested by showing that we can not thereby teach a strict and proper monotheism; The doctrine of the Sacred Scriptures is that there is but one God;



a being must be either absolutely God, or no god at all, only God by way of a figure, or improperly so called. Now then, if in this phrase compounded of an adjective and a noun, the noun *ti* meant god, what would be the effect of using this qualifying term, and saying "there is only one *Supreme* God;" would this teach monotheism? Does not the addition of the adjective *supreme* on the contrary, imply the existence of *inferior* gods? The belief in the existence of only *one supreme God* is not monotheism; but the belief in the existence of only *one God* is. The Greeks, Romans, and indeed all the polytheistic nations we know anything of, believed in the existence of only *one Supreme* God; but this belief did not interfere with their belief in the existence of numberless inferior gods. Hence Tertullian objects on this ground to the use of this phrase; he says most admirably, "Divinitas non habet *gradum*, utpote *u.ica*."

If the noun *ti* means merely ruler and not god, all the adjectives in the world can not make it answer to this word, if God is, as we contend, the *absolute* name of the Supreme Being, and not a mere title. To say there is only one supreme Ruler is not monotheism, for this supreme Ruler might not be a god at all; but only the visible heavens, or a mere lifeless principle, primitive reason, destiny or fate. This point seems to me so plain that I will not dwell on it, but will only request the reader to endeavor to state the Scripture doctrine of the existence of only *one God*, adding any adjective he can think of except the adjective "true," and see if this added adjective does not interfere with his statement of this doctrine. The adjective *supreme* implies inferior; *good* God, would not exclude the Manichæan idea of a malignant God; *great* would not exclude small, &c., &c. To state this doctrine we must have a simple, unqualified word; we can not say there is only one good, or one great, or one supreme, God; but must simply say, there is only one God.

(To be continued.)

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ART. II. *An Inquiry into the proper mode of translating Ruach and Pneuma, in the Chinese version of the Scriptures.* By W. H.

MEDHURST, sen. Shánghái. Printed at the Mission Press, 1850.

SUCH is the character of this little volume, and such the place it holds in a series of works, which have come from the same pen within a period of four or five years, that some notice of it seems called for.

The principal of these works are; a Translation of the Shú King ; Theology of the Chinese ; an Inquiry into the Proper Mode of rendering the word God in translating the Sacred Scriptures into the Chinese language ; Reply to an Essay on the same subject ; with the translation of two articles from the Thesauruses of K'ánghí, called the *Pei Wan Yun Fú*. These have been already noticed. The subject of the present brochure is one of great importance ; but the mode of handling it is, in some particulars unsatisfactory—so unsatisfactory indeed as to render it very questionable, whether the “ Inquiry,”—extending over some seventy or more octavo pages, will not rather embarrass than facilitate the settlement of the question, (how the two words *Ruach* and *Pneuma*) shall be translated. There is in this “ Inquiry,” and in some of the other works enumerated above, great confusion, a want of that clear and logical exhibition of all the facts which the question demands. This will appear as we proceed. All we now say must be limited to three or four distinct points, wherein we shall try to show why the volume before us is unsatisfactory.

In the first place, there is it seems to us, something in the *animus*, pervading the Inquiry, which is not fitted to impress favorably the reader's mind ; again and again an asperity is exhibited which is uncalled for, and not in good keeping with a spirit of calm and candid inquiry. Of this, however, our Readers will judge as we submit to their consideration two or three quotations, affording illustrations of what we speak. After having proceeded only a little way, on his Inquiry (to page 11) he says :—

“ From the above it appears, that Shin when used in the abstract means the living principle, the human soul, mind and spirit, the animal spirits, and the spiritual essence and animation of anything. Its antitheses are body and matter, and its correlates are the grosser and more contracted part of spirit, the spiritual energies, the soul, the mind, thought, intention, will, feelings, disposition, and a man's self, together with abstractedness of mind, mysteriousness, and inscrutability of intelligence. We conceive that the above meanings and applications of the word, for every one of which there is good authority, are sufficient to prove, beyond the power of contradiction, that the radical and essential meaning of Shin is *spirit*. It has been said, that this controversy is a question of evidence : if so, then it is settled, as the above evidence is unquestionable and superabundant.”

So, the question is settled. The evidence is unquestionable and superabundant ; yet, as if it were not so, the writer proceeds to adduce and refer to additional evidence ; and again, (on page 19,) holds the following language :—

“ We lay claim, therefore, to the word Shin, as the best and most suitable translation of spirit, which the Chinese language affords, in all its senses, except that of wind, to which however it is allied through its correlative 氣

k'he; and we call upon those who contend against our so using the word to *prove* that it does not mean spirit. This we know they can never do; we therefore rest secure in our point, and demand from the Bible and Missionary Societies their sanction and aid, in employing the word *Shin*, according to its legitimate sense. The only argument, if it can be called one, which we have heard, against our employing *Shin* for spirit, is, that *Shin* is the only term which our opponents can find in the language for God. If such be the case, and if, as we have proved, it means spirit, they ought to abandon the use of it in the former sense; because they never can maintain that there is but one spirit, without outraging truth at every step they go. If it be really so, that they can find no other term in the language for God, they ought to transfer the word, and not seek to promote the cause of God of truth by "uttering what, according to the meaning of the term, as used and understood by the Chinese, amounts to a falsity."

Further, (on page 49) he speaks of the "miserable choice those have made, who, in order to establish their practice of using *Shin* for God, have abandoned that term in the sense of spirit, and adopted one which is far inferior to it, in the sense intended; and (on page 59.) adds yet again,

"It may be, that some of those missionaries who have argued so perseveringly for the adoption of *Shin* as a translation of *Theos*, may be led, when they see its greater applicability to represent *Pneuma*, and the utter inadequacy of other terms to supply its place in the latter sense, to relax their former advocacy, and taking refuge in the transferred term for *Theos*, adopt *Pneuma*. In this, however, we are by no means sanguine. One of the advocates of *Shin* in the sense of God has said, "*This word we must use to render Elohim and Theos, malgré all objections.*" Another says, "*This is a simple matter of fact, to be determined not by arguments, not by long quotations from ancient works, though these have their use in illustrating the subject, but by the hearing of the ear.*" The holding of such language, with reference to a question of philology, which can only be determined on the authority of standard works, utterly discourages those who may expect to produce conviction in the minds of their opponents. It shews that they have resolved on a certain course, *in spite of evidence*, and take the matter out of the field of argument altogether."

For ourselves, and for others who have taken any part in this controversy, we can say, with all sincerity and truth, there is no unwillingness to receive evidence, and no wish to take the matter out of the field of argument. No one we presume will dispute Dr. M.'s right to utter his sentiments in any language and in any manner he prefers, but all such declarations, as those above, will stand as mere matters of *opinion*. Our opinion is that no one of those, whom Dr. Medhurst calls opponents, has resolved on a certain course, "in spite of evidence;" and furthermore, we are of opinion, that if Dr. Medhurst has anywhere given us "*the radical and essential meaning of Shin*," it is not in his *Theology of the Chinese*, nor in his last *Inquiry*, but in his translation of the *Shú King*, where in somewhat more than "*three-eighths* of the passages," in which *Shin* occurs, he has translated it *gods*."

This fact we shall bring out more fully in the sequel of this notice.

Next to that asperity of which we have spoken, in the volume before us, in the second place, "the question to be solved," is not fairly stated. It is not, "what is the best Chinese term, which, according to the *uses loquendi* of that people, is best adapted" to express all the various senses of the word *Spirit*, given in Johnson; the question is how to translate *Ruach* and *Pneuma*; and we can not imagine what object Dr. Medhurst could have had, in filling three pages with long and irrelevant quotations from an English dictionary, unless he fancied that their array would help to give countenance to the almost interminable list of "definitions" and "senses" which he has thought it necessary to attach to *Shin*.

To this list of definitions and senses of *Shin*, we will now proceed; and this is the third particular in which the Inquiry is unsatisfactory. It seems to us that in some instances, if not in many, he has mistaken the description of the *attributes*, &c., of the Chinese gods (or spirits as he prefers to call them) for definitions of the term *shin*. It was right, if he pleased, to give us both—viz. the *meaning of the word shin*, and the *nature of the thing* designated by that word. But by not properly distinguishing these two, there is not that perspicuity and clearness which the discussion requires. When first reading Dr. M.'s writings on *Shin* we marked down some of the principal definitions and senses to which he invited our attention; and we here introduce some of them. Animal spirits; Active spirits; Animation; Air (of ease); Apparition; Mysterious actings; That which advances and is inscrutable; Beyond comprehension to bring into contact with invisible beings; Demons; Mischievous denons; Energies of the masculine and feminine principles of nature; Elf, elves, mischievous elves; Essential part; Essence; Essence of China root; Essential qualities; ethereal, ethereal spirit; extraordinary results of moral power; Expanders, celestial expanders; expanders of nature; expanding principle of nature, expanders presiding over prognostics; Those that produce clouds; Fairy, Fairies; Gleam; Genius, Genii; Ghost, Ghost-like; Images in temples; Invisibile beings, Incorporeal not necessarily intelligent; Inscrutable ones, Immateriality; To render inscrutable; Inscrutable and awe-inspiring; Inscrutably intelligent; Inscrutable wisdom, Inscrutable intelligence. The mind in equanimity; Laræ rustici; That which collects and lives; Mien, Marvel, Manes, Mind, Marvelous, Marvelousness; To influence in a mysterious manner; Mysterious, Mysteriously; Mysteriously intelligent, Inscrutably intelligent and mysterious; Inscrutably mysterious; Mysterious and inscrutable; Mysteriousness, Mysterious person; Mysterious and unfathomable; Spirit or something nearly allied thereto (Inquiry p. 20), the idea very closely connects it (*shin*) with materialism; Recondite; Those to whom it is customary to offer sacrifices; shades, spectres, sprites. To *shin* the Earth, or to honor the Earth with the sacrifices generally paid to the *shins*, to become spiritual; Soul, soul and finer spirit; soul in mystery; human spirit, spiritual part of man's nature; spirit, spiritual influences; spiritual beings, spiritual nature, spirituality, expanding spirit; thoughts; Vivacity, Vigor, vigor of thought; Wonderful, Wonderfully.

There is also, we think, a singular want of accuracy in the use of terms throughout the Inquiry. Under what Dr. Medhurst calls "the correlates of Shin," in the abstract, page 7, and in the concrete, page 75, are thrown together terms having, so far as we can discover, no reciprocal relation to *Shin*: take for examples, *mú* 母 "mother," and *nü* 女 "a female of the human species;" and also *Ki* 己 "self" and *chin* 眞 "truth;" where is the reciprocal relation here, so that the existence of these four terms is made to depend on *Shin*? Father and Son are correlates; so are King and Subjects; but not so *Shin* and *mú*; *skin* and *nü*; etc. In like manner in the opening of the Analysis, on page 4, under the first grand division, we have, as an illustration of *skin*, in the abstract (used for the soul or vital principle,) the following, "when the new-born babe comes to the gate of life, as it falls to the ground, it becomes a *sang shin* 生神 living soul." This is accurately quoted from the pamphlet "on the true meaning of the word *Shin*." In the early history of our race, we read, "and man became a living soul." This phrase perhaps suggested to Dr. Medhurst the rendering he has given; but be the sense of *skin*, in this instance, what you please, the subject of the proposition is *babe*, which surely is a concrete, and not an abstract term. So in Genesis, in the phrase, "living soul," the noun is used, not in the abstract, but the concrete sense.

One point more is unsatisfactory; Dr. Medhurst is unwilling to admit that *Shin* means God or Gods, Divinity or Divine, and declares that its primary and radical meaning is *spirit* or *spiritual*, "or something nearly allied thereto." On p. 20 in his Inquiry, he says:—

"In a tract entitled, 'The true meaning of the word Shin,' already referred to, the quotations were divided into two sections, those which exhibited 神 Shin in the abstract, and those in the concrete form. With respect to the former, the writer expressed himself very decidedly, that the word Shin means spirit, or something nearly allied thereto; and gave utterance to his conviction that the passages quoted under the first head could not be translated by substituting the word *God* or *Divinity* for spirit, without offering the greatest violence to the Chinese language. He retains that conviction; and he now calls upon all those who persist in using the word Shin for God, to translate those passages upon their principles, and make sense of them; if they cannot,—and if they cannot rebut the argument, that according to the sense attached to Shin in three-eighths of the passages quoted in the Chinese Thesaurus under that word, it means spirit, and especially the human spirit, let them not stand up before God and man, and tell the Chinese that there is only one Shin."

Much more of the same kind we have elsewhere; and on the very next page, "the conclusion" is drawn that in rendering their books, and in endeavoring to express the ideas which they wished to convey,

“ we ought not to use the word *God*, as a translation of *Shin* in the concrete.”

Now we think that, in all the hundreds of pages he has written on this question, Dr. Medhurst has nowhere developed the original and primary meaning of *Shin*. If he is of opinion that he has done this, we have to assure him that in our opinion he has not, and we doubtless shall retain this opinion until such time as he shall bring forward some proof, some evidence to support his opinion. We do not set light by his opinion; we submit it, however to our readers, that, in a question of this sort, we need evidence; and we shall ever try to regulate our course by evidence, and not, as he says, “ in spite of evidence.” For translating *Shin*, God, Gods, &c., in the concrete, authorities are not wanting. We will adduce one. The translator of the *Shú King*, “ printed at the mission press,” Shánghái, in the month of October, 1846. In that volume are comprised all the historical records of the Chinese for a period of sixteen centuries, extending from the founding of the empire down almost to the time of Confucius. The translator had been a student of the language for nearly thirty years, and had published in the mean time two large Dictionaries of the language. The translation, therefore, is justly entitled to our consideration. In 1847—one year after the publication of the version of the *Shú King*, Dr. Medhurst published his “ Theology of the Chinese,” in which he “ has been enabled to present to view the whole body of Chinese Theology.” In this Theology he has quoted, and commented on every passage in the *Shú King* in which the word *Shin* occurs, showing us all the historical uses of the word for sixteen hundred years. We have been at the pains of copying out all these passages, and will here submit them in parallel columns; in one as they were printed in 1846, and in the other as they were printed in 1847. We number the extracts.

*Shú King*, published A. D. 1846.

1. Shun then offered a sacrifice of the same class to the Supreme Ruler, he presented a pure offering to the six objects of veneration, he looked with devotion towards the hills and rivers, and glanced around at the host of Spirits (*Shin*), p. 18.

2. Then both *gods* (*shin*) and men will approve, p. 35.

3. He (the emperor Yáu) is sagelike and divine (*shin*), p. 42.

4. Now my intentions were previously settled; consulting and deliberating, all were of the same opinion; the

*Theology of the Chinese* published 1847.

He (Shun) then offered the corresponding sacrifice to the Supreme Ruler, he presented a pure offering to the six honored objects, he looked towards and worshiped the hills and rivers, while he universally included the host of *Shins*, p. 44.

Causing the *Shins* and men to be harmonious. p. 46

He (the emperor Yáu) is said to be sagelike and inscrutably intelligent (*Shin*). p. 46.

Now my mind is already made up; an inquiry of my councillors they are

demons and *gods* (shin) even they complied, p. 53.

5. The *divine* (Shin) ancestor; said of the emperor Yau, p. 54.

6. High degrees of sincerity move the *gods* (shin), how much more these inhabitants of Miao? p. 57.

7. Have unitedly announced your innocence before the superior and inferior *spirits* (shin) and demons, p. 133.

8. I have presented also to use, in sacrifice, a sombre-colored victim, and ventured to proclaim it to high Heaven and to the *divine* (shin) power (Earth) p. 138.

9. The first kings of the Hiá dynasty possessed abundant virtue: at that time there were no celestial calamities; the spirits of the hills and rivers, with the demons and *gods* (shin), also were invariably tranquil, p. 141.

10. The upper and nether powers, the celestial and terrestrial *gods*, p. 145.

11. The demons and *spirits* (shin) do not invariably accept of sacrifices, but they accept of those who can be sincere, p. 150.

12. He became disrespectful to the *gods* and oppressed the people; p. 152.

13. So Imperial Heaven would not protect him in power, but looked abroad throughout all quarters for those who could open out and lead forth its decree while they regarded and aimed at single-eyed virtues, in order that it might set them to preside over the *gods* (shin) p. 152.

14. I think of our former *divine* princes aboring in behalf of your ancestor. p. 164.

15. When ceremonies are burdensome they result in confusion, and the service of the *gods* (shin) will then be difficult, p. 172.

16. The people of Yin steal and carry away the *divinity* (shin) devoted, pure and perfect sacrificial animals, p. 180.

17. [The tyrant] sits on his heels, and refuses to serve the Supreme Ruler, with the celestial and terrestrial *gods* (shin), p. 183.

18, 19. Only may your *gods* (shin) be enabled to help me, in saving the millions of the people and not bring disgrace on your *divinityships*, p. 194.

20, 21. My benevolence is equal to that of my fathers, I possess many abilities and accomplishments and can serve the demons and *gods* (shin); but your chief grandson is not like me

all agreed; the *wei Skins* also comply. p. 46.

The *mysterious* (shin) ancestor, referring to the emperor Yau. p. 47.

He who is extremely harmonious and sincere, can influence the *Skins*, how much more these people of Miao? p. 47.

Have unitedly announced your innocence to the upper and nether *Skins* and K'hes, p. 48.

I have now ventured to use a sombre-colored victim (in sacrifice), whilst I presumed to announce clearly to the high Heavens, and to the (*Skin*). How p. 48.

The first prince of the Hiá dynasty encouraged the virtuous principle within him, and consequently escaped celestial calamities, while the *Kweis* and *Skins* of the hills and rivers were universally tranquil. p. 49.

The upper and nether celestial *Skins* and terrestrial K'hes. p. 49.

The *Kweis* and *Skins* have no person from whom they exclusively accept sacrifices, but they accept of those who are able to manifest sincerity. p. 50.

He was disrespectful to the *Skins* and oppressive to the people; p. 52.

Thus imperial Heaven would not protect him, but looked about through all quarters, for one who could open and lead out the celestial decree, thus carefully seeking for one possessed of single-eyed virtue, that he might be appointed lord of the *Skins*. p. 52.

I reflect upon our former *intelligent* (*Skin*) princes laboring in behalf of your ancestors. p. 52.

When ceremonies are over-burdensome, they result in confusion; in such cases the service of the *Skins* will be difficult p. 53.

The people of the Yin dynasty rob and plunder the pure and perfect sacrificial animals, which should be offered to the *Skins* and K'hes p. 54.

(He) sitting at his ease, without serving the Supreme, or the *Skins* and K'hes. p. 54.

Only may you *Skins* be enabled to assist me in settling the millions of the people and do not bring disgrace on your *Skinships*. p. 55.

I am benevolent and obedient to my progenitors, and possess many abilities and talents, with which I could serve the *Kwei Skins*; but your grand-nephew is not like me Tan in these numerous accomplishments and abilities

with many talents and many capabilities, neither can he serve the demons and *gods* (shin), p. 214.

22. Reverential and respectful towards both *gods* (shin) and men, p. 293.

23. Our kings of Chau alone could worthily receive the host, and adequately sustain virtue; only they could superintend the worship of the *divine* Heavens, p. 279.

24. The chief baron superintends the public ceremonies, regulates (the respect to be paid to) both *gods* (shin) and men, and arranges (the ranks of) superiors and inferiors, p. 290.

25. I have heard (Chowking) say, that perfect government is fragrant and influences the *immortal gods* (shin ming), p. 293.

fitted for the service of the *Kwei Shins* p. 55.

Reverential towards both *shins* and men. p. 56.

But our kings of the Chow dynasty have well succeeded in obtaining the hosts of the people, and are equal to the burden of sustaining virtue, so that they can preside at the sacrifices offered to the *Shins* and to Heaven. p. 56.

The chief baron regulated the ceremonies of the country, and managed (the sacrifices offered), both to the *Shins* and to the manes of men, thus harmonizing those above and those below, p. 57.

I have heard it said, that the extreme excellence of good government is so fragrant that it influences *intelligent* and invisible beings (shin ming). p. 56.

Here is *evidence*,—evidence which will stand until every copy of said Shú King, published in 1846, is obliterated or called home by the translator and burnt. Let us look at the *facts* as they were presented to view in 1846; in twenty-five examples of the use of the word, *shin* is translated:—*Gods*, *fifteen* times; *Divine*, *five* times; *Divinely*, *once*; *Divinityships*, *once*; *Spirits*, \* *three* times.

Not in "three-eighths," but in twenty-two out of twenty-five instances, we thus have the word *Shin* translated *Divinity*, "or something nearly allied thereto." Turn now to the other column; there the same word *Shin* is translated in 1847:—*Intelligent*, twice; *Inscrutably intelligent*, once; *Mysterious*, once; *Shinships*, once. Thus in four-fifths of the examples the word shin is left untranslated; while in the others we have not spirit, spiritual, or anything very nearly allied thereto. It was fair to leave the word untranslated while its true meaning was the point of discussion; and there was of course no necessity for rendering it "intelligent, mysterious," &c. But if it could be, and was translated *divine*, &c., in 1846, why not also in 1847? In one case, and in only one, that we recollect, does the translator acknowledge that he mistook the meaning of *Shin*, namely in what we have marked, 24 (see Theology page 56,) where the two words *Shin T'ien*, 神天 occurring together, the first was taken adjectively, whereas it should have been regarded as a concrete noun. Coming down now to the late "Inquiry," just published, the word comes up to view exhibiting phrases altogether different from those of 1846, and this having been done without cause, we are constrained to look upon said "Inquiry" as very unsatisfactory.

\* In these *three*, the translator is careful to tell his readers, in explanatory notes that the word *Shin* means "god."



ART. III. *Animadversions on the Philological Diversions of Philo, by W. H. Medhurst Sen., in his Inquiry into the proper mode of translating Ruach and Pncuma, examined in a Note by Philo.*  
Communicated for the Repository.

PHILO presents his compliments to the Editor of the Chinese Repository, and requests the favor of his publishing the accompanying Note, touching sundry animadversions recently made on an Article which appeared in the Chinese Repository for Sept. 1849.

NOTE.

THE object of the Article in question was to illustrate some of the various meanings and uses of the Chinese word *Fung*, translated 'wind,' 'breath,' 'spirit,' 'messenger of Heaven and Earth,' etc. As this word had been used for *Ruach* and *Pncuma* by those illustrious missionaries, Morrison, Milne and Marshman, in their versions of the Sacred Scriptures, and as some missionaries still prefer it, Philo thought that a few examples, selected from standard authors, exhibiting its uses, would be acceptable to the general reader; and he has the satisfaction of knowing that what he wrote has been commended by men of high erudition in Chinese. The animadversions are to be found in a pamphlet entitled "An Inquiry into the proper mode of translating *Ruach* and *Pncuma*, in the Chinese version of the Scriptures. By W. H. Medhurst Sen., Shánghái: printed at the [the?] Mission press: 1850." Of the spirit and manner of these animadversions, Philo will say nothing; but their want of accuracy on some points, he can not allow to pass unnoticed. The value of testimony, in every case, depends on its being accurate. Without this quality, philological pursuits, however extensive, are worthless and may prove very hurtful.

The principal animadversions have been directed to three of the quotations, which shall be here repeated, and each may form a separate case.

CASE FIRST. *The Producer of all things is FUNG, or SPIRIT.*

也物萬動以風

The translation of *tung*, the third word in the sentence, is here the cause of offense. The critic translates the whole sentence thus: "wind is that by which all things are put in motion;" and remarks, in a note, "Philo has mistranslated the above sentence;" and then adds:

"We cannot imagine what authority Philo could have for rendering *tung* the producer: Morrison gives him no warrant for so doing. *Tung*, as an

active verb, according to Morrison, means to excite or agitate, not to produce. Philo tells us, the Chinese say, the word in question means *to produce*, to bring into existence. We shall be obliged to him to show us the Chinese lexicographer or commentator who so explains the word. Philo's object in thus rendering the passage is, doubtless, to exalt his *fung* into an intelligent agent, *who*, he says, brings all things into existence." This appears more evidently in his Synopsis at the close of his article, where he says, with reference to this quotation, "spirit means, the producer of all things; an active agent from and by whom the Chinese conceive all things to derive their existence." We object altogether to this mode of representing the sentiments of the Chinese, who do not conceive of the wind as an active agent, from and by *whom* all things derive their existence. Grammarians tell us that *who* is applied to persons and rational beings. *Fung*, in the estimation of the Chinese, is without life and reason; the use of the masculine or feminine relative, in connection with *fung* is, therefore, improper. pp. 63,64.

If W. H. Medhurst Sen. will turn to the *Shwoh Wan*, or to the *Kwóng Yin*, both of which "Lexicographers" are quoted in K'anghi's Dictionary. he will find *tung* explained by *tsok* 作 *to make*; and *ch'nh* 出 *to produce*; not absolutely to create, but to bring into their visible forms organic bodies, vegetable and animal,—such bodies as cannot come into being without some *active agent*. Considering the word *tung*, in this sense, to excite or *to produce*, Philo remarked, that the Chinese regarded this form of expression as equivalent to *that which produces*, or *he who produces*, i. e. the PRODUCER. Philo used the two forms of expression, *that which* and *he who*, purposely, because he knew there were those who regarded *fung* like *Ruach*, as an active agent.

If "*fung* is *that by which* all things are put in motion," two questions arise; first, what, "in the estimation of the Chinese," is the *motion* in which all things are put, and second, what or who is the efficient cause or agent controlling "that by which" all things are thus put in motion? In Philo's estimation, the Chinese regard Heaven and Earth, "the Parents of all things," as this controlling cause, and *fung* as one of their active agents in this grand operation. Philo may be incorrect in saying "*the producer*," because the Chinese believe there are, other active agents, besides *Fung*, employed in producing all things. This, however, is plain, these two divine Beings, Heaven and Earth,—no matter in what way their influences are combined and exerted, do in and of themselves constitute the controlling Power, or *chú tsái*, "as the Chinese will have it." The *motion*, specified above, is one of the two states, "motion and rest," spoken of in the Book of Changes: See "Theology of the Chinese," *passim*: these two, the Chinese say, revolve in uninterrupted succession: and exclusive of these two states, motion and rest, "there is no operation in nature."

Turn now to the Theology of the Chinese, (page 4.) and read of the "T'i k'i," or "that which brings up all things;" further on, (page 5.) again read, thus, "the expanding Spirit of Heaven is that which leads out all things." What this Expanding Spirit is, "in the estimation of the Chinese" is stated, on the same page, in these plain words: it is Heaven that sends down its k'i 氣 breath or spirit to influence or lead out all things; and the expanding spirit, spoken of above, is this k'i or spirit. Philo does not think that the Chinese believe "the expanding spirit" and the k'i here spoken of are identical; yet they are, in the Theology of the Chinese, so represented; and, *passim*, k'i is translated, "spirit," "soul," or that which "travels abroad," and which is "in no case divested of knowledge."

CASE SECOND. *The messenger of Heaven and earth is Fung or Spirit.*

### 使之地天者風

The critic translates these six characters thus: "The winds are the messengers of heaven and earth;" this, it will be seen, is not very unlike the other, except that he prefers the plural form of the words "winds" and "messengers," and rejects the capital letters in heaven and earth, a matter of no importance; in a note he says:

"Philo has quoted this passage also, and translated it, 'the messenger of heaven and earth is spirit;' because *shé*, when connected with *kuoh*, a nation, means a national messenger, or an envoy, Philo would argue that it is here a title of honor, equivalent to our word ambassador, and therefore implies an *intelligent* messenger. The passage adduced by him from the Psalms. "Who maketh his angels spirits" if rendered as it ought to be "who maketh the winds his messengers," would indeed correspond to the quotation from the Chinese author, in which case wind would be equivalent to *fung* and messenger to *shé*. The Hebrew poet, however, did not, as we conceive, mean to say, that the winds are employed as *intelligent* envoys, but that they are used by the Author of all to accomplish his purposes as flames of fire are also his ministers. When Philo goes on to say, that "the Chinese believe heaven and earth to be the chief of all their gods, and the invisible agent of which we discourse (viz. wind), they regard as the ambassador of these high divinities,—everywhere abroad exciting to life and bringing into their proper forms all the myriads of beings that fill the universe—he has drawn entirely on the resources of his own imagination, and laid to the charge of the Chinese things which they know not."

Philo agrees with those who think that in the quotation from the Hebrew poet, *Ruach* may well be rendered by *fung* or "winds;" and will only further remark, in this connection, that while the two Hebrew words, here used for "angels and spirits" or "winds," correspond most exactly with the two Chinese words *shé* and *fung*, the notions of the Chinese regarding such messengers,—be they celestial, terrestrial or infernal, material or immaterial, are mere "*phantasma*." Whatever others may have done, Philo did not believe and did not

affirm that *Fung* was an "intelligent" agent; but an active agent it certainly is, and is so regarded by "every intelligent Chinese."

CASE THIRD. *When the Great Mass breathes forth its BREATH or SPIRIT it is called Fung.*

### 大塊噫氣其名爲風

This sentence, taken in connection with the two preceding cases, forms a very hard subject for the Animadverter to dispose of, and he could not dismiss it without two separate notes. He translates it thus, "*When the great frame of nature breathes forth its breath it is called wind;*" and, on the same page, (64) adds.

"With reference to this passage; Philo says, at the close of what he calls his philological diversions, that the breath of the Great Unity, is the spirit that gives life to all beings; it is a divine and all-pervading influence. The Chinese author, however, gives no sanction to this fancy, which is to be ascribed to Philo's own imagination." On a subsequent page, 66, in a second note, he says: "We merely refer to Philo here to notice an expression employed by him: his words are, "Wind—or as the Chinese will have it, the *spirit* of the Gods—renovates and gives life to all beings." This is very unfair; all that stands for "*the gods*," in our passage quoted, by him, is *tá-kwái*, the great frame of nature; and all that can, even in his own estimation, be construed as "renovating and giving life," is *tung*, to excite, to agitate. To extract such an idea as he has, therefrom, is most unwarrantable. The Chinese will not have it. But Philo will have it, whether the Chinese will have it or not."

This is positive enough. Philo, however, begs to say that he has no *will* or *wish* in this matter, except to represent the case as it is "in the estimation of the Chinese." The Reader will please keep in mind that the "*tung*, to excite, to agitate," is the same that was rendered in the first case, by Dr. Medhurst, "*motion*," or to be put in motion, as all things are by the wind. Also the reader will please remember the statement, from the Theology of the Chinese, that "the expanding spirit of Heaven" and the *k'i*," which is sent down "to influence or lead out all things," are, or *were*, as there represented, one and the same. and the identical *k'i* which we have in this third case before us. Accordingly, by a very plain and simple rule, as *k'i* was translated *spirit* in the one case it must be translated *spirit* in the other, unless good reason can be shown for a different rendering.

When Philo, remarked, that the Chinese believe Heaven and earth to be their chief divinities; that these two divinities are designated by the phrase *tá kwái*; and that *k'i* is correctly translated "breath" or "spirit;" he stated only what are well known facts—facts which can be sustained by evidence.

With regard to *k'i*, he is perfectly willing to leave it on the evidence already adduced and referred to; and the Animadverter may accept or

reject that evidence, just as it may seem best in his own estimation.

As to the other points, however, some of the evidence shall be adduced. Do the Chinese understand the phrase or term *tá kwái* to mean Heaven and Earth? And are heaven and earth, in their estimation, their chief divinities? These are two very plain questions; and if there be any laws of language, any *jus et norma loquendi*, they must be capable of plain and satisfactory answers.

In the *Kú Wan Yoh Pien*, 古文約編 there is this sentence, *Tú kwái T'ien Tí Yé*, 大塊天地也. "The Great-Mass is Heaven and Earth." In the *Yuen Kien Lui Hán*, 淵鑑類函, we read, *Tákwái Chin táu*, 大塊甄陶; the first two characters are explained to mean Heaven and Earth; the second two, to mould, to form, to fashion, as the potter does his material clay; and the four give us this meaning, that Heaven and Earth are the Formers, (or Makers, in the estimation of the Chinese,) of all things. Kángh's Dictionary holds similar language, viz *tsáu wuh chí ming*, *yueh Tú-kwái*, 造物之名曰大塊 which Morrison translates thus, "The name of that which creates (namely heaven and earth, nature) is called *Tá kwái*." Medhurst's Dictionary reads thus, "*Tá kwái* 大塊 Heaven and earth, nature."

It is thus plain enough that Heaven and Earth, "in the estimation of the Chinese," are two distinct Beings though they are sometimes spoken of as the *tá kwái*, or Great Unity. They are also regarded as divine. Of Heaven this is affirmed scores or hundreds of times in the Theology of the Chinese; and no Chinese will deny that this is correct. In a book it is thus written: "The Chinese speak of Heaven as the one Great one," the fountain of being and the foundation of authority, producing, decreeing, bestowing, and directing all things." "In the *Shú King*, translated by Dr. Medhurst, we read of two beings, "High Heaven" and the "Divine Power," which Divine Power he says, means, "Earth." In his "Inquiry," (page 49) Dr. Medhurst makes this very plain; he says: The *Shin how* [the identical "Divine Power," of the *Shú King*.] according to the Commentator, means the 后土 *Empress Earth*, which is associated in the Chinese mind, with Imperial Heaven 皇天, here called High Heaven." This is most explicit; and while the *jus et norma loquendi* of the Chinese language remain unaltered and in force, this dogma must stand, that, in "the Chinese mind," Heaven and Earth are two Beings. If now any mortal can doubt that these two, Imperial Heaven and Imperial Earth, are the Chief divinities of the Chinese—chief in the Chinese mind—

that doubt will be removed by an overwhelming mass of evidence contained in the Constitution or Magna Charta of the reigning Manchu family: it is called *Tü Tsing Hwei Tien*, or "The Collected Statutes of the Great Pure Dynasty." Referring the Reader to the ample testimony of that Great work, Philo submits the entire subject and here closes this long note.

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ART. IV. *Memoir of the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie, Missionary to China.* Edited by his Father.

THIS is a work of five hundred quarto pages, neatly printed with large type. It is almost entirely a collection of letters and journals, and the editor, as he tells us in the preface, has done little more than to select and arrange these papers. He has however inserted a few remarks "with the view of noticing his early years, and connecting the different periods of his short but active and not unvaried life." The letters and journals were in general hastily written and often "in the confidence of Christian and endeared friendship," but this fact invests them with an interest which could not be attained by any labor of composition. Their easy simplicity of style and the freedom with which the writer lays open the feelings of his heart, throw around them a charm which will, we doubt not, secure for the work an extensive circulation. With all who love to contemplate the exhibition of the emotions of Christian friendship, founded on the sympathies of the Christian life, or the workings of a heart panting after God, this will be a favorite volume. The position of the missionary whose character is here delineated, the esteem in which he was held, his promise of great usefulness in the work to which he had devoted himself, and the distressing circumstances of his violent death, will conspire, with the more abiding excellences of the work itself, to place this among the most interesting of our missionary biographies. It is our purpose at present however to speak rather of the subject of this memoir than of the memoir itself. We embrace the occasion of the appearance of this volume to place on record in our pages a brief sketch of one who had labored for several years with more than ordinary energy and success for the welfare of the Chinese. We quote the following account of his early years from the memoir.

"Walter Macon Lowrie, the third son of Walter and Amelia Lowrie, was born in Butler, Penn., on the 18th of February, 1819. Until his

eighth year his father was absent from home during the winter months. This left the principal part of his early training education to his excellent mother, and well and faithfully did she perform this responsible and sacred trust. From his infancy he possessed a mild and cheerful temper. He was a general favorite with his playmates, and always ready to engage in the usual sports of the play-ground. It was often the subject of remark, that he was never known to get into a quarrel, or even an angry dispute with his associates. To his parents he was always obedient and kind, open and ingenuous; he was never known to use deception or falsehood. His brothers and sisters shared his warmest affection and love, and his time with them seemed to be made up of pure enjoyment."

"At an early period he was sent to school, where he learned the usual branches of a common English education. It was soon perceived by his teachers, that it required but little effort on his part to get the lessons assigned to him and the place he usually occupied was at the head of his class."

In November 1832, Walter, then not fourteen years of age, entered the preparatory department of Jefferson college, at Canonsburg Penn. He was graduated at this institution, with the highest honors in September 1837. It was during the third year of his residence at the college, in the winter of 1834—35 that his attention was first permanently fixed upon the concerns of religion. At that time the college and surrounding neighborhood enjoyed a season "of refreshing from the presence of the Lord." Nearly every student in the college was made to feel, as they never felt before, the vast importance of a preparation for eternity. Walter was deeply convinced of sin, and for some time mourned as one without hope but he at length obtained a joyful hope that his sins were pardoned, and ever after he made it his highest aim to live to glorify God and to prepare for the enjoyment of him in heaven. His mind was early turned to the gospel ministry as the profession in which he would choose to spend his life, and this being decided, his thoughts were at once directed to the heathen world. Before he left the college his purpose had been fully formed to go as a missionary to the heathen. His sympathies were particularly drawn out to the African race, and it was his ardent desire to labor for them in Africa itself.

After leaving college in September 1837, Mr. Lowrie spent the winter in his father's family, then residing in New York, and in the following spring entered the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian church at Princeton, New Jersey. Here he remained during the usual

term of three years, applying himself very closely to his studies, and very successfully. In December 1840 he was received as a missionary of the Board of Foreign missions of the Presbyterian church to be sent to Western Africa. "A man's heart deviseth his way but the Lord directeth his steps." The great Head of the church designed him for a different field. In 1841 the Rev. John A. Mitchell having been removed by death, and the Rev. Messrs. Robert W. Orr and Thomas L. McBryde having been compelled to abandon their field by the failure of their health, the China mission of the General Assembly's Board was left with a single laborer. In these circumstances the Executive Committee of the Board immediately turned their attention to Mr. Lowrie as one peculiarly fitted by his thorough education and superior talent for the China mission. They accordingly proposed to him a change of destination to which he, after much hesitation, consented.

On the 5th of April 1841 he was licensed to preach the gospel, and on the 9th of November following he was ordained as an evangelist. On the 19th of January 1842 he sailed for China in the ship *Huntress*, Capt. Lovett, and landed at Macao on the 27th of May. At the time of his arrival, the war with Great Britain was still in progress, and the result was as yet uncertain. Mr. Lowrie had received instructions to proceed to Singapore, to aid in the removal of the mission of the Board at that place, to a point on the coast of China, if in the providence of God it should be deemed expedient. He accordingly left Macao on the 18th of June in the *Sea Queen*. This proved to be a tedious and trying voyage. "They sailed slowly many days because the winds were contrary." The discipline was severe, but doubtless proved profitable. He was deprived of all the sympathies of Christian intercourse, and could not even enjoy the satisfaction of doing good by exercising his ministry, as few of those on board could understand English preaching. At length they were obliged to give up the voyage and put into the port of Manila, which they reached on the 23d of August. On the 18th of September he again set sail for Singapore in the *Harmony*, and for some days the vessel made fair progress towards her destination. On the 25th however the ship struck a hidden rock. There was no appearance of danger in sight; no breakers, no signs of a shoal; but every time the vessel sunk in the hollow of the waves she was dashed with violence against the rock beneath her. The crew and passengers took to the boats and abandoned the sinking ship. Twenty-one persons were placed in the long boat and eight in the jolly boat. This was on Sunday. They were four hundred miles from land, and after four days sailing, during which they were alternately exposed in their



open boat to drenching rain and a scorching sun, they supposed themselves to be approaching the islands. On Thursday the wind rose and the sea ran high, so that they were in imminent danger of being swamped. "Death," says Mr. L., "never seemed so near before, but my mind was kept in peace. I knew in whom I had believed, and felt that he was able to save; and though solemn in the near prospect of eternity, I felt no fear, and had no regret that I had periled my life in such a cause." As night closed in, the danger increased, and was the more appalling to the little company in the long boat from their proximity to the land, toward which the gale was rapidly driving them. It was indeed a fearful night but Mr. L. was kept in peace, trusting in Him who holdeth the waters in the hollow of his hand. "I know not," he says, "that my mind was ever in a calmer state, and though I could not feel those clear convictions of my safety I have sometimes felt, yet my faith was fixed on the Rock of Ages, and death seemed to have but few terrors for me." Next morning the land was in sight, and in a few hours they had escaped from their perilous position, and were safely landed on the island of Luban. Thus they were marvelously preserved in their little boat through a storm in which, as they afterwards learned, several vessels had been lost and several dismayed.

Returning to Manila he abandoned his purpose of visiting Singapore and embarked on board the *Diana* to return to Macao. Misfortune seemed still to follow him, for this vessel was found to be in a leaky state, and it was not without some difficulty that she was brought into port. He reached Hongkong on the 17th of October.

From this period until the beginning of 1844, Mr Lowrie resided chiefly at Macao, prosecuting his study of the Chinese language. He also during this period preached for the European and American residents. In the discharge of this duty he gave great satisfaction to his hearers, and in consequence it was once proposed to him by a number of the foreign residents to become their pastor, and give up his connection with the Board of Foreign Missions. He was however anxious to engage in direct efforts for the good of the Chinese in some place where he could have more free access to them than at Macao, and at once declined accepting the offer made to him. He was here made the instrument it is believed of leading some souls to the Savior, and of strengthening and confirming the faith of some of the disciples of Christ. He himself here still further experienced the "discipline of the covenant," and was ever afterwards deeply grateful for his trials and afflictions. "I tremble," he was once heard to say, "when I think of what I was, and what I would still have been, without them."

In August 1843 he again left Macao for a short time, with the intention of visiting the newly opened ports in the north of China. Again his voyage was unsuccessful. When he had nearly reached the island of Chusan the vessel was driven back and compelled to put into Amoy. While here he visited Chang-chow-foo in company with Mr. Abael, for which they were afterwards publicly censured in a government notification by Sir Henry Pottinger. The proclamation of his Excellency called forth a reply from Mr. Lowrie defending his own course and repelling this arrogant assumption of jurisdiction over citizens of another country with which Sir Henry had no connection. In this he carried with him the sympathies of the whole foreign community. He returned from Amoy to Hongkong in a Portuguese lorch. Soon after leaving the port the rudder was broken by the violence of a wave that struck it, and they were thus left quite helpless, drifting at the mercy of the wind and waves down the coast. For three days the efforts made to repair the broken rudder were ineffectual, and they finally succeeded just in time to escape being driven out into the China sea, from whence they could not have got back at all in their disabled condition.

In the beginning of 1844 the China mission was reinforced by the arrival of D. B. McCartee M. D. and Mr. R. Cole, printer. Mr. Cole brought with him a printing press and matrixes for a font of divisible metallic type, Mr. Cole having no knowledge of the Chinese language the labor of arranging the characters in the cases, according to their respective radicals and the frequency of their occurrence, devolved on Mr. Lowrie. The difficulties incident to the commencement of such a work were happily overcome and the press was soon in operation.

In January 1845 Mr. L. again left Macao for the north. During the previous year a mission had been established at Ningpo by Dr. McCartee and the Rev. R. Q. Way. Mr. Lowrie reached Ningpo on the 11th of April 1845. His letters and Journal give a full and interesting account of his residence at this place, of his views and feelings as he entered upon some direct missionary labors, and of the progress of the work in the early years of this mission. In August 1845 the printing press was removed from Macao to Ningpo, and again made large demands upon Mr. L.'s time and attention. In consequence of this, he felt it his duty to give more attention than he might otherwise have deemed necessary to the written language. He was deeply impressed with the importance of the oral preaching of the word, and did not for a moment think of neglecting it, but being at first unable to speak the local dialect, he was the more easily induced

thus early to make use of the written character to make known the truth to the people. He prepared a small tract on the observance of the Sabbath, a commentary on the gospel of Luke, a commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, all of which were published. He had also completed a commentary on the Epistle to the Romans and a translation of the Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly. The manuscript of the former was lost, and the latter never received his final revision. These early efforts give reason to believe that, had his life been spared he would have done much to forward the cause of Christianity in China by his contributions to that Christian literature of which the foundation must be laid by the missionaries of Christ.

As a student of the Chinese language he was exceedingly diligent and successful, and during his residence at Ningpo made rapid progress. Evidence of this may be found in the fact that he had commenced, and was steadily carrying forward, a Chinese and English Dictionary to comprise all the characters in the Four Books and Five classics, which contain the great body of the most useful characters in the language. Nor was he by any means backward in the acquisition of the colloquial dialect, although he himself seemed for a time to have thought his progress slow, so that he was sometimes tempted to give way to discouragement. In the second year of his residence at Ningpo he commenced a regular Chinese service on the Sabbath, for which he always carefully prepared himself. He spoke with fluency and seemed to secure the attention of his hearers. This service he maintained without interruption until his departure from Ningpo.

In May 1847, having been elected one of the delegates for the revision of the translations of the New Testament, Mr. Lowrie removed from Ningpo to Shanghai. He there took part in the discussions which were carried on relative to the proper term by which to render the word *ἄσος*, and was an ardent advocate for the use of the word *skin*. But, alas, he was never permitted to engage in the work of translation. Before the discussions were closed circumstances called him suddenly back to Ningpo. He left Shánghái on Monday the 16th of August 1847 and reached Chápú on the following day. He was detained at that place during the whole of Wednesday, the 18th, by a strong southerly wind. On Thursday the 19th he sailed, though the wind was still contrary, for Ningpo. Their progress was very slow, and after sailing several hours the hills near Chápú were still visible. A boat was descried in the distance. It was a large flat bottomed boat, propelled by many oars and crowded with men. The fears of the boatmen were excited, but Mr. L. deemed them ground-

less. The suspicious boat drew nearer and nearer, and it was not long before the intention of those on board became but too evident. Then Mr. Lowrie's boatmen turned their boat's head towards Chápú, but it was too late. The pirate gained rapidly upon them. Mr. Lowrie seized his country's flag and waved it towards the pursuing boat, warning it to keep off, but he received no other answer than a discharge from the guns. The pirates were immediately on board, and everything was searched and rifled, though Mr. Lowrie's person remained untouched. He took his well-worn Hebrew and English Bible, and in this trying hour, when the possibility of the fate which awaited himself must have been distinctly before his mind, looked for consolation where he had so often found it before. We doubt not he found it again, for his deportment during these scenes of terror betokened a mind at peace. The work of the piratical crew was nearly completed, when some words of comfort addressed by Mr. Lowrie to a passenger who had been robbed and beaten, excited their suspicions. A consultation was immediately held as to the best mode of dispatching their victim, and although some were desirous of a more bloody method, it was speedily decided that he should be thrown into the sea. He was seized by three of the ruffians. Resistance was vain. As he was carried to the boat's side he threw back his Bible—a precious relic for surviving friends—and freed his feet from the incumbrance of shoes. His presence of mind still remained. Another moment, and he was struggling with the waves. His murderers looked on, with long pikes in their hands to prevent the possibility of his clinging to the boat. Thus perished one who gave promise of as great usefulness among the Chinese as any man that ever came to China, and the name of Lowrie was enrolled among the martyr missionaries.

The estimation in which this beloved missionary was held may be inferred from the sensation created in the churches, and especially among his acquaintances, by the intelligence of his violent death. Wherever he resided, it was his happiness to secure the confidence and respect of the community in no ordinary degree. Even among the playfellows of his boyish days he was a general favorite. In the college and theological seminary, he was much beloved by his fellow students and his instructors. He was ever regarded with respect and love by his missionary associates, and it was eminently true of him that he had a good report among "them that are without." His uniform consistency and steady rectitude of conduct, his general kindness of manner and his quiet firmness of character, could not fail to impress

the Chinese who were in the habit of holding intercourse with him, and they had an exalted opinion of his character.

As a preacher he was always instructive and interesting. He made no pretensions to eloquent oratory, but his delivery was solemn and appropriate, and there was an originality and solidity in his sermons which rendered them impressive, and fixed the attention of his hearers.

His qualifications as a missionary were of a superior order. His amiable and cheerful temper, his sound judgment, his superior natural talents eminently fitted him for this work. Besides this, his untiring industry and perseverance were such as to enable him to accomplish tasks in the most unfavorable circumstances which others would shrink from undertaking. One of his venerable instructors in the theological seminary says of him, that he was capable of enduring a greater amount of continuous literary labor than almost any man he ever knew. But above all, his piety was of that sober, steady, earnest kind, which peculiarly fits a man for meeting the difficulties, trials, and temptations which fall to the missionary's lot. His path was as the shining light, which shineth more and more unto the perfect day. He enjoyed much of the pleasures of religion. His hope seems to have been always bright, though his experience was not always joyful. Sometimes he was cast down and sorrowful, complaining of spiritual desertion and wandering from God. To others, however, even while he was "writing bitter things against himself," it was evident that he was growing in grace and spirituality of mind. This was especially the case during the latter part of his course. His Heavenly Father was preparing him for his great change. Why one so young, and giving so much promise of usefulness, should be thus suddenly cut down, is one of those mysteries of Providence which we know not now, but shall know hereafter.

His remains were never recovered. They rest in peace under the care of Him who will yet fashion them like unto his own glorious body. They rest until the sea shall give up its dead—until that day for which he had "an *inexpressible* longing," when the Lord shall come again to earth, and all those who love him shall be caught up to meet him in the air. A cenotaph was erected to his memory by his colleagues, a drawing of which, with the inscription, is given at the close of the volume.

L. N. N.

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ART. V. *Course and topography of the Hwáng ho or Yellow river.*

THIS great river is regarded by the Chinese with peculiar feelings, amounting almost to a superstitious reverence; its sources lie in the region of spirits and genii, and its rapid current, its strangely tinged waters, its devious channel, and above all, the awful devastations caused by the overflowing of its banks, conspire to give it a mysterious character. The name *Hwáng ho* 黄河, or Yellow river, is applied through its whole course, and on common Chinese maps it is usually painted yellow; this appellation is given from the color of its waters, obtained when flowing through the clayey soil of the Ortous territory. Such is the depth of tinge, and the strength of the current, that the bay which lies between China and Japan is turbid and yellowish from the waters of this river, and has been usually known as the Yellow Sea on foreign maps. The river is also called the *ho* 河 par excellence, just as the Yángtsz' kiáng is termed the *kiáng* 江.

The Yellow river is shorter than the Yángtsz', and also less useful for purposes of navigation and irrigation than its rival. It takes its rise in the snow covered mountains which form the western boundaries of Koko-nor in a depression between the ranges of the Bayankara Mts. on the south, and the Kwanlun on the north. In this low spot, more than a hundred springs are stated to rise from a level plain about forty miles in circumference; seen from an eminence these springs and pools are thought to resemble stars, and hence the tract has been called *Sing-suh hái* 星宿海 or Sea of Constellations by the Chinese, and *Hotun tala* 鄂敦他拉 by the Mongols. A small stream flows in from the west into this swampy district, called on Chinese maps *Alotan ho* 阿克但河, whose headwaters are named *Ho-yuen* 河源; these take their rise at the base of a lofty peak called Mt. *Katasu-káulau* 噶達素齊老山. This mountain is situated about lat. 35° N., and long. 95° E. The authority of Pinkerton quoted by the poet Moore for the lines,

“ Though bright are the waters of Sing-su-hay,  
And the golden floods that thitherward stray,”

will not, we fear, be enough to remove the cold desolation and icy barrenness which surround the sources of the Yellow river; while the golden floods of the “ Altan Kol, or Golden River of Tibet,” of which the geographer speaks, seem to have no existence according to other authorities. An explanation of the error is furnished in a letter of Amiot's given in the “ *Mémoires*,” Tome X, page 137. From this

letter we learn that the words Alotan-kouolo mean "river of yellow metal," and that the waters of this stream possess a yellow tinge. The mountain from which this river proceeds is called, in full, Alotan Katan-káulan, meaning "the golden rock of the North star;" this rock is about a hundred feet high, of a yellow color intermixed with red veins, and can be seen from afar, thus serving a purpose like the north star. On the top of this rock is a small pool of gushing springs, whose waters flow down its sides, and unite to form the R. Alotan.

The Chinese geographers formerly supposed that the headwaters of the Yellow river were fed from Lop-nor,—the outlet of that lake running under ground more than 500 miles through the intervening desert, till it reappeared in this place; but the expedition sent by Kublai khan about A.D. 1280, dissipated this notion. The waters of the Singsuh hái unite as they flow eastward into two lakes called Dzaring 扎凌 and Oring 鄂凌, which are usually, from their size, regarded as the sources of the Yellow river; they are less than a hundred miles north of the upper branches of the Yángtsh'z', and not half that distance south of Ala-nor, a lake whose outlet flows north-west into the R. Kedurku, and is lost in the Desert. High mountains encircle these two lakes, however, and completely shut them off, leaving only an outlet on the east, at which the Yellow river begins its long course to the ocean. This course can conveniently be divided into an Upper, Middle, and Lower courses, the first reaching from Lake Oring to Lánchau fú, about 700 miles; the Middle from that city to the sharp bend in the S.W. corner of Shánsí, about 1130 miles; and the Lower from thence to the ocean, about 650 miles.

*Upper Course.* Lake Oring lies in lat. 34° 30' N., and between long. 98° and 99° E.; it receives two tributaries from the south, the Tarkun and Olokú, and the outlet is doubtless a good sized river. The plain around it is occupied by Mongolian shepherds, who pasture their flocks here in summer, and return to Koko-nor in winter. The stream which connects it with Lake Dzaring is called Chih-pien ho 赤邊河 (Red-bank river), but both lakes may be considered as one sheet of water with the Sea of Constellations, the whole area being in fact one large swampy basin. As the Yellow river issues from Lake Oring, it gradually turns south and east, running between two high spurs of the Bayankara, called Alakshar 阿拉克沙爾 or Chishi 積石 on the north, and Chochaksin-tunla 卓作克阡通拉 on the south. After flowing about 190 miles, it is forced northwest by the Min Mts. 岷山 in the northwest of Sz'-

chuen, and takes a bold sweep as if it were returning to its sources, surrounding on three sides the eastern extremity of the Bayankara Mts. From Lake Oring to this turn, it receives nearly thirty small tributaries; the valley here is very narrow, some of the mountains rising in steep acclivities to the snow-line, and the whole of the region seems to be totally uninhabited.

After turning NW. and N., a number of rivulets swell the main trunk, until when it leaves Koko-nor and the defiles of its lofty mountains, and enters Kánsuh at Kweiteh-ting it has grown to be the largest river in this region. Up to this town its valley is very narrow, hardly wide enough even for a road in most places, and the few interval lands supply herbage for sheep and yaks, tended by tribes of Túrghouths, Hoshoints, and Khoits, who wander at pleasure over these wilds. These mountains also furnish the true rhubarb, which is collected near the confines of perpetual snow. The bed of the Yellow river itself is here probably not less than eight thousand feet above the sea. From Kweiteh 貴德 in lat. 36° N., the river flows nearly east to the capital Lánchau fú passing by Pajenyunk 巴彥戎格 and Hochau-wei 河州衛, and not far from Siunhwá ting on the south, its valley gradually widening and becoming less barren as it approaches Lánchau. Tribes of Mongols under the jurisdiction of the resident at Síning pasture their herds in this valley, and cross the ranges northeast of Kweiteh into the great basin of the Azure Sea. Some of the Mongolian towns along its banks are under the rule of local officers.

Within fifty miles of Lánchau, four large affluents enter the Yellow river; the Tátung 大通 and Chwáng-liáng 莊浪 on the north, and the Táhíá 大夏 and Táu ho 洮河 on the south. The principal branch of the Tátung rises northwest of the Azure Sea in the Kílien Mts. 祖連山, and collects the drainings of the region lying north and east of it, and joins the Yellow R. after a course of about 400 miles. Síning fú, the headquarters in this region of the Chinese authorities over the Mongols, lies on its main branch, the Hwáng ho 滄河, in lat. 36½° N., and long. 100° 48' E. Many towns and settlements are placed on the map in their valleys, showing that the soil is fertile, and the climate temperate. On the south, the R. Táu contributes the superfluous waters of a mountainous and wild country, almost as large as that drained by the Tátung; the towns of Min, T'áuchau, Tehtaú, Lint'au wei, and some others, lie near its banks, but the inhabitants are fewer in numbers than on the northern side. Between Hochau and Lánchau, and on to Chungwei in Shensí, the valley of the



Yellow river has been compared with that of the Adige in Tyrol; near Pajenyunk, there is an important post called Tsí-shí kwán, which though within the limits of Kánsuh, is still considered as the outpost of the Mongolian tribes.

*Middle Course.* At Lánchau fú, in long.  $104^{\circ}$  E., the Hwáng ho turns, running near the Great Wall, and keeping on in a northeasterly course through five degrees of latitude for a distance of not less than 430 miles, along the eastern side of the Alá-shán, or Holán shán 賀蘭山 a range of mountains forming a continuation of the Kilien Mts., and constituting the eastern side of the Central Plateau. When the river has passed lat.  $41^{\circ}$  N., it is turned east by the Ín-shán (a continuation of the Alá-shán) and flows about 180 miles eastward along their base, till it meets the mountains of Shánsí near Sárártái in lat.  $40^{\circ}$  N., where it is forced to the south.

In the distance between Lánchau and Sárártái, the Yellow river receives very few tributaries, and for a good part of this length its waters flow through a wild tract, sparsely inhabited by the Ortous Mongols. The level gradually descends from Lánchau to the junction of the Tsingshwui ho 清水河 (or Clear-water R.), just before reaching Ninghiá fú, until the mountains disappear, and are replaced by a hilly region, in which tracts of cultivated land are intermixed with sandy hills. The town of Tsingyuen lies at the junction of the Tsúlí ho 祖厲河 just south of lat.  $36^{\circ}$  N., where the river is defended on both sides by the Great Wall; and another town, called Chungwei, is situated between it and Ninghiá fú, both of them small places. Proceeding north, the extent of fertile ground decreases, and the erection of the Great Wall through these inhospitable wilds shows the energy and power exerted by its builder.

Ninghiá fú lies in lat.  $39\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  N., in a wide valley, through which the river runs in a great number of channels both natural and artificial, rendering it one of the few fertile spots in this region; the small district town of Ling lies east of Ninghiá, and several villages also occur in this spot. Rice and fruits are extensively cultivated in these bottom lands, and the town itself is a mart of considerable trade. Beyond Ninghiá commences the steppe of the Ortous, a desert whose surface is mostly covered with sandhills, destitute of wood and nearly of vegetation, but in the numerous depressions between them are extensive meadows and pasture grounds, intermixed with tracts covered with thick bushes, the haunt of numerous wild animals. On the west of the river, extending for about three hundred miles, is the mountain range of Alá-shán, rising 3000 to 4000 feet above its bed, and not

over three or four miles wide. The Great Wall runs along its eastern declivity, which in its southern part at least is overgrown with forests. As the Hwáng ho enters the desert, its bed lies in a valley greatly depressed below the surface; its appearance here is more like that of a canal than a natural stream, and its current is probably sluggish, for this part of Gobi is reckoned to be very high.

The course of the Alá-shán turns the stream nearly due east about lat.  $41^{\circ}$  N., and near this turn it flows through a depression similar to that about Ninghiá, the waters finding their way by a large number of channels; in one place, they collect into a good sized lake called Tengkiri-nor 騰格里泊, but as most of our information respecting this part of its course is derived from Chinese maps, it is impossible to give any account of the size of this lake, or the character of this depression. Further east, towards Sárátsf, some small tributaries flow in; but the remarkable fact that from above Ninghiá to this town, more than five hundred miles, not a single affluent above a rivulet of ten or fifteen miles long increases its volume of water, shows the barrenness of the region, and indirectly too the depth and power of the river. Within this Great Bend, as this part is sometimes called, tribes of the Ortous obtain a precarious subsistence by tillage and grazing; several isolated lakes and streams occur in it. It is in this part of its course that the water becomes so loaded with the yellow mud which tinges it until it is lost in the Pacific.

Below Sárátsf, in lat.  $41^{\circ}$  N., the R. Targhuen or Urhkan 爾根 flows in from the NE., and the river's width is about 800 feet. The stream has now fairly turned to the south, and keeps on a direct course in long.  $111^{\circ}$  E., for seven degrees, the current for this whole distance being very rapid for boats to stem. At the borders of Shánsf, it recrosses the Great Wall, the towns of Pienkwán and Hokiuh lying not far from its banks. Páuteh chau, in lat.  $39^{\circ}$ , is the largest town in this region; here the Hwáng ho is from 1200 to 1400 feet across, and so rapid that Kánghí required three days to cross it with his court, though great preparations had been previously made for the purpose. From this town to the junction of the R. Wei, according to the map, thirty-six affluents pour in their contributions on both sides, on nearly every one of which one or more towns are situated. The R. Kiuhyé 屈野 (Environing-desert river) about fifty miles below Páuteh, and the R. Wúting 無定河 (Uncertain river), about a hundred miles further down, both derive their headwaters from the Desert beyond the Wall, and each of them are over 200 miles long. Just above the junction of the R. Fau, in lat.  $35^{\circ}$ , at a place called Lungmun or Dragon-gate,

rocks have been removed from the bed of the river to improve the navigation; the banks are here steep, and rapids like those in the Nile, embarrass the navigation. The country on both sides of the river is a succession of mountain ranges and valleys, and some of the former traverse the bed obliquely, causing it to form short and abrupt bends, and doubtless making the channel more zigzag than the map indicates. The entire course from Páuteh through Shánsí to the R. Wei is probably available for the descent of boats without danger, but the rapid current, as in the Mississippi, prevents their return.

The R. Fan 汾河 and R. Loh 洛河 are the largest tributaries of the Hwáng ho in its Middle course. The former rises in the latitude of Páuteh near the centre of the province of Shánsí (see Chi. Rep., Vol. XI, page 625); and after a S. and SW. course of nearly 500 miles joins the main trunk at Hotsin 河津 or River-mart, below Lungmun, thereby connecting nearly half the towns in the province with the Great Plain. Few valleys in the north of China present a denser population than that of the R. Fan; thirty cities and towns of the largest size are inserted in the map. The R. Loh is about 250 miles long, taking its sources in the edge of the Desert in the borders of Shensí, and draining the northern half of the province. Several important towns lie along its banks, and the city of Tungchau fú is near its embouchure, but the whole valley supports a smaller population than that of the Fan. In both of them, and in general in all those smaller valleys whose streams pour their waters into the great artery, the valleys are wide and well cultivated, producing every kind of grain which does not require a great degree of heat, for this whole region experiences severe cold in winter.

*Lower Course.* This is the best known portion of the Hwáng ho, and during this distance it receives its largest tributaries. The Lower course commences at the mouth of the R. Wei, just below the entrance of the R. Loh, where the main trunk turns eastward and enters the Great Plain, being stopped in its southern progress by the Tá-hwá shán 大華山 a spur of the Peh-ling or Tsin-ling 秦嶺, the range which here divides the basins of the Yellow and Yángtsz' rivers. At the turn, the waters of the river are compressed between high cliffs; the defile is well known in Chinese history as the Tung kwán 潼關, or Tung pass. Across the river from the town of Tungkwán lies the city of Púchau fú, and here the outlet of a lake called Wángsing hú 王姓湖 empties into it opposite the mouth of the R. Wei.

The Wei ho 渭河 is the largest affluent of the Yellow river, taking its rise in the mountain-masses of the Peh-ling in the south of Kánsuh, in a peak called Niáu-shú shán 鳥鼠山 (Bird-rat Mt.) not far from the district town of Wei-yuen (i. e. Fountain of the Wei) in lat. 35° and long. 104°, and draining the northern acclivities of this range, after a course of over 400 miles, pours its contributions into the main stream, and with those of the R. Loh, almost doubles its volume. The upper valleys of the Wei are fertile, and several important cities are found in them, as Kungcháng fú, Tsinguing chau, and Tsin chau, besides scores of smaller places, all in Kánsuh. These streams are probably more useful for irrigation than navigation. At Páukí in Shensí, the valley widens, and from thence to Tungkwán it is one of the most populous and richest districts of northern China. Below Si-ngín fú, the provincial capital, the Wei receives the waters of the R. King 涇河 flowing in from the N.W., and of the R. Tán 丹河, from the S.E. The R. King rises in Kánsuh in the Ki-t'au shán 雞頭山, and has a devious run of about 300 miles through a fertile and populous region. In its course the R. King becomes very turbid, and when it unites with the clear waters of the R. Wei, the two flow on together for many miles without mingling, like those of the Arve and Rhone at Geneva. This circumstance is alluded to in the Book of Odes, where a wife complains, that because she has become old and wrinkled, her husband casts her off as the pure Wei rejects the dirty King.

After entering Honán, the Hwáng ho does not immediately leave the hilly country, but rolls along in a fine valley for about 150 miles to the junction of the R. Loh 洛河 and R. Tsin 沁河 near Hwáiking fú; the bottom lands in this region are alluvial, and support a large population. As the stream flows on, its deposits increase, and when it receives the two abovenamed confluents, its waters begin to rise to the adjoining country, and the banks serve only partially to confine them when they swell from the rains and melted snows. A vast morass occurs in the prefecture of Hwáiking, through which many water courses flow, making the whole country very fertile, but dangerous to the inhabitants when the river overflows. A considerable stream, called the R. Wei 衛河 proceeds from this marshy depression north-easterly to Liutsing chau in Shántung, where it unites with the Grand Canal—or rather, the canal there flows in the old bed of the R. Wei. There are many reasons for supposing that the Yellow river once flowed through the Wei ho, into the gulf of Pechele, and that the

deluge of Yu spoken of in the Book of Records was an inundation of the Great Plain by the forcing of the present passage, and not an imperfect tradition of the Noachic deluge. The Wei passes through a rich region, receiving many tributaries before it reaches Lintsing.

At present the Hwáng ho runs in one channel eastward, and near the town of Káifung fú it borders on a very flat country, which is exposed to occasional overflowings. As the adjacent country is very low, it was at an early period considered necessary to protect it against the inundations by dikes built of quarried granite, of great strength. These dikes extend about 100 miles along the southern banks of the river. This had the effect, which has also been experienced in the Po and Rhine, of raising the bed of the river, so that even when the river is low, its surface is considerably above the adjacent plain. This plain, whose soil is exclusively formed by alluvial detritus, is of extraordinary fertility, and covered with almost innumerable villages and towns. When therefore the river, being unusually swollen, breaks through the dikes, the loss of life and property is immense; and as the country subject to such inundations, according to the opinion of Barrow, is equal in area to the island of Great Britain, the truth of the assertion made by the emperor Kienlung to Lord Macartney, that the Hwáng ho gave him more trouble than all the other cares of government, may be understood in its full force. Besides the regular expenses for maintaining the dikes in repair, which annually amount to more than a million of pounds sterling, government is always anxious to contrive some means of averting the calamities of inundations. The emperors Kánghí and Kienlung especially have done much towards that object. In the reign of the last-mentioned monarch, a large canal was made for the purpose of avoiding the too great accumulation of water in the Hwáng ho, which joined it with the headwaters of one of the upper streams of the R. Hwái in Ífung hien, either the Peh-shá ho or Kiú-hwáng ho (Old Yellow R.). This excavation is nearly a hundred miles long, and has had the effect of lowering the general surface of the river many feet, and rendering large tracts of land formerly under water fit for cultivation.

About 70 miles above its mouth, the Hwáng ho receives a great supply of water by the channel by which Lake Hung-tshí discharges its waters. This lake receives not only the waters brought from the Hwáng ho by the new canal, but also those of the Hwái ho. The numerous rivers which unite with the Hwái ho drain the extensive country which extends between the Hwáng ho and Yángtsz' kiáng, and most of them rise in the eastern offset of the Peh-ling range. The

two largest branches are called Yü ho 汝河 and Hwui ho, 滄河 and when the first named, which rises not far from the banks of the R. Loh, is considered as the principal branch, the whole course of the river exceeds 400 miles. The country drained by the R. Yü is flat, but appears to be less fertile than other portions of the Great Plain. A short distance below the place where the channel of Lake Hung-tsih unites with the Hwáng ho are the two entrances of the Grand canal, which are lined with quays, built of large square pieces of granite and marble, and are nearly a mile wide. The Chinese who navigate the Canal consider the passage of the river dangerous on account of the great rapidity of the current, which frequently carries their barges far below the opposite entrance. Barrow gives the following account of the passage of the river, and the religious ceremonies observed by the boatmen :—

“ Before our barges launched into the stream of the Yellow River, which rolled in a very rapid torrent, certain ceremonies were conceived to be indispensably necessary. In the practical part of religion (which indeed may be considered as nearly the whole) a Chinese is not less solicitous to avert a possible evil, than to procure an eventual good; and of all evils personal danger is most apprehended. It was therefore deemed expedient that an oblation should be made in every vessel of the fleet to the genius of the river. The animals that were sacrificed on this occasion, were different in different yachts, but they generally consisted of a fowl or a pig, two animals that were very common in Grecian sacrifices. The blood, with the feathers and the hair, was daubed upon the principal parts of the vessel. On the fore-castle of some were placed cups of wine, oil and salt; in others, tea, flour and salt; and in others, oil, rice and salt. The last article appears to be thought by the Chinese, as well as Hebrews, a necessary accompaniment to every sacrifice. ‘ Every oblation of thy meat-offering shalt thou season with salt: neither shalt thou suffer the salt of the covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy meat-offering.’ As, however, the high priest and his friends were to feast on those parts of the meat-offering which were considered as unworthy the acceptance of heaven, which parts, by the way, were always the best of the victim, one might, perhaps, assign a reason for the strong injunction of offering salt, this being a scarce article in many countries of the East, and the best preservative of meat against putrefaction.

“ The cups, the slaughtered animal, and several made-dishes, remained on the fore-castle, the captain standing over them on one side, and a man with a gong in his hand on the other. On approaching the rapid part of the stream, at the signal given by the gong, the captain took up the cups one by one, in order that, like the Greeks of old, he might ‘ perform the rites, and pour the ruddy wine;’ which he did by throwing their contents over the bow of the vessel into the river. The libation performed, a quantity of crackers and squibs and gilt tin foil were burnt, with uplifted hands, whilst the deep-sounding gong was incessantly struck with increasing violence as the vessels were swept along with the current. The victim and the other dishes were then removed for the use of the captain and crew, and the ceremony ended by three genuflexions and as many prostrations.

“ Our fleet consisted of about thirty sail, and from each vessel there proceeded, on its launching into the stream, such a din of gongs and crackers, and such volumes of smoke from the burnt offerings, that the deity of the river must have been in a very surly humor if he was not pleased with such a multitude of oblations. The safe arrival, on the opposite bank, of the whole squadron was a proof of his having accepted the homage, and accordingly he was again

addressed in a volley of crackers as a token of thanks for his propitious and friendly aid.

"The width at this place was full three quarters of a mile; and the stream, where strongest, ran with the rapidity of seven or eight miles an hour; and the water was as thick and muddy as if the heaviest torrents of rain had just descended, whereas, in fact, there had not fallen a shower for many months."

Sir John Davis describes the passage here as not at all dangerous, though it would probably be so in a high wind for the clumsy barges of the Chinese; the stream is about two thirds of a mile wide, and estimated to average eight feet in depth. The channel must be far deeper than this, however; but in consequence of the bar at the mouth, the entrance is probably difficult. Sir John thinks that the evils inflicted upon the Chinese by the opium and guns of his countrymen would be more than compensated, if the government would call to its aid the engineering science of a Brunel to operate on the Yellow R. and Grand Canal, restraining the devastations of the former, and increasing the facilities of the latter. The navigation of the river is often seriously impeded in the spring by the floating ice; and the ice is so strong in some parts of Sháusi during winter that wains and loaded animals cross on it.

The number of cities and towns along the Yellow river in its Lower course is almost incalculable, and if the basin of the R. Hwái be included, no region of country in the world of the same extent can compare with it for populousness and fertility. From Tungkwán in Shepsi to its mouth, thirty district towns occur near the banks of the Hwáng ho alone, while in the basin of the Hwái ho, there are more than fifty. The pre-fect cities of Honán fú and Hwáifung fú, Káifung, the provincial capital, Wei-hwui fú and Kweiteh fú, all lie on or near the Yellow river in Honán province; and in Kiángsú, the two important cities of Sùchau fú and Hwài-ngán fú. The basin of the R. Hwái comprises about one half of Ngánhwui, and three fifths of Honán, many of its headwaters rising in the Hiung-'rh shán or Bear Mts., within a few miles of the Yángtsz' kiáng. From the town of Tsing ho, where the Grand canal crosses it, to the mouth, the country is so low that few large places occur; Ngíntung 安東 and Fauning 埠 are the only district towns within this distance. No seaport exists at the embouchure, and this vast body of water almost imperceptibly joins the ocean, the colored waters of the river being seen more than a hundred miles from the shore. Brown has given the result of some calculations, from which it appears that fully two millions solid feet of earth are deposited in the Yellow sea every hour by this river alone, enough to make an island in it a mile square every seven days.

The area of the region drained by the Yellow river is not far from 720,000 square miles, equal to that part of Europe lying west of a line drawn from Trieste northward to Stettin. Its entire length is computed at 2480 miles, but a straight line would not measure over 1300 miles. How far it is navigable is not known, though it is probable that goods can be carried from Páuteh in the north of Shánsí to the Grand canal, a distance of about 1100 miles. No falls of any height are mentioned as occurring in this part of its course, while the general descent of the country, and the great rapidity of the current, render the return of boats almost impossible. The introduction of powerful steamers will we hope ere long make known the capabilities of this river, and open up the country lying along its banks as far as they can ascend.

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ART. VI. *Journal of Occurrences: H. B. M. S. Mariner's visit to Japan; cultivation of tea in the United States; emigration of Chinese to America; memorial respecting disturbances in Kwángtung; insurgents in Kwángtung.*

HER B. M. ship *Mariner's* visit to Japan made in April, 1849, is noticed in the proceedings of the Geographical Society of London. This cruise was taken after the return of the *Preble* from Nagasaki, and the treatment the Mariner received in the Bay of Yédo is an advance in good manners on that experienced by the *Columbus*.—In regard to the remark made in the paragraph here quoted that the court of Peking has granted the free navigation of the Sagalien river to the Russians, we should like to have some further corroboration, for it is new to us. If Dr. Gutzlaff is the authority for it, perhaps it was intended to be classed with the hope expressed in the sentence preceding it respecting the free commerce of China and Japan with the rest of the world. The paragraph is from the *Athenæum* of March 2d, 1850:—

A letter from Commander Mathison, of H. M. S. *Mariner* was communicated by the Admiralty. In obedience to orders from the Commander-in-chief, Commander Mathison proceeded in H. M. S. *Mariner* to the coast of Japan, and anchored off the town of Uragawa, twenty-five miles from the capital of the empire, and three miles farther than any other vessel of a foreign nation had been allowed to proceed. The Mariner sounded all the way across and along the shores. "The Japanese interpreter on board having informed the authorities of the object of my visit, I sent my card, written in Chinese, ashore to the governor, requesting him to receive my visit; to which he replied, that, out of courtesy to me and curiosity to himself, he would have been delighted to pay me a visit, and also entertain me ashore, but that it was contrary to the laws of the country for any foreigner to land, and that he, the Governor, would lose his life if he permitted me to proceed any farther up the bay. When about eight miles from Cape Misaki, which forms the southwest end of the bay, ten boats, manned with twenty armed men and five mandarins in each, came alongside. I allowed the mandarins to come on board, when they presented me a paper, written



in French and Dutch, directing me not to anchor or cruise about the bay. Finding, however, that I was determined to proceed, they offered, when within two miles of the anchorage, to tow me up, which I accordingly accepted. Several boats were stationed around us during the night, forts were lighted up, and several hundred boats were collected along the shore, and fully manned and armed. In return, I had my guns loaded, and requested their boats to keep at a respectful distance during the night. Ootosan, the interpreter, was in great dread; saying that in case we landed, the Japanese would murder us all, and as for himself, he would be reserved for a lingering death by torture. Uragawa appears to be the key of the capital of the empire, and contains 20,000 inhabitants. All the junks going and returning to Yédo must pass the custom-house here; and with a moderate force the whole trade of the capital might be completely stopped. With an armed steamer, the passage up to Yédo might be surveyed; and I was informed that a ship could approach within five miles of the city. Between the capital and the port an excellent road exists. The mandarins here appear of an inferior class, treated us civilly, and were anxious to gain any information from us, but would give none in return. They took sketches of different parts of the ship, sent us some water, vegetables, and eggs, and then were continually inquiring when I intended to depart. Mr. Halloran, the master, having made a survey of the anchorage, I weighed, and proceeded to Semodi Bay, of which an accurate survey was made. I landed at this place,—but the mandarins immediately followed, intreating me to return on board. They supplied us with plenty of fish, and sent fifty boats to tow us out. The governor of the province came on board at this place; he lives at a town called Miomaki, thirteen miles off, and was evidently a man of high rank from the respect shown him by his suite. The Dutch interpreter from Uragawa likewise came on board with the two mandarins to watch our proceedings. They were, however, doubtless acting as spies on each other," &c., &c.—Dr. Gutzlaff hoped that the time was rapidly approaching when the commerce of these two empires would be open to the world. To Russia, the Chinese Empire, in a secret treaty, has granted the free navigation of the Amór, which will greatly facilitate the communication between the American and the Asiatic possessions of Russia on the Northern Pacific and St. Petersburg, *via* Kiakta. The Japanese carry on a restricted trade with China and Holland; but it is the opinion of the illustrious Humboldt that an opportunity for opening a liberal and honorable commerce between Europe and Japan will be afforded when the Atlantic and the Pacific shall be united by a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, and Japan thus brought more than 6,000 miles nearer Europe and America. "*This neck of land,*" he observes, "*has been for ages the bulwark of China and of Japan.*"

*Emigration of Chinese* to the western coast of America has lately assumed a form like that of the engagement and shipment of coolies from India to the Mauritius. A few shiploads of the lower class of Chinese laborers have left for Lima within the last year, and more are expecting to depart ere long. They are engaged for a term of years (five is the usual period), and receive an advance of 8 or 10 dollars, their food and wages, and adequate attention in case of sickness, are guaranteed on their arrival in Peru. One company in the Lady Montagu lost nearly 40 per cent. of the men, and suffered so much that she put into Hobart Town for relief and supplies, though she had a physician on board. Another company of 180 in the French ship Albert rose upon captain Pain in revenge for his ill treatment of them, and killed him, two of his mates, the cook, and a supercargo, and forced the boatswain and crew to navigate the ship back to China, which they did, about 140 leaving her as she approached the Ladrone Is., carrying with them much valuable cargo. This dreadful case of murder and robbery is now undergoing examination. Those Chinese who have gone to California have either been taken as servants, or have gone on their own venture. Their characters are doubtless as various as those of the other adventurers to California, but in general they seem to bear a good reputation, and to have wonderfully improved in cleanliness from contact with the barbarians, if we can judge from the following notice of them:—

"But we were intending to speak more particularly of the Chinese. We are so unfortunate to be located in a section of the town where large numbers of the Chinese

have pitched their tents, and we remarked with much interest, the character and habits of these people. From early morn until late in the evening, these industrious men are engaged in their occupation of house builders, a great number of houses having been exported from China, and the quietness and order, cheerfulness and temperance, which are observable in their habits, is noticed by every one. Search the city through, and you will not find an idle Chinaman, and their cleanliness exceeds any other people we ever saw. The buildings brought from China are generally twenty-eight feet square, one story in height, and twelve feet from the floor to the ceiling. The timbers are round, and many of them very crooked. We have noticed, in several instances, the erection of China buildings of double the size described above—but we suppose that in such cases two separate frames are erected together, thus framing a single building. The first movement after raising the frame is to attach the window, which consists of a frame and blinds without sash. The blind is so constructed as to close itself by its own weight—the slat being of double width outside. The timber is very uniform in size, and about six or eight inches in diameter. The boards are well seasoned, and resemble American cedar. The price of a Chinese building, such as we have described, including the erection is \$1500. The building, however, consists simply of the frame and covering. They are brought from Hongkong."—*Am. paper.*

*The cultivation of tea in the United States* is noticed in the Report of the Patent Office for 1849, as having been commenced by Mr. Junius Smith in Greenville, in the northern part of the state of South Carolina, and the hope expressed that in the course of years enough tea will be raised to supply the home consumption. Mr. Smith purchased some five hundred shrubs at one of the Gardens in London, and succeeded in transporting them to South Carolina in perfect health, where they were transplanted into ground prepared for the purpose in Dec. 1848. He has also recently ordered plants and nuts from China in good condition, and purchased and put in order a farm of about 300 acres for their cultivation; and expresses the sanguine hope that he will ere long be able to furnish plants in any quantity to whoever is disposed to attempt the growing of tea. From the novelty of the experiment, and the éclat which will attach to the first production of tea in the United States, there can be little doubt but Mr. Smith will find his labors well remunerated; but after the entire failure of the experiments in Brazil and Java, and the partial success in Assam, to manufacture tea, we do not apprehend that the exportation to America will materially diminish through these efforts to introduce the tea plant into America. The plant will doubtless grow in the Southern States, but the preparation of the leaf to suit it to the palates of tea-drinkers is quite another thing, and in Rio Janeiro, Java, and Assam has baffled even Chinese manipulators taken from China. The cheapness of labor in China is another point which it will be difficult to compete with, in bringing tea to market against the Chinese.

*The movements of the insurgents* spoken of in the last number have afforded topics for the newsmongers during the past few weeks; if all the rumors respecting them which have circulated during this city for the last six weeks could be collected, the recital would present a curious melange of contraries. Amidst them all we have room for only a few particulars.—The following document from the China Mail gives many details of the proceedings of the insurgents in Kwangsi, in fact, pretty much all that is known:—

Lui Wei-hán upon his knees presents a memorial, praying Your Majesty to give orders for the extermination of the banditti who have been long multiplying in Kwangsi, the disorder caused by them being excessive.

He would humbly state that whereas banditti have always multiplied (*lit.* ripened) in Kwang-si, the police service whose duty it is to apprehend them has of late much deteriorated; the ulcer has been fed, and calamity is the consequence; the robbers have united themselves in bands to a yet greater extent than formerly, and have gone on without check, gradually spreading until there are some in every district of the province.

In the summer of last year they burned and sacked some tens of shops in the market town of Li-káu in the district of Ma-ping. In the 10th moon, in the district of Tsiengkang, they burned and pillaged the houses of Moh King-yun, a kú-jin, and several hundred persons, whom they treated with the greatest barbarity; and it does not appear that these circumstances have been reported by the Governor. All that is on record is his denunciation of the authorities of the districts of Kwei, Yung-fuh, and Yung-an, where a large body of banditti had burned and sacked a number of shops, and killed the inhabitants of certain villages in the last moon of last year.

It has lately come to the knowledge of your servant (the memorialist), that the banditti, already numerous, have greatly gained head in the different departments (of

Kwang-si], and that they have behaved with horrible cruelty to the people of the villages and farms which they have pillaged. In the district of Siuen-hwa, one Chang Kia-siang had collected a gang of some 2,000; in the department of King-yuen, he and his younger brother Chang Kia-fuh had openly set up standards and banners, styling themselves Tâ Wang (their Majesties). In the district of Kwei-ping again, there was another gang of a thousand men or more. In the first and second moon (Feb. Mar.) they plundered Luh Chung-ming, a military graduate, and some scores of families besides, in the district of Yung-fuh, and at the town of Luh-han in the district of Loh-yung, the *tsin-ai'* Wu Ting-yuen, and upwards of a hundred families; in the village of Pih-koh, in the district of Siu-jin, a *ku-jin* named Wei King-jü and some scores of families; and in the village of Tsz', a graduate named Wei Kwang-han, and some scores of families. They had upwards of a hundred chiefs, wearing red buttons and blue, riding in chairs or on horseback: with red and white standards and banners, and wall-pieces and small artillery, it is not known how many stand. The population of the villages they passed through, old and young, all alike suffered the worst; the women were banished in large numbers; houses and cottages were burned and destroyed. In the Liang-chau country more than 500 villages had been reported (to the authorities) as plundered. The houses of the military graduate Wei Kwoh-siang, and of Wei Tung-han, a military *ku-jin* in the village of Ta-shan, had been burned and all their property carried off, and the village of Ta-tsing was robbed four times running, and Peh-shih thrice. In Wü-chau again, the village of Chih-shui had been burned and utterly ransacked, and forty-five trading vessels had been plundered on the rivers. But the local authorities merely reported that some stragglers had entered their jurisdictions, disguising the real state of the case, while the Governor's representation was equally false, as it went to show that the protection of his frontier against the banditti of Hu-nan, put it out of his power to take other steps required in his province, and he confined himself to deputing officers to make search for and apprehend these banditti. [The *ai* of Hú-nán] have now found their way into the district of Yung, and should the several gangs unite themselves in one body, their extermination will be even a more difficult task to achieve than at present. If advantage were taken of their reverse, and no time lost in making the most of the valor of the troops, their adherents would be dispersed, and by the one move (*viz.* the suppression of the Hu-nán party) a victory would be gained over the whole of them. On the other hand, apathy, connivance, or cowardice on the part of officers will only tend to increase the confidence of these banditti, the black-haired flock will be daily subjected to greater horrors: where will they end? This is not the will of the Sacred Lord, whose chief delight it is to love his people. The Governor in question has had the honor to be known to two sovereigns as the recipient of their excessive bounty. It was his duty to be to the utmost both faithful and diligent in his conduct, that he might fulfil the duties of his post; he has dared notwithstanding to make a confused and partial representation [to the Throne]; his offence against what is naturally right is most grave, his worthlessness is not to be borne; but seeing that were he at once to be cashiered and punished, it would but have the effect of enabling him to escape from his present difficulty to the embarrassment of his successor, it is the duty of the memorialist to request your Majesty to direct that the case of this governor be submitted to the Board for their most serious consideration, but that he be charged to continue his inquiries, and to devote his whole attention to ascertaining the facts of the incursion of these robbers; giving orders to the local authorities, civil and military, to co-operate together and earnestly exert themselves to annihilate them; that the retributive justice of Heaven be made manifest, and protection of life afforded the people; and that, if he farther show himself unequal to the satisfactory administration of the matter, another memorial be thereupon laid before your Majesty.

The above having come to the knowledge of your servant, he ventures not to avoid the odium [attaching to his denunciation of the Governor] by remaining silent and so conniving at his guilt. Prostrate he requests your Majesty to glance upon what he has written, and decide whether his address be or not such as he should present. A respectful memorial.

The body of insurgents now in the district towns of Yingteh and Tsingyuen, is generally asserted to be formed by the union of marauders from this and the adjoining provinces of Kwángsi and Hunán. They have marched from one town to another in the eastern parts of Kwángsi, and in the southwest of Kwángtung. The citizens of Canton have taken some precautions in the prospect of an attack, such as drilling the braves, making new and stronger gateways, establishing night patrols, preparing buckets of water on the housetops, and forbidding persons to pass unchallenged in the night. They have been incited to this energy by a descent of two boats-full of the insurgents, one night near Shamien; no damage was done at the time, but the results were salutary. About five thousand troops have been sent against the insurgents, and the last accounts are that they have been induced to retire.

## CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. XIX.—OCTOBER, 1850.—No. 10.

ART. I. *Consular Returns of the British and Foreign trade with China for the year 1849.*

ONLY a portion of the tables published in these Returns by the Hong-kong government are here reprinted—those which give the movements of shipping, and the amount of duties paid, not being of much interest for future reference. It has been our wish to publish all the Tables of the foreign trade which we could obtain, in order to preserve the statistics of the commerce with China, and these are inserted as part of the series; but owing to the manner in which the foreign trade is conducted, they are less complete and accurate than similar tables in other ports. We number the whole consecutively.

No. 1. A RETURN of the number and tonnage of merchant vessels which arrived at and departed from the PORT of CANTON, during the year ending December 31st, 1849:—

| ARRIVED                  |                        |                | DEPARTED                 |                        |                |
|--------------------------|------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Under what Colors</i> | <i>Number of Ships</i> | <i>Tonnage</i> | <i>Under what Colors</i> | <i>Number of Ships</i> | <i>Tonnage</i> |
| British.....             | 214                    | 93,095         | British.....             | 214                    | 92,124         |
| American.....            | 75                     | 36,904         | American.....            | 69                     | 33,895         |
| Dutch.....               | 21                     | 6,811          | Dutch.....               | 16                     | 5,348          |
| French.....              | 4                      | 1,291          | French.....              | 3                      | 941            |
| Bremen.....              | 2                      | 1,127          | Bremen.....              | 2                      | 970            |
| Chilian.....             | 2                      | 390            | Chilian.....             | 2                      | 390            |
| Danish.....              | 2                      | 726            | Danish.....              | 1                      | 296            |
| Hamburgh.....            | 2                      | 616            | Hamburgh.....            | 1                      | 266            |
| Peruvian.....            | 1                      | 300            | Peruvian.....            | 1                      | 300            |
| Prussian.....            | 1                      | 600            | Prussian.....            | 1                      | 600            |
| Spanish.....             | 2                      | 320            | Spanish.....             | 2                      | 320            |
| South American.....      | 1                      | 177            | South American.....      | 1                      | 177            |
|                          | 331                    | 142,357        |                          | 313                    | 135,627        |

No. II.—A RETURN of the quantities and value of MERCHANDISE IMPORTED into the PORT OF CANTON, in 175 British vessels of 80,311 tons, and 72 Hongkong lorchas of 6,560 tons burden, from the countries and places undermentioned, during the year ending 31st December, 1849.

| No. in<br>Tariff                                    | Denomination of Articles                                                                                                              | Quantities     | From what<br>Countries<br>and Places<br>imported              | Estimated<br>Value in Spanish<br>Dollars |         |
|-----------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|---------|
| <b>I. BRITISH MANUFACTURES AND STAPLE ARTICLES.</b> |                                                                                                                                       |                |                                                               |                                          |         |
| 47                                                  | <b>1.—Manufactures of Wool.</b>                                                                                                       |                | London, Liverpool, Singapore, Bombay, Calcutta, and Hongkong. |                                          |         |
|                                                     | Broadcloth, Spanish                                                                                                                   | Chang 15,402   |                                                               |                                          | 113,280 |
|                                                     | Stripes, Habit, and<br>Medium cloths, ...                                                                                             | Pieces 960     |                                                               |                                          |         |
|                                                     | Woolens not described, ...                                                                                                            | Chang 62,110   |                                                               |                                          | 169,937 |
|                                                     | Long Ells, ... ..                                                                                                                     | " 259,010      |                                                               |                                          | 356,152 |
|                                                     | Camlets, ... ..                                                                                                                       | " 57,011       |                                                               |                                          | 92,923  |
|                                                     | Bombazettes, ... ..                                                                                                                   | " 26,501       |                                                               |                                          | 23,650  |
|                                                     | Bunting, ... ..                                                                                                                       | " 9,388        |                                                               |                                          | 12,100  |
| 13                                                  | <b>2.—Manufactures of Cotton.</b>                                                                                                     |                |                                                               |                                          |         |
|                                                     | Longcloth, white, ... ..                                                                                                              | Pieces 66,160  |                                                               |                                          | 185,265 |
|                                                     | do. Gray and twilled,                                                                                                                 | " 258,513      |                                                               |                                          | 641,115 |
|                                                     | Cambrics and Muslins, ...                                                                                                             | " 1,353        |                                                               |                                          | 4,195   |
|                                                     | Chintzes and Prints, ... ..                                                                                                           | " 5,330        |                                                               |                                          | 14,444  |
|                                                     | Handkerchiefs, ... ..                                                                                                                 | Doz. 16,202    |                                                               |                                          | 18,650  |
|                                                     | Ginghams, Pulicates,<br>Dyed Cottons, Velveteens,<br>Silk and Cotton<br>Mixtures, and all kinds<br>of Fancy Goods, ... ..             | Value 86,000   |                                                               | 86,000                                   |         |
| 14                                                  | Cotton Yarn and Thread, ...                                                                                                           | Peculs 21,039  |                                                               | 525,975                                  |         |
|                                                     | <b>3.—Miscellaneous Articles,<br/>raw and manufactured.</b>                                                                           |                |                                                               |                                          |         |
| 8                                                   | Clocks and Watches, including<br>Telescopes, Writing Desks, and<br>Dressing cases, Hardware,<br>Ironmongery, Cutlery, Perfumery, &c.) | Value 7,920    |                                                               | 7,920                                    |         |
| 20                                                  | Glass and Glassware,                                                                                                                  | " 5,500        |                                                               | 5,500                                    |         |
| 30                                                  | Iron in bars, rods, hoops, &c.                                                                                                        | Peculs 27,504  |                                                               | 100,000                                  |         |
|                                                     | Lead, pig, ... ..                                                                                                                     | " 4,948        |                                                               | 31,667                                   |         |
|                                                     | Tin Plates, ... ..                                                                                                                    | " 269          |                                                               | 3,110                                    |         |
|                                                     | Steel, ... ..                                                                                                                         | " 420          |                                                               | 2,175                                    |         |
| 40                                                  | Smalts, ... ..                                                                                                                        | " 30           |                                                               | 1,225                                    |         |
| 45                                                  | Wine, Beer, and Spirits,                                                                                                              | Value 20,388   |                                                               | 20,388                                   |         |
|                                                     |                                                                                                                                       |                |                                                               | <b>2,414,671</b>                         |         |
| <b>II. PRODUCTS OF INDIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES.</b>   |                                                                                                                                       |                |                                                               |                                          |         |
| 3                                                   | Betel Nut, ... ..                                                                                                                     | Peculs 12,048  | British India, Indian Archipelago and Penang.                 | 34,450                                   |         |
| 4                                                   | Bicho de Mar, ... ..                                                                                                                  | " 1,218        |                                                               | 45,690                                   |         |
| 5                                                   | Birds-nests, ... ..                                                                                                                   | " 205          |                                                               | 92,700                                   |         |
| 7                                                   | Cloves, ... ..                                                                                                                        | " 274          |                                                               | 4,000                                    |         |
| 10                                                  | Cochineal, ... ..                                                                                                                     | Catties 2,400  |                                                               | 3,000                                    |         |
| 12                                                  | Cotton, viz:—Bombay,<br>Bengal, ... ..<br>Madras, ... ..<br>Miscellan's                                                               | Peculs 482,088 |                                                               | 4,769,641                                |         |
| 17                                                  | Elephants' Teeth, ... ..                                                                                                              | Catties 15,700 |                                                               | 10,500                                   |         |
| 18                                                  | Fishmaws, ... ..                                                                                                                      | Peculs 1,326   |                                                               | 47,000                                   |         |

## No II —Return of Imports into Canton.—Continued.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                              |         |         |                                                                                                       |             |          |        |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|---------|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------|--------|
| 22                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Ginseng, ... ..              | Catties | 11,461  | British India, Penang, Singapore, Batavia, Australia, South Sea Islands, Hongkong, and Great Britain. | 6,320       |          |        |
| 24                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Gum Olibanum, ... ..         | Peculs  | 249     |                                                                                                       | 2,500       |          |        |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Do. not further described,   | Value   | \$5,912 |                                                                                                       | 5,912       |          |        |
| 25                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Horns, Bulls & Buffalo,      | Peculs  | 135     |                                                                                                       | 4,300       |          |        |
| 26                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | do. Unicorn or Rhinoceros,   | "       | 5       |                                                                                                       | 2,000       |          |        |
| 29                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Mother-o'-pearl shells, ...  | "       | 159     |                                                                                                       | 800         |          |        |
| 30                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Tin in blocks, ... ..        | "       | 1,092   |                                                                                                       | 19,930      |          |        |
| 31                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Nutmegs, ... ..              | "       | 83      |                                                                                                       | 4,000       |          |        |
| 32                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Pepper, ... ..               | "       | 678     |                                                                                                       | 4,070       |          |        |
| 33                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Putchuck, ... ..             | "       | 702     |                                                                                                       | 4,300       |          |        |
| 34                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Rattans, ... ..              | "       | 3,320   |                                                                                                       | 9,710       |          |        |
| 35                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Rice and Pulse, ... ..       | "       | 22,711  |                                                                                                       | 56,500      |          |        |
| 36                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Rose Maloes, ... ..          | Catties | 452     |                                                                                                       | 355         |          |        |
| 37                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Sharks'-fins, ... ..         | Peculs  | 5,399   |                                                                                                       | 119,200     |          |        |
| 38                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Skins & Furs, viz :-Ox-hides | "       | 150     |                                                                                                       | 1,200       |          |        |
| 39                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Otter and Rabbit Skins,      | No.     | 13,705  |                                                                                                       | 5,700       |          |        |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Woods :—Sandal, ... ..       | Peculs  | 26,498  |                                                                                                       | 209,000     |          |        |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Sapan, ... ..                | "       | 2,000   |                                                                                                       | 4,500       |          |        |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Ebony, ... ..                | "       | 133     |                                                                                                       | 1,200       |          |        |
| III. MISCELLANEOUS IMPORTS, AND ARTICLES NOT IN THE TARIFF, Including Camphor, Coal, Copper-ware, Canes, Coral, Dragon's-blood, Feathers, Glue, Mats, Oil Essential, Sea-horse teeth, Soap, Stationery, Tortoise-shell, White Lead, &c., &c, ... |                              |         |         |                                                                                                       | Value       | \$39,185 | 39,185 |
| Total of Imports in British Ships, ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                              |         |         |                                                                                                       | \$7,902,244 |          |        |
| At the Exchange of 4s. 2d. per Dollar, ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                              |         |         |                                                                                                       | £1,646,301  |          |        |

REMARKS.—The preceding Returns have been compiled from the entries in the books kept at this Consulate, and the quantities specified are those that have paid duty.—The Weights and Measures stated are those in use at Canton. 1 catty is equal to 1½ pound Avoirdupois, and 100 catties correspond with 133½ Pounds in England. 1 chang is 4 English yards nearly.—The value given has been computed upon the average prices of the year in the Canton Market.—The Spanish dollars have been reduced to sterling at the average exchange of the year.

It will be seen from the above paragraph that this Table includes only such articles as have paid duty. The total importation of opium is omitted, and the value of some of the articles given in the table may safely be doubled to arrive at the real quantity introduced into the country. It is impossible to ascertain the exact importation.

No. III — A RETURN of the quantities and value of MERCHANDISE EXPORTED from the PORT OF CANTON, in 169 British vessels of 73,543 tons burden, and 53 Hongkong Lorchas of 4,525 tons, from the countries and places undermentioned, during the year ending 31st December, 1840.

| No. in<br>Tariff                  | Denomination of Articles                 | Quantities   | To what Countries and<br>Places Exported                                               | Estimated<br>Value in<br>Spanish<br>Dollars |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------------|--------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| <b>I. RAW PRODUCE.</b>            |                                          |              |                                                                                        |                                             |
| 2                                 | Aniseed star, ...                        | Peculs 700   | Great Britain, Bombay                                                                  | \$6,600                                     |
| 10                                | Canes, ...                               | Mille 53     | Great Britain, Hambgh.                                                                 | 2,600                                       |
| 12                                | Cassia Lignea, ...                       | Pcls. 10,416 | { Gt. Britain, Hamb-<br>burgh, Singapore,<br>Bombay, Calcutta,<br>Madras, S. America } | 113,650                                     |
|                                   | Cassia Buds, ...                         | " 156        | G. Britain, Hamburgh                                                                   | 2,200                                       |
| 13                                | China-root, ...                          | " 2,416      |                                                                                        | 6,660                                       |
| 22                                | Galangal, ...                            | " 1,121      | Bombay, Calcutta,                                                                      | 3,100                                       |
| 28                                | Hartal or Orpiment,                      | " 395        | Madras,                                                                                | 3,200                                       |
| 34                                | Marble Slabs, ...                        | " 1,350      |                                                                                        | 3,400                                       |
|                                   | Quicksilver, ...                         | " 533        | Hon., Cal., Mazatlan                                                                   | 57,000                                      |
| 45                                | Rhubarb, ...                             | " 775        |                                                                                        | 23,500                                      |
| 46                                | Silk, raw, ...                           | " 979        | London, Liverpool,                                                                     | 519,000                                     |
|                                   | Do. coarse or refuse,                    | " 4,847      | Bombay, Calcutta,                                                                      | 341,000                                     |
| 52                                | Sugar, raw, ...                          | " 9,876      | Madras                                                                                 | 44,950                                      |
| 55                                | Tea, ...                                 | " 345,315    | { G. Britain, India,<br>Australia, the Cape,<br>South America,<br>Halifax, &c., }      | 9,335,700                                   |
| <b>II. MANUFACTURED ARTICLES.</b> |                                          |              |                                                                                        |                                             |
| 4                                 | Bangles or glass armet                   | Boxes 488    | Bombay, Calcutta                                                                       | 5,850                                       |
| 5                                 | Bamboo ware, ...                         | Peculs 14    | London, Bom., Cal.                                                                     | 2,200                                       |
| 6                                 | Brass leaf, ...                          | Boxes 402    | Bombay                                                                                 | 12,730                                      |
| 8                                 | Bone and Hornware,                       | Catt. 1,445  | { Bombay, Calcutta,<br>Monte Video }                                                   | 1,800                                       |
| 14                                | Chinaware, ...                           | Pcls. 1,764  |                                                                                        |                                             |
| 56                                | Cegars, ...                              | " 1,095      | London, Liverpool,<br>Singapore, Bombay                                                | 18,000                                      |
| 16                                | Copper, Tin, and }<br>Pewter ware, ... } | " 209        | Calcutta, Madras                                                                       | 4,000                                       |
| 13                                | Crackers & Fireworks,                    | " 1,018      | { Bombay, Madras, S.<br>America, the Cape }                                            | 7,075                                       |
| 20                                | Fans (of all sorts,) ...                 | Catts. 4,955 | London, Liverpool,<br>Bombay, Calcutta,                                                | 7,450                                       |
| 21                                | Furniture (of all kinds)                 | Pcls. 915    | Madras, the Cape,<br>S. Amer., Australia                                               | 20,100                                      |
| 24                                | Glass and Glassware,                     | Val. \$3,300 | Bombay, Calcutta                                                                       | 3,300                                       |
| 25                                | Glass beads, ...                         | Boxes 1,676  | Do.                                                                                    | 25,150                                      |
| 26                                | Glue, ...                                | Pcls. 2,565  | { Calcutta, Madras,<br>South America }                                                 | 19,500                                      |
| 27                                | Grass cloth, ...                         | Catts. 4,698 | { Great Britain, India<br>South America }                                              | 12,750                                      |
| 29                                | Ivory, M.-o'-pearl, & }                  |              | London, Hamburgh                                                                       | 4,300                                       |
| 36                                | Tortoiseshell-ware, }                    | " 2,456      | Bombay, S. America                                                                     | 24,600                                      |
| 30                                | Kittisols, ...                           |              | Bombay, Calcutta                                                                       | 26,000                                      |
| 31                                | Lacquered ware, ...                      | Boxes 3,009  |                                                                                        | 30,000                                      |
| 35                                | Mats, ...                                | Pcls. 434    | G. Britain, India,                                                                     |                                             |
| 38                                | Nankeens and co-<br>lored Cloth, ... }   | " 3,052      | { the Cape, California }                                                               | 5,900                                       |
| 2                                 | Oil of Aniseed, ...                      | " 68         | Great Britain, Bom-<br>bay, Calcutta, Sin-<br>gapore                                   | 7,220                                       |
| 42                                | Oil of Cassia, ...                       | " 77         |                                                                                        | 12,900                                      |

## No. III.—Return of Exports into Canton.—Continued.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                               |        |                     |                                                                                        |              |                  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------|---------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|------------------|
| 41                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Paper of all sorts, ...       | "      | 3,052               | } Great Britain, India<br>S America, California,<br>the Cape, Ham-<br>burgh, Singapore | } 34,609     |                  |
| 43                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Preserves, ... ..             | "      | 3,933               |                                                                                        |              | 55,600           |
| 44                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Rattan work, ...              | "      | 321                 |                                                                                        |              | 13,500           |
| 46                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Silk thread, Organsine, Cats. | 10,900 | } S. America, India | } 50,150                                                                               |              |                  |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | Ribbons, ... ..               | "      |                     |                                                                                        | 359          | 1,800            |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | Silk Manufactures, ...        | "      |                     |                                                                                        | 52,811       | 316,800          |
| 47                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Silk & Cotton mixture, ...    | "      | 31,235              | } Great Britain, India<br>South America                                                | } 46,700     |                  |
| 50                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Soy, ... ..                   | Pcls.  | 1,571               |                                                                                        |              | 15,000           |
| 52                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Sugar, ... ..                 | "      | 9,876               | } London, Cape, Bombay<br>London, Bombay                                               | } 50,000     |                  |
| 53                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Sugar Candy, ... ..           | "      | 4,332               |                                                                                        |              | Bombay, Calcutta |
| 59                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Trunks, ... ..                | "      | 322                 | } Sydney, M. Video<br>India, the Cape, S.<br>America, California                       | } 8,500      |                  |
| 61                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Vermilion, ... ..             | "      | 574                 |                                                                                        |              | India, Bombay.   |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                               |        |                     | Calcutta, Singapore                                                                    | 53,500       |                  |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                               |        |                     | Monte Video                                                                            |              |                  |
| III. MISCELLANEOUS EXPORTS AND<br>ARTICLES NOT IN THE TARIFF,<br>Including Alum, Arsenic, Cam-<br>phor, Capoor Cutchery, Drugs,<br>Drums. Caps, Clothes, Artifi-<br>cial Flowers, Glue, Gold thread,<br>Gold and Silverware, Hemp,<br>Incense Sticks, Indigo, China<br>Ink, Lamps, Oil Paintings, Pic-<br>tures on Rice Paper, Salt Fish,<br>Stoneware, Shoes, Tiles, Silk<br>Umbrellas, and Vermicelli, &c. |                               |        |                     | Value \$70,000                                                                         | 70,000       |                  |
| Total of Exports in British Ships, ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                               |        |                     |                                                                                        | \$11,485,935 |                  |
| At the Exchange of 4s. 2d per Dollar. ... ..                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                               |        |                     |                                                                                        | £2,392,913   |                  |

REMARKS.—The preceding Returns have been compiled from the entries in the books kept at this Consulate, and the quantities specified are those that *have paid duty*. The weights are those in use at Canton. 1 catty is equal to 1½ pound Avoirdupois, and 1 Pecul or 100 Catties corresponds with 133½ pounds in England.—The Value given has in most instances been computed upon the average prices of the year in the Canton Markets; and where this has been found impracticable, an approximate estimate has been substituted.—The reduction of the Spanish dollars into Sterling has been made at the average exchange of the year.

No. IV.—Synopsis of the Return of Tonnage Dues, Import and Export Duties paid at CANTON by 216 British vessels of the burden of 89,124 tons, in the year 1849.

Tonnage Dues . . . . . \$52,047, at 4s. 2d. exchange £10,843  
Import and Export Duties . . . 1,263,128 Do. Do. £263,152

JOHN BOWRING,  
H. B. M. Consul.

No. V.—Synopsis of Return of British Shipping at the Port of Shanghai, for 1849.

89 Vessels arrived, amounting to 30,812 Tons; cargo valued at £974,302  
110 " departed " to 32,875 " " £1,438,480



No. VI.—RETURN of the Quantities and Value of MERCHANDISE IMPORTED into the PORT OF SHANGHAI, in 89 *British* vessels of 30,812 tons, from the countries and places undermentioned, during the year ending 31st December, 1849.

| No. in<br>Tariff                                      | DENOMINATION OF ARTICLE         | QUANTITIES     | From what<br>Countries and<br>Places Import-<br>ed.                           | Estimated Value<br>in Sterling at 4s.<br>5d. the average<br>Rate of Exchange |
|-------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>I. BRITISH MANUFACTURES AND STAPLE ARTICLES.</b>   |                                 |                |                                                                               |                                                                              |
| <i>Manufactures of Cotton:—</i>                       |                                 |                |                                                                               |                                                                              |
| 13                                                    | Longcloths, Gray, .. ..         | Pieces 817,955 | } London,<br>Liver-<br>pool,<br>Canton,<br>& Hong-<br>kong                    | £424,856                                                                     |
| "                                                     | "    White, .. ..               | " 338,022      |                                                                               | 193,538                                                                      |
| "                                                     | "    Twills, .. ..              | " 3,843        |                                                                               | 1,977                                                                        |
| "                                                     | "    Colored Cottons, ..        | " 15,500       |                                                                               | 9,070                                                                        |
| "                                                     | "    Diaper, .. ..              | " 125          |                                                                               | 27                                                                           |
| "                                                     | "    Muslins, .. ..             | " 258          |                                                                               | 103                                                                          |
| "                                                     | "    Fancy, .. ..               | " 9,855        |                                                                               | 5,984                                                                        |
| "                                                     | "    Chints, .. ..              | " 13,160       |                                                                               | 7,991                                                                        |
| "                                                     | "    Printed Handkerchiefs, ..  | Dozen 8,668    |                                                                               | 1,914                                                                        |
| "                                                     | "    Velvets, .. ..             | Pieces 1,872   |                                                                               | 3,811                                                                        |
| "                                                     | "    Drills (American,) .. ..   | " 20,855       |                                                                               | 9,685                                                                        |
| "                                                     | "    Sheetings, do. .. ..       | " 5,822        |                                                                               | 2,699                                                                        |
| 14                                                    | "    Cotton Yarn, .. ..         | Peculs 2,576   |                                                                               | 12,246                                                                       |
| <i>Manufactures of Wool:—</i>                         |                                 |                |                                                                               |                                                                              |
| 47                                                    | Broadcloths, .. ..              | Chang 124,697  | 673,901                                                                       | 673,901                                                                      |
| "                                                     | "    Long Ella, .. ..           | " 141,908      | 117,854                                                                       |                                                                              |
| "                                                     | "    Camlets, .. ..             | " 56,856       | 39,174                                                                        |                                                                              |
| "                                                     | "    "    Dutch, .. ..          | " 240          | 19,473                                                                        |                                                                              |
| "                                                     | "    "    Lastings, .. ..       | Pieces 90      | 1,908                                                                         |                                                                              |
| <i>Miscellaneous Articles, Raw and Manufactured:—</i> |                                 |                |                                                                               |                                                                              |
| 30                                                    | Iron, Nail Rod, .. ..           | Peculs 3,918   | 178,607                                                                       | 852,508                                                                      |
| "                                                     | "    Ironware, .. ..            | Cases 2        | 2,595                                                                         |                                                                              |
| "                                                     | "    Tin, .. ..                 | Peculs 314     | 22                                                                            |                                                                              |
| "                                                     | "    "    Plates, .. ..         | " 82           | 1,248                                                                         |                                                                              |
| "                                                     | "    Lead, .. ..                | " 250          | 176                                                                           |                                                                              |
| 19                                                    | "    Flints, .. ..              | " 1,390        | 276                                                                           |                                                                              |
| 20                                                    | "    Glass and Glassware, .. .. | Cases 1,120    | 121                                                                           |                                                                              |
| 6,626                                                 |                                 |                |                                                                               |                                                                              |
| <b>II. PRODUCTS OF INDIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES.</b>     |                                 |                |                                                                               |                                                                              |
| <i>Woods:—</i>                                        |                                 |                |                                                                               |                                                                              |
| 46                                                    | Sandal, .. ..                   | Peculs 7,879   | } British<br>India,<br>Singa-<br>pore,<br>S. Sea<br>Islands,<br>& Mani-<br>la | 9,962                                                                        |
| "                                                     | "    Sapan, .. ..               | " 5,277        |                                                                               | 2,745                                                                        |
| "                                                     | "    Camaga, .. ..              | " 1,932        |                                                                               | 639                                                                          |
| "                                                     | "    Mangrove Bark, .. ..       | " 3,161        |                                                                               | 698                                                                          |
| "                                                     | "    Timber, .. ..              | " 6,585        |                                                                               | 1,454                                                                        |
| <i>Miscellaneous:—</i>                                |                                 |                |                                                                               |                                                                              |
| 35                                                    | Rice, .. ..                     | Peculs 113,990 | } S. Sea<br>Islands,<br>& Mani-<br>la                                         | 55,389                                                                       |
| 34                                                    | Rattans, .. ..                  | " 7,163        |                                                                               | 9,031                                                                        |
| 32                                                    | Pepper, .. ..                   | " 1,056        |                                                                               | 1,399                                                                        |
| 4                                                     | Bicho de Mar, .. ..             | " 180          |                                                                               | 943                                                                          |
| 38                                                    | Shark fins, .. ..               | " 91           |                                                                               | 397                                                                          |
| 5                                                     | Birds-nests, .. ..              | " 5            |                                                                               | 468                                                                          |
| 13,897                                                |                                 |                |                                                                               |                                                                              |
| <b>III. CARRYING TRADE.</b>                           |                                 |                |                                                                               |                                                                              |
|                                                       | Sugar, .. ..                    | Peculs 38,314  | } Chinese<br>Produce                                                          | 17,798                                                                       |
|                                                       | "    Candy, .. ..               | " 180          |                                                                               | 357                                                                          |

NO. VII.—A SYNOPTICAL TABLE of the IMPORT TRADE from Foreign countries, at the PORT OF SHANGHAI, during the year ending the 31st December, 1849, specifying the *Description* and *Quantities* of Commodities as well as their *estimated value*, and *distinguishing the national character of the ships* in which they were Imported.

| DESCRIPTION OF COMMODITIES    | QUANTITIES AND IN WHAT VESSELS IMPORTED |             |                                                                             |         | Aggregate Quantities Imported | Estimated Value in Sterling at 4s 5d Exchange |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
|                               | 80 British                              | 85 American | 2 Spanish<br>2 Bremen<br>1 Pruss in<br>3 Dutch<br>7 Portuguese<br>1 Siamese |         |                               |                                               |
| <i>Cotton.</i>                |                                         |             |                                                                             |         |                               |                                               |
| Longcloths, Gray..... Pieces  | 817,955                                 | 45,543      | 8,000                                                                       | 871,498 | £452,051                      |                                               |
| "    Whites,.... "            | 338,052                                 | 6,382       | 1,950                                                                       | 346,384 | 197,677                       |                                               |
| Drills (American),.... "      | 20,855                                  | 91,200      | ....                                                                        | 112,055 | 51,979                        |                                               |
| Domestics,..... "             | 5,947                                   | 61,125      | ....                                                                        | 67,073  | 31,156                        |                                               |
| Dyed Cottons,..... "          | 15,560                                  | 260         | ....                                                                        | 15,820  | 9,222                         |                                               |
| Fancy "..... "                | 9,855                                   | ....        | ....                                                                        | 9,855   | 5,981                         |                                               |
| Chintzes,..... "              | 13,160                                  | 600         | ....                                                                        | 13,760  | 8,355                         |                                               |
| Printed Handkerchiefs. Doz.   | 8,668                                   | ....        | ....                                                                        | 8,668   | 1,914                         |                                               |
| Velvets,..... Pieces          | 1,872                                   | ....        | ....                                                                        | 1,872   | 3,811                         |                                               |
| Cotton yarn,..... Peculs      | 2,576                                   | ....        | ....                                                                        | 2,576   | 12,246                        |                                               |
| Muslins,..... Pieces          | 268                                     | ....        | ....                                                                        | 268     | 103                           |                                               |
| Jeans (American),.... "       | ....                                    | 3,450       | ....                                                                        | 3,450   | 1,904                         |                                               |
| Twills,..... "                | 1,330                                   | ....        | ....                                                                        | 1,330   | 734                           |                                               |
| English Gray Drills,.... "    | 2,613                                   | ....        | ....                                                                        | 2,613   | 1,243                         |                                               |
| <i>Woolens.</i>               |                                         |             |                                                                             |         |                               |                                               |
| Spanish Stripes,..... "       | 26,684                                  | 1,798       | 756                                                                         | 29,238  | 129,134                       |                                               |
| Long Ella,..... "             | 23,956                                  | 1,700       | 120                                                                         | 25,776  | 41,987                        |                                               |
| Camlets,..... "               | 4,409                                   | 400         | ....                                                                        | 4,809   | 21,239                        |                                               |
| do Dutch,..... "              | 360                                     | 200         | 60                                                                          | 620     | 3,171                         |                                               |
| Woolen Mixtures,..... "       | ....                                    | 350         | ....                                                                        | 350     | 350                           |                                               |
| Lastings,..... "              | 190                                     | ....        | ....                                                                        | 190     | 198                           |                                               |
| <i>Metals.</i>                |                                         |             |                                                                             |         |                               |                                               |
| Spelter,..... Peculs          | ....                                    | 1,242       | ....                                                                        | 1,242   | 1,782                         |                                               |
| Iron, Nail Rod,..... "        | 3,918                                   | ....        | ....                                                                        | 3,918   | 2,595                         |                                               |
| Tin,..... "                   | 314                                     | ....        | ....                                                                        | 314     | 1,248                         |                                               |
| Tin Plates,..... Cases        | 82                                      | ....        | ....                                                                        | 82      | 176                           |                                               |
| Lead,..... Peculs             | 250                                     | 2,550       | ....                                                                        | 2,800   | 3,654                         |                                               |
| Ironware,..... Cases          | 2                                       | ....        | ....                                                                        | 2       | 22                            |                                               |
| <i>Woods.</i>                 |                                         |             |                                                                             |         |                               |                                               |
| Sandal,..... Peculs           | 7,879                                   | 1,299       | 1,662                                                                       | 10,840  | 13,231                        |                                               |
| Sapan,..... "                 | 5,277                                   | 2,702       | 3,747                                                                       | 11,726  | 7,017                         |                                               |
| Camaga and others,.... "      | 1,932                                   | ....        | ....                                                                        | 1,932   | 639                           |                                               |
| Mangrove Bark,..... "         | 3,161                                   | ....        | 552                                                                         | 3,713   | 819                           |                                               |
| Timber,..... Value            | 1,454                                   | ....        | ....                                                                        | 1,454   | 1,454                         |                                               |
| <i>Sundries.</i>              |                                         |             |                                                                             |         |                               |                                               |
| Rice,..... Peculs             | 113,990                                 | 32,198      | 28,668                                                                      | 174,876 | 84,960                        |                                               |
| Rattans,..... "               | 7,163                                   | 2,240       | 882                                                                         | 10,285  | 13,167                        |                                               |
| Sugar,..... "                 | 38,514                                  | 5,383       | 4,772                                                                       | 48,669  | 22,283                        |                                               |
| Pepper,..... "                | 1,056                                   | 1,200       | ....                                                                        | 2,256   | 2,989                         |                                               |
| Biche de mer,..... "          | 180                                     | 146         | 1,744                                                                       | 2,070   | 14,299                        |                                               |
| Glass and Glassware, .. Cases | 1,120                                   | ....        | 467                                                                         | 1,587   | 2,600                         |                                               |
| Indigo,..... "                | ....                                    | ....        | ....                                                                        | ....    | ....                          |                                               |
| Liquid Indigo,..... "         | ....                                    | ....        | 1,008                                                                       | 1,008   | 3,116                         |                                               |
| Miscellaneous,..... Value     | £15,240                                 | £21,029     | £19,564                                                                     | £58,833 | 58,883                        |                                               |
|                               | £974,302                                | £161,978    | £70,062                                                                     |         | £1,209,332                    |                                               |

No. VIII.—RETURN of the quantities and value of MERCHANDISE EXPORTED from SHANGHAI, in 94 British Vessels of 32,875 tons, to the undermentioned places, during the year ending 31st December, 1849.

| No. in<br>Tariff. | Denomination of Article.                                                                                                                                                                   | Quantities.                                                                                                | To what Countries<br>Exported.                                               | Estimated<br>value in ster-<br>ling at 4s. 5d.<br>exchange |            |         |       |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|------------|---------|-------|
| 38                | Nankeens, .....                                                                                                                                                                            | Pieces 12,000                                                                                              | London, Liverpool,<br>and Hongkong }                                         | £1,060                                                     |            |         |       |
| 46                | Silk, Raw:—<br>Taysam,.....<br>Tsatlee.....<br>Sorts.....                                                                                                                                  | 17,217 bls. Peculs 13,781                                                                                  |                                                                              |                                                            | " "        | 972,455 |       |
|                   | Silk piece goods, .....                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                            | Cases 130                                                                    | " "                                                        |            |         | 2,893 |
| 55                | Tea:—<br>Congou,.....<br>Souchong,.....<br>Fiowery Pekoc,.....<br>Twankay,.....<br>Hyson,.....<br>Hyson Skin,.....<br>Young Hyson,.....<br>Imperial,.....<br>Gunpowder,.....<br>Sorts..... | 13,106,068<br>153,963<br>76,523<br>33,083<br>368,643<br>273,953<br>378,629<br>69,361<br>350,695<br>725,353 | 15,535,572 lb. { London, Liverpool,<br>Cork, Hongkong,<br>Canton, & Sydney } | 445,844                                                    |            |         |       |
|                   | Hemp, .....                                                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                            |                                                                              |                                                            | "          | 1,039   |       |
|                   | Miscellaneous,.....                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                            |                                                                              |                                                            | "          | 4,630   |       |
|                   | Oil and Bean Cake,.....                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                            |                                                                              |                                                            | Amoy.      | 10,509  |       |
|                   |                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                            |                                                                              |                                                            | £1,438,480 |         |       |

REMARKS.—The preceding Returns have been compiled from the entries in the Books kept at the office, and the Quantities specified are those that have paid duty.—The Weights and Measures stated are those in use at Shanghai. 1 catty is equal to 14 pound Avoirdupois, and 100 catties correspond with 133½ pounds in England. A chang is 4 English yards nearly.—The value given has in most instances been computed upon the average prices of the year in the Shanghai Market; and where this has been found impracticable, an approximate has been substituted. The reduction of Spanish dollars into sterling has been made at the average exchange of the year, of 4s. 5d. per dollar.

No. IX.—A SYNOPSIS TABLE of the Export trade to Foreign countries, from the port of Shanghai, during the Year ending the 31st December, 1849, specifying the Description and Quantities of commodities, as well as their estimated value, and distinguishing the national character of the ships in which they were exported.

| DESCRIPTION OF COMMODITY                               | QUANTITIES AND IN WHAT VESSELS EXPORTED |             |                                                             |            | Aggregate Quantities Exported | Estimated value in Sterling, at 2s. 4d. Exchange |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
|                                                        | N British                               | 18 American | 1 Spanish<br>1 Bremen<br>1 Prussian<br>3 Dutch<br>1 Siamese |            |                               |                                                  |
| Nankeens,.....                                         | Pieces 12,000                           | 45,650      | 2,800                                                       | 60,450     | £6,194                        |                                                  |
| Silk, Raw,—Taysam,.....<br>Tsatlee.....<br>Sorts,..... | Peculs 13,781                           | 644         | 11                                                          | 14,436     | 1,023,082                     |                                                  |
| Silk Piece Goods,.....                                 |                                         |             |                                                             |            |                               | Cases 130                                        |
| Tea,.....                                              | lbs 15,535,572                          | 4,416,932   | 445,533                                                     | 20,398,037 | 628,967                       |                                                  |
| Cotton, Raw,.....                                      | Peculs .....                            | 521         | .....                                                       | 521        | 1,265                         |                                                  |
| Wool,.....                                             | .....                                   | 191         | .....                                                       | 191        | 100                           |                                                  |
| Hemp,.....                                             | Value £1,039                            | .....       | .....                                                       | .....      | 1,039                         |                                                  |
| Miscellaneous,.....                                    | £4,630                                  | £11,492     | £3,000                                                      | .....      | 22,172                        |                                                  |
| Oil cake, &c. (Chinese cargoes)                        | £10,509                                 | 9,984       | £1,774                                                      | .....      | 22,207                        |                                                  |
| Total,.....                                            | £1,438,480                              | £299,931    | £12,245                                                     | .....      | £1,754,656                    |                                                  |

No. X.—RETURN of the NUMBER and TONNAGE of MERCHANT VESSELS which arrived at and departed from the PORT OF SHANGHAI, during the year ending 31st December, 1849, distinguishing the countries to which they belonged.

| ARRIVED           |                |         | DEPARTED          |              |         |
|-------------------|----------------|---------|-------------------|--------------|---------|
| Under what colors | No. of Vessels | Tonnage | Under what Colors | No. of Ships | Tonnage |
| British.....      | 89             | 30,812  | British.....      | 94           | 33,875  |
| American.....     | 25             | 10,252  | American.....     | 25           | 10,252  |
| Spanish.....      | 3              | 770     | Spanish.....      | 3            | 770     |
| Prussian.....     | 1              | 474     | Prussian.....     | 1            | 474     |
| Bremen.....       | 2              | 440     | Bremen.....       | 2            | 420     |
| Dutch.....        | 2              | 660     | Dutch.....        | 3            | 1,165   |
| Portuguese.....   | 4              | 368     | Portuguese.....   | 4            | 368     |
| Siamese.....      | 1              | 250     | Siamese.....      | 1            | 250     |
|                   | 127            | 44,026  |                   | 133          | 52,774  |

No. XI.—IMPORT of OPIUM into WUSUNG for the Years 1847, 1848, and 1849.

| Description  | 1847   |             | 1848   |              | 1849   |              |
|--------------|--------|-------------|--------|--------------|--------|--------------|
|              | Chests | Value       | Chests | Value        | Chests | Value        |
| Malwa.....   | 12,864 | \$5,999,232 | 11,725 | \$8,793,750  | 14,721 | \$9,274,230  |
| Patna.....   | 3,496  | 2,263,408   | 5,178  | 2,975,625    | 8,260  | 4,130,000    |
| Benares..... | 140    | 86,800      | 57     | 31,920       | .....  | .....        |
| Total.....   | 16,500 | \$8,349,440 | 16,960 | \$11,801,295 | 22,981 | \$13,404,230 |

No. XII.—A RETURN of the Quantities and Value of MERCHANDISE exported from AMOY in 37 British Vessels of 11,106 tons, to the countries and places undermentioned, during the year ending 31st December, 1849.

| No. in Tariff. | Denomination of Article.                                   | Quantities                 | To what Countries and places Exported | Reported or Estimated Value in dollars |
|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 7              | Tiles large and small                                      | 239,541 in number          | Straits                               | \$ 14,887 00                           |
| "              | Granite.....                                               | 2,646 pieces               | "                                     | 6,230 00                               |
| "              | Bricks.....                                                | 30,000 in number           | "                                     | 105 00                                 |
| 14             | Chinaware all kinds                                        | 22,267 bund & bas          | "                                     | 25,882 00                              |
| 30             | Kittysols.....                                             | 28,302 bundles             | "                                     | 9,809 00                               |
| 35             | Mats.....                                                  | 40 "                       | "                                     | 10 00                                  |
| 41             | Paper of all kinds.....                                    | 383 "                      | "                                     | 2,275 00                               |
| 43             | Preserves.....                                             | 319 tubs & box             | "                                     | 1,444 50                               |
| 46             | Silks.....                                                 | 52 bales                   | "                                     | 9,555 00                               |
| 48             | Shoes.....                                                 | 936 boxes                  | "                                     | 809 00                                 |
| 52             | Sugar.....                                                 | 4,328 peculs               | Hongkong                              | 8,140 00                               |
| 53             | Sugar candy.....                                           | 576 " & tubs               | "                                     | 4,382 00                               |
| 55             | Tea.....                                                   | 112 chests, 5 pls.         | Straits                               | 147 00                                 |
| 56             | Tobacco.....                                               | 1,946 "                    | "                                     | 16,810 00                              |
| 61             | Vermilion.....                                             | 10 cases                   | "                                     | 400 00                                 |
|                | Iron ware.....                                             | 2,602 tubs & pkg           | "                                     | 6,021 00                               |
|                | Rice.....                                                  | 43,779 bags & pls          | Shanghai                              | 75,137 00                              |
|                | Vermicelli.....                                            | 1,810 cases                | Straits                               | 5,789 00                               |
|                | Woods, Mushrooms, Oil, Combs, Joss-stick, Paint, Salt, &c. |                            | "                                     | 21,233 00                              |
|                | Exch. at 4s. 4d.                                           | Exports, £45,297.10.6 Stg. | Total.....                            | \$209,065 50                           |

No. XIII. A RETURN of the quantities and value of MERCHANDISE IMPORTED into the PORT OF AMOY in 67 British vessels of 17,957 tons, from the countries and places undermentioned, during the year ending 31st December, 1849.

| No. in Tariff                             | Denomination of Articles                                                                                                      | Quantities             | From what Countries and Places imported | Reported or Estimated Value in Dollars |
|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 3                                         | Betel Nut, .. ..                                                                                                              | 1,047 bags, b. &c.     | Straits                                 | \$ 3,575 00                            |
| 4                                         | Bicho-de-Mar, ..                                                                                                              | 1,868 " " "            | "                                       | 28,465 00                              |
| 5                                         | Birds' Nests, ..                                                                                                              | 708 cats. bxs. &c.     | "                                       | 5,970 00                               |
| 6                                         | Camphor, .. ..                                                                                                                | 4 peculs               | "                                       | 3,500 00                               |
| 10                                        | Cochineal, .. ..                                                                                                              | 28 cases               | "                                       | 1,400 00                               |
| 12                                        | Cotton, .. ..                                                                                                                 | 16,697½ bales          | India <i>via</i> Hongkong               | 487,884 00                             |
| 13                                        | White Shirtings, ..                                                                                                           | 23,510 pieces          | England <i>via</i> "                    | 81,400 00                              |
| "                                         | Gray do., .. ..                                                                                                               | 43,911 " "             | "                                       | 143,714 00                             |
| "                                         | Drills, .. ..                                                                                                                 | 2,400 " "              | "                                       | 6,700 00                               |
| "                                         | Gray Twills, .. ..                                                                                                            | 1,960 " "              | "                                       | 5,700 00                               |
| "                                         | White do., .. ..                                                                                                              | 3,100 " "              | "                                       | 8,250 00                               |
| "                                         | Nankeens, .. ..                                                                                                               | 200 " "                | "                                       | 450 00                                 |
| "                                         | Chintz, .. ..                                                                                                                 | 2,279 " "              | "                                       | 8,916 00                               |
| "                                         | Turkey Red Cloth,                                                                                                             | 2,400 " "              | "                                       | 9,100 00                               |
| "                                         | Velvets, .. ..                                                                                                                | 32 cases               | "                                       | 5,300 00                               |
| "                                         | Red spotted Cambrics,                                                                                                         | 600 pieces             | "                                       | 3,000 00                               |
| 14                                        | Cotton Yarn, ..                                                                                                               | 2,214 bales            | "                                       | 160,235 00                             |
| 16                                        | Cutch, .. ..                                                                                                                  | 139 bales and pls.     | Straits                                 | 200 00                                 |
| 17                                        | Elephants' Teeth, ..                                                                                                          | 6 in number            | "                                       | 80 00                                  |
| 19                                        | Flints, .. ..                                                                                                                 | 1,156 pls., bask tons  | England <i>via</i> Singapore            | 1,173 00                               |
| 20                                        | Glass, .. ..                                                                                                                  | 186 boxes              | "                                       | 1,450 00                               |
| 21                                        | Gambier, .. ..                                                                                                                | 110 baskets            | Straits                                 | 50 00                                  |
| 30                                        | Tin, .. ..                                                                                                                    | 630 pls. slabs bask    | "                                       | 2,900 00                               |
| "                                         | Rod Iron, .. ..                                                                                                               | 200 bundles            | "                                       | 1,000 00                               |
| "                                         | Lead & Sheet Lead,                                                                                                            | 46 " & rolls           | "                                       | 1,000 00                               |
| "                                         | Iron, .. ..                                                                                                                   | 1,950 bundles          | "                                       | 1,200 00                               |
| 32                                        | Pepper, black & white                                                                                                         | 2,063 bags and pls.    | "                                       | 9,213 00                               |
| 34                                        | Rattans, .. ..                                                                                                                | 9,423 bund. and "      | "                                       | 3,302 00                               |
| 35                                        | Peas, .. ..                                                                                                                   | 308 bags               | "                                       | 575 00                                 |
| "                                         | Beans, .. ..                                                                                                                  | 3,266 " and pls.       | "                                       | 3,281 00                               |
| "                                         | Rice, .. ..                                                                                                                   | 3,727 " "              | Arrakan                                 | 6,180 00                               |
| "                                         | Pulse, .. ..                                                                                                                  | 25 bags                | Straits                                 | 50 00                                  |
| 38                                        | Sharks' Fins, .. ..                                                                                                           | 12 bas bgs & pls.      | "                                       | 458 00                                 |
| 39                                        | Skins & Hides, ..                                                                                                             | 3,581 " bts. pls. sks. | "                                       | 4,616 00                               |
| 47                                        | Red Wood, .. ..                                                                                                               | 20 pieces              | "                                       | 125 00                                 |
| "                                         | Garroo " .. ..                                                                                                                | 11 baskets             | "                                       | 70 00                                  |
| "                                         | Sapan " .. ..                                                                                                                 | 2,180 pieces           | "                                       | 710 00                                 |
| "                                         | Sandal " .. ..                                                                                                                | 23,759½ pls. logs, &c. | "                                       | 21,685 00                              |
| "                                         | Iron " .. ..                                                                                                                  | 457 pieces             | "                                       | 40 00                                  |
| "                                         | Teak " .. ..                                                                                                                  | 183 logs               | "                                       | 160 00                                 |
| "                                         | Birch " .. ..                                                                                                                 | 6 "                    | "                                       | 2,400 00                               |
| "                                         | Midding, .. ..                                                                                                                | 436 pieces             | "                                       | 200 00                                 |
| "                                         | Grangy " .. ..                                                                                                                | 40 "                   | "                                       | 20 00                                  |
| "                                         | Mangrove Bark, ..                                                                                                             | 16,406 bun., and pls.  | "                                       | 5,860 00                               |
| 47                                        | Long Ells, .. ..                                                                                                              | 1,280 pieces           | England <i>via</i> Hongkong             | 14,580 00                              |
| "                                         | Spanish Stripes, ..                                                                                                           | 808 "                  | "                                       | 17,970 00                              |
| "                                         | Bombazettes, ..                                                                                                               | 19 trusses             | "                                       | 1,900 00                               |
| "                                         | Camlets, .. ..                                                                                                                | 510 pieces             | "                                       | 6,050 00                               |
| Unenumerated articles:                    | Dried meats, shrimps, sugar, medicines }<br>oil cake, bean cake, oysters, feathers, }<br>cockles, salt pork, &c., &c., &c., } |                        | Straits and Shanghai                    | 46,800 00                              |
| Fsch. 4s. 4d. imports, £246,225.19.2 stg. |                                                                                                                               |                        |                                         | Total..... \$1,136,427 00              |

T. H. LAYTON,

Consul.

No. XIV.—Synopsis of the Arrivals and Departures at Amoy under all flags during the year 1849.

| ARRIVED.                                             |         |                  | DEPARTED.       |         |                  |
|------------------------------------------------------|---------|------------------|-----------------|---------|------------------|
| Flags & numbers                                      | Tonnage | Value of Imports | Flags & numbers | Tonnage | Value of Exports |
| 67 British                                           | 17,957  | 1,136,427 50     | 37 British      | 11,106  | 209,065 50       |
| 3 American                                           | 1,733   | 61,988 68        | 1 American      | 536     | 3,205 81         |
| 11 Spanish                                           | 1,964   | 61,043 59        | 11 Spanish      | 1,964   | 19,451 52        |
| 1 Danish                                             | 104     | 5,940 00         |                 |         |                  |
| 2 Prussian                                           | 600     | 40,094 58        | 2 Prussian      | 600     | 13,304 64        |
| 6 Dutch                                              | 1,585   | 73,221 66        | 3 Dutch         | 515     | 14,553 00        |
| 2 Siamese                                            | 670     | 35,212 96        | 1 Siamese       | 270     | 1,129 00         |
| 1 Bremen                                             | 120     | 5,780 00         | 1 Bremen        | 120     | 4,080 00         |
| 35 Portuguese                                        | 2,928   | 76,778 80        | 11 Portuguese   | 892     | 14,751 68        |
| 128 ships, &c.                                       | 27,663  | 1,496,487 77     | 67 ship lorchas | 16,003  | 279,541 15       |
| Total value of Imports at 4s. 4d. exch. £324,238 0.4 |         |                  |                 |         |                  |
| do. do. Exports " " 60,567 4.11½                     |         |                  |                 |         |                  |
| Increase in total trade in 1849, £172,390 2.11½      |         |                  |                 |         |                  |

No. XV.—A RETURN of the quantities and value of MERCHANDISE IMPORTED into the PORT OF NINGPO to the countries and places undermentioned, during the Year ending the 31st December, 1849.

| No. in the Tariff                   | Denomination of Articles                                  | Quantities.   | From what Countries and Places Imported | Estimated Value in Spanish Dollars |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 47                                  | 1.—Manufactures of Wool.                                  |               |                                         |                                    |
|                                     | Camlets, ... ..                                           | Pieces 31     | Hongkong                                | 465                                |
| 13                                  | 2.—Manufactures of Cotton                                 |               |                                         |                                    |
|                                     | Longcloth, White, ...                                     | " 450         | "                                       | 1,350                              |
|                                     | " Twilled, ...                                            | " 520         | "                                       | 1,560                              |
|                                     | " Gray, ...                                               | " 3,100       | "                                       | 7,750                              |
| 8                                   | Clocks, ... ..                                            | Value \$116   | Shanghai                                | 116                                |
| 20                                  | Glass and Glassware, ...                                  | " 805         | "                                       | 805                                |
| 34                                  | Rattans, ... ..                                           | Peculs 474    | H.kong & Sha.                           | 2,370                              |
| 35                                  | Rice, ... ..                                              | " 2,740       | Hongkong                                | 5,754                              |
| 46                                  | Woods: Red Wood, ...                                      | " 60          | "                                       | 120                                |
|                                     | III. Miscellaneous Articles not enumerated in the Tariff. | Value \$3,650 | Hongkong and Shanghai                   | 3,650                              |
| Exch. at 4s. 4d. per Dollar, £5,187 |                                                           |               | Total IMPORTS,                          | \$23,940                           |

No. XVI. A RETURN of the quantities and value of MERCHANDISE EXPORTED from the PORT OF NINGPO to the countries and places undermentioned, during the year ending the 31st December, 1849.

| No. in the Tariff                     | Denomination of Articles   | Quantities   | To what Countries and Places Exported | Estimated Value in Spanish Dollars. |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1                                     | Alum, ... ..               | Peculs 2,110 | H.kong & Sing.                        | 2,110                               |
| 16                                    | Copper, ... ..             | " 40         | Fuhchau-fu                            | 1,200                               |
| 32                                    | Mats, ... ..               | Value \$100  | Hongkong &                            | 100                                 |
|                                       | Unenumerated Articles, ... | " \$435      | Singapore                             | 435                                 |
| Exch. at 4s. 4d. per Dollar, £833 1.8 |                            |              | Total EXPORTS,                        | \$3,845                             |

Ningpo, 31st December, 1849.

G. G. SULLIVAN, Consul.

ART. II. *Letter to the Editor of the Repository upon Dr. Legge's argument of the word for God in Chinese.* By A LOOKER-ON.

*To the Editor of the Chinese Repository,*

SIR,—I happened to see only yesterday a copy of Dr. Legge's remarks on my letter to you. As to the error in transcribing Locke's words to which he alludes, I do not know whether I am to blame or you: in a rough copy which I happen to have by me, I find the expression rightly quoted. Very possibly, however, in writing a second copy, I may have made a mistake. Would Dr. Legge allow me to ask him, since he is so particular as to the least word, what he means on page 71 of his last pamphlet by "eliminating" the truth? When I was a boy, I remember I was taught that to "eliminate" an unknown quantity from an algebraic equation meant to *get rid* of it, to *banish* it: I am not aware now of any other sense in which the word is used: surely, therefore, Dr. Legge would not have us "eliminate" the TRUTH!

I shall not allude to Dr. Legge's remarks upon my former views. I do not myself hold them now, having been convinced (at least very nearly so) by the arguments I have heard since, and as much as any other by Dr. Legge's own pamphlet, that *Shin*, and *Shin* alone, is a proper translation for the word *God*. I think it would be difficult to find a piece of reasoning more sophistical than that by which Dr. Legge tries in his first pamphlet to show us that *God* is a relative term. He does not tell us that "God" satisfies the conditions necessary to be satisfied in order that a word may be considered a relative term; he says, "I have no hesitation" in adding to the list that of "God and creatures," but he does not state that it has the qualifications of the class of relative terms. To do this he must show the nature of the relation that is implied. I presume from his words quoted above, that this is that of *creation*: is the word *God* then the same as *creator*? "Creator and creatures" are correlatives; are "God and creatures" the same idea in other words? If so, does *Shángtí* translate that relation? I would remark that this must be shown. *Pater* in Latin expresses a particular relation; *Father* in English expresses the same; we therefore translate the one by the other: does *Shángtí* then translate the word *God*, if it means *creator*? It will not do to say *God* is a relative term, and *Shángtí* is a relative, therefore *God* will be best translated by *Shángtí*; we must show that the same peculiar relation is implied in both, and Bishop Boone conclusively shows that this is not the case, as far at least as the idea of creation is concerned.

Again; Dr. Legge's reasoning to show that "God" can not be a

generic term appears equally illogical. He points out a remarkable property of certain nouns not applicable to generic nouns, *with one exception* (this has been ably handled by others, but at present I waive the question of its accuracy), but he does not say that this is *what constitutes the class of non-generic nouns*,—in logical language, the *differentia*, or even a *proprium* of the class; indeed the admission of an exception prevents this supposition. Now, no doubt it is true that *flying* is a property of birds, but it is also one of some kinds of fish; if I were to infer, therefore, from an animal flying that it was a bird, I should clearly be reasoning illogically. So this test may be a remarkable property of non-generic terms, but it must be shown that *necessarily* it is peculiar to them (and this not by numerous examples, but from their very nature), and the acknowledged exception of the word "man" prevents the possibility of this.

In syllogistic form, Dr. Legge's reasoning will stand thus (I may remark that I use the word "non-generic," because Dr. L. applies the test to several classes of nouns as well as relatives):—

Non-generic terms satisfy this test ;  
 But God satisfies this test :  
 Therefore God is a non-generic term.

Now the logician will at once see that here there is an "undistributed middle term." As, however, some of your readers may not be familiar with the technicalities of logic, the fallacy of the reasoning may be shown by a parallel case :

Birds are flying animals ;  
 That fish is a flying animal ;  
 Therefore that fish is a bird !

Lastly, Sir, it is not *God* we wish to translate; it is *Elohim* and *Theos*. It must be shown, therefore, that these are relative terms, and Dr. Legge's test of course fails to do this. When the people of Lystra (Acts xiv. 11.) said that "the gods (*hoi theoi*) are come down to us in the likeness of men," I would ask Dr. Legge did they not mean that there were two classes (or *genera*) of beings—*gods* and *men*, they themselves being in one class, and the Apostles in the other? "True," it may be replied, "but the relation of *worship* was supposed to exist between the two classes, as shown by the conduct of the priest and people." I have no objection to grant this, but it must be remembered that if this constitutes *God* a relative term, it also constitutes *men* one (for they are clearly correlative in the passage), and Dr. Legge I believe, has not yet stated that *man* is a relative term. Again, in Isaiah xlv. 17. we find the prophet showing the absurdity



of idolatry by the different uses to which different parts of the same tree was put; one part served to give the man warmth and to cook his food, and "the residue thereof he maketh a god" (*El*); now of these two parts, one would be called *a fire*, the other *a god*, and I can not see why the latter should be a relative term and not the former; the fire gives heat, the god gives blessings, as supposed; if the man sits before the fire, he receives heat, and if he kneels before the god, he fancies he gets blessings; but I do not think that Dr. Legge will tell us that *fire* is a relative term, and yet I can not see any great difference between the *heat-giver* and the *blessing-giver*.

Whether these views have been advanced by others or not, I do not know; if you think them worthy of insertion in the Repository, you will oblige, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

19th September, 1850.

A LOOKER-ON.

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ART. III. *Translations and Notice of two Mongolian Letters to Philip the Fair, king of France, 1305.* BY MR. MEADOWS, Consular Interpreter, Canton.

ALL the readers of the Repository know something of the crusades, and all have heard of Genghis Khan, but many probably do not know that the great-great-grandson of this conqueror had "friendly relations" with the kings of France and England, and that "official communications" were exchanged in order to concert an attack on the Mohammedan sultan of Egypt by a combined army of Christian crusaders, subjects of England and France, and of heathen Tartars, vassals of the emperor of China! Such is a historical fact, one recorded by old chroniclers, ridiculed in later times by Voltaire, but proved to be true by the sinologue Rémusat, who found in the royal archives at Paris, about 500 years after they were written, two letters in pure Mongolian from Tartar viceroys of Persia, sealed with Chinese seals, one of which was undoubtedly bestowed on the holder at his investiture by his sovereign-lord, the emperor of China.

These letters, which substantiated much that had previously been held for fabrication, were received and answered by Philip the Fair. Others sent at the same period to England were received and answered by the first and second Edwards, and might possibly still be found in some of the English archives.

I subjoin a translation of those discovered by M. Rémusat, following, however, not his renderings, but those into German by the Mongolian scholar Dr. Schmidt of St. Petersburg, which are more correct; and probably only more faithful versions of the originals, because of a vagueness and obscurity in one or two places. He published a pamphlet on the subject, entitled *Philologisch-kritische Zugabe zu den zwei Mongolischen Original-briefen der Könige von Persien Argun und Öldshäitu*, to which brochure, to the *Mémoires, &c.*, of Rémusat, and to D'Osson's *Histoire des Mongols*, I refer the reader who would like to acquaint himself fully with the events that led to the subjoined letters. A short summary only is here given.

The Mongolian people, at the birth of Genghis Khan, was composed of several tribes or clans who occupied a mountainous region on the present confines of China and Russia, not far from Kiakta, now the common mart of these two nations. There they seem to have fought among themselves as bitterly as did the clans of the Scotch Highlands in former days. Genghis was born chief of one of these clans, but his father, the old chief, dying when the heir was only 13 years of age, it was instantly pounced upon and dispersed by its enemies. Genghis himself was taken and cangued, but contrived to escape by getting to a small lake, and lying with his cangue round his neck, under water, his nostrils only above the surface, while his enemies were seeking for him on the banks. By dint of hard fighting during 30 years, after several reverses and many narrow escapes, he succeeded not only in re-establishing his own clan, but in subduing, first all the other Mongolian clans, then all the other races of Tartar nomads; from which time his life was one continued scene of successful warring. Hardy and courageous, rigidly just by nature, essentially barbarous by training and habits, he was eminently fitted for the career he ran. Before his time, among the Tartar hordes, "nothing," he said, "was more common than theft and adultery, the child did not obey his parents, husbands had no confidence in their wives, wives were not submissive to their husbands, and robbery escaped with impunity;" and his rigorously enforced code punished theft and adultery with death. Conversing one day with his generals, he asked them what they thought the chief pleasure of man. They all mentioned hunting. "No," replied Genghis, "the greatest enjoyment of man is to conquer his enemies, to drive them before him, to seize what they possess, to see the faces of the persons dear to them bathed in tears, and to press in his arms their daughters and their wives." His formidable, easily-moved, ever-ready, armies were not even encumbered with Sir Charles Napier's

bits of soap, the Tartars being forbidden by one of his laws to wash their clothes, which must be worn till used out—a law doubtless strictly observed by himself. He was a ferocious, brave, inexorable, sagacious, dirty savage. Like several other great conquerors, he latterly believed himself to be a special instrument of the Divine will. That he was such an instrument, though not for purposes of vengeance as he supposed, there can now be little doubt. For when he died, his dominions extended from the Baltic to the Japanese sea, embracing on the west Russia, on the east Corea. His sons and grandsons, following up his conquests, extended the Mongolian sway over the entire Asiatic continent, excepting the two peninsulas of India and Arabia, and over all European Russia, while their armies devastated Poland, Hungary and Silesia. European prisoners and soldiers in these armies, and adventurous merchants like Marco Polo, spread in Europe reports about an empire of incredible extent, wealth, and population at the extremity of Asia. This led to the memorable voyage of Columbus; which, again, led to the existence of a new state, destined far to exceed in wealth and grandeur that he went to seek, and the establishment of which was a great step towards the ultimate civilization of the world.

Argun, a great-great-grandson of Genghis, ruled in Persia and the adjacent countries, where, though himself but a viceroy, a vassal of the Grand Khan or Mongolian emperor at Peking, he numbered among his subject states the Christian kingdom of Armenia. The Mongols, heathens at bottom, were nearly indifferent to all forms of religion, and like the Chinese of the present day, ready to invoke the name of God whenever it suited their purpose. Their sway was therefore preferred by the kings of Armenia and Georgia to that of the proselyting Mohammedans of Egypt and Arabia, the inveterate enemies of Christianity, to whom they must have fallen a prey at the time European ardor for crusades began sensibly to cool, had not the Mongolian power just then opposed a check to these rival conquerors. They consequently gave themselves much trouble to get the Mongols and crusaders to act in concert, and the letter of Argun is one of the results of their efforts.

It says but little, and led to nothing at the time, but it has nevertheless considerable historical and literary value. It is curious, among other things, to observe from it how powerful the influence of the unvarying Chinese literature has been throughout Asia. This letter, written by a Tartar ruler of Persia 600 years ago, is modeled so strictly on Chinese forms that it might, in so far, have been issued from a Chinese yamun of the present day. The writer in a letter sealed with a seal conferred by his sovereign lord speaks as an undoubted superior

to the King of France, whose title he places low in the page, and to whom he conveys, with sufficient plainness, the intimation that it was his duty to have sent in the tribute of a vassal.

The seal bears the inscription 輔國安民之寶 "Seal of Supporter of the State and Pacifier of the People." Rémusat's translation is "Sceau du Ministre d'état, Pacificateur des peuples;" which I am obliged to think erroneous. From his own remarks it seems plain that he has mistaken the construction. The phrase 輔國 does form a portion of some customary titles; but here the words 輔 and 安 are both verbs, holding parallel relations to their respective objects 國 and 民, and an exactly similar relation to 寶.

During the reigns of Argun's successors, Gaikhatu, Gazan, and Öldshäitu, the Mongol armies began for the first time to suffer reverses. Syria was alternately occupied by them and the forces of the Egyptian sultans, but on the whole the fortune of war was against the Mongols, whose position in Persia became less secure. This may account for the more civil tone of Öldshäitu's letter. Argun merely answered briefly and haughtily in the affirmative to an overture made him: Öldshäitu commences a correspondence, and writes in a style of solicitation, though even he is careful to place the title of the sovereign he is addressing lower than his own. This letter says as little as the other; but they were doubtless merely intended as the credentials of the envoys sent with each, and who were empowered to treat of affairs in detail.

With respect to the seal, Rémusat says "it verifies a fact which is perhaps not otherwise known; that Khodabendah\* recognized, like the first princes of his dynasty, the supremacy of the khan or emperor of all the Tartars, who reigned at Peking. It has been asserted that Gazan, on coming to the Empire, had caused the name of the grand khans of Tartary on the coin current in his states to be effaced, and that he had declined to recognize these princes. If that be true, his successor must have himself renewed the bonds, which attached him to the head of his house, since he makes use under solemn circumstances, of the seal which he had obtained of him, and the inscription of which in Chinese characters proves at once his authority and his vassalage." The inscription, which is as usual in the ancient seal character, decipherable only by those who have made them a special object of study, he transcribes as follows:—

之萬系皇眞  
寶夷順帝命

\* The Persian name of Öldshäitu.

and translates it, "By a supreme decree, seal of the descendant of the emperor, charged to reduce to obedience the ten thousand barbarians (*Par un décret suprême sceau du descendant de l'empereur chargé de réduire à l'obéissance les dix mille barbares*). After taking the precautions that every disagreement with an accurate scholar like Rémusat requires, I am compelled to give a different interpretation to the inscription. Even allowing his transcription into Chinese characters of later times to be correct, his translation is a very forced one, separating as it does the fifth from the sixth character. But it is not correctly transcribed by him. Good native scholars, supported by the opinion of the first seal engraver in the city of Canton, a man of some note in his line, declare the fifth character to be 和 not 系. The ancient seal form of 和 has not indeed the thick lines at the bottom given in Rémusat's fac-simile, but our experience of the impressions of Chinese official seals on letters has taught us that too much vermilion on the seal constantly transforms its thin lines into thick ones in the impression.

The fifth character being 和, the whole reads idiomatic Chinese; and may be rendered "Seal of the Emperor truly decreed [by Heaven], for bringing to harmony the ten thousand barbarians;" that is to say the seal which the Emperor, whom the true decree of heaven has made such, uses when he writes for the purpose of bringing the barbarian nations into concord. It is usual that the inscription on a Chinese official seal should be explanatory of the duties of the holder, or of the business the documents to which it is affixed are written on. Thus when an insurrection in the empire becomes serious, a special officer is usually commissioned to suppress it, who gets the "Seal of the General charged to reduce the rebellious to order," or some similar one. This was given to general Yihshán sent to Canton during the English war, while Yihking in Chehkiáng held that with the inscription "Seal of the awe-spreading general." Now the reader will perceive how much better the new rendering of the inscription now under discussion agrees with the tone of Öldshäitu's letter than that of Rémusat. He lays great weight on "concord," but says nothing of "obedience." On the other hand my rendering makes the holder of the seal *Hwángtí* or Emperor, a title which no Chinese emperor would consent to give to a foreign sovereign. How then came this seal into the hands of the Persian ruler? The most credible solution of the problem this question raises seems to be the following: Those persons (probably Persian chroniclers) who Rémusat states, as above, to have asserted that Gazan, the predecessor

of Öldshäitu, refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the Chinese emperors, were correct: Öldshäitu followed his example; and the seal was not given him by any emperor of China but made by himself. This solution appears to reconcile all inconsistencies, accounting, among other things for the absence at the beginning of the letter of the phrase occurring in Argun's "by the auspices of the Emperor;" which Rémusat renders "par le grâce du khakan," and of which he says, "P'omission est surtout singulière dans une pièce marquéé d'un sceau accordé par le khakan." Old usage, which makes us still keep to Latin and Norman-French mottoes, may have determined Öldshäitu to continue the use of the Chinese seal characters, already in his day very ancient. Besides, it may be remarked here that one of the tutors provided by their father Argun for his elder brother Gazan was a learned Chinese; from whom, or from some colleague of whom, it is hardly too bold a presumption to assume that he also received instruction.

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LETTER OF ARGUN.

By the power of the eternal God, and the auspices of the Emperor Argun: Our word:—

King of France! Thou hast delivered to us through thy envoy Mar Bar-ssvema Sachora, the following message: "When the troops of the Il'khan take the field against Egypt, we shall set out from hence to join them."

Approving of this, thy delivered message, We now declare that We, trusting in God, will set out in the end of the winter month of the tiger year (1290), and on the fifteenth of the first spring month will encamp at Damascus. If thou, thy word truly holding, sendest thy troops at the time, and to the place fixed, We will, if We, by the help of God, conquer these peoples, deliver Jerusalem over to thee. Should the fixed period and place of meeting not be attended to, and the troops marched uselessly about, would that be proper? And if one is afterwards at a loss how to act, what advantage will one obtain? Further, it were well if thou, offering tribute by envoys of different tongues and languages, didst send in presents of the agreeable and rare things of France, together with pictures of various colors. How it is to be ordered must be decided by the power of God and the auspices of the emperor. Thus informing you, We send Müskäril\* Churtshi.

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\* Supposed to be the "Busquarel" of the old writers



## LETTER OF OLDŠHAITU.

Öldshäitu, Sultan, Our word.

King of France, Sultan! It can not have escaped you that you, the sultans of the Frankish nations, all from early times have lived in friendship with our noble great-grandfather, grandfather, father, and eldest brother, and that they, although distant, regarding each other as near, have mutually sent envoys with presents of greeting, in order to make various communications. Now as We have by the power of God ascended the great throne, let Us in nothing alter or depart from the policy of the former noble personages, Our grandfather, noble father, and brother, in what respects the established administration of the territories, agreed on by the former noble personages, but regarding the same as our oath, knit the friendship still closer than before, and always send envoys reciprocally to each other. These are Our thoughts.

Through the inciting words of bad people we, elder and younger brothers, have lived in mutual illwill. Now having obtained from God one heart, we descendants of Genghis Khan, who have warred against each other for forty-five years, and in particular Temu Khan, Toktogha, Chäbär, and Togha, have reconciled ourselves; and have united the people and reestablished friendly intercourse from the land of the Chinese where the sun rises, to the Talu lake. We have agreed that all shall fall united on any one among us who might think differently. And now how should We abandon your ways of friendship with the noble personages, Our grandfather, father, and brother. Thus informing you, We send the two envoys Mamuluk and Tumon. It has been reported to Us that you, the various sultans of the Franks live in concord; and truly what could there be better than concord? That we now by the power of God will fall with united force upon all opposed to concord, that may God know!

Our letter is written in the seven hundred and fourteenth year (of the Hejra), on the eighth day of the last half of the first summer month of the serpent\* year (1305).

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\* Each of the Chinese characters known as *ti ch'í* 地支 terrestrial branches, used in the names of their cycle of sixty years, has a certain animal appropriated to it as a rat, an ox, a tiger &c., whose names, though never used in authorized or standard Chinese works to denote time, are frequently so employed by other nations of Eastern and Central Asia.



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is a question which has been discussed at some length; we are inclined to think that it is indigenous, and that even the unimaginative Chinese architect would have produced something better than the simple nine-storied pagoda if he had tried to imitate the ornate pyramidal edifice of the Hindu. The similarity between the two is too slight, and the purposes for which they were erected too unlike, to lead us to suppose that one was copied from the other. The Chinese *ták* is somewhat connected with the Buddhist faith, and a few still have monasteries near them; but they are so much more closely related to the geomantic notions of this people, that they are not now much associated with the Buddhists. The remark of Rev. Mr. Milne, in reference to the Tower of Ningpo, "that the presence of such an edifice not only secures to the site the protection and favor of heaven if it already bears evidences of enjoying it, but represses any evil influences that may be native to the spot, and imparts to it the most salutary and felicitous omens," at once explains their purpose, and discloses the motive which has impelled the Chinese to erect such apparently useless buildings.

The number of pagodas in China is unknown, and there is some variety in their height and mode of construction, but their general aspect is marked with the same uniformity that attaches to everything architectural in this country. De Guignes has given drawings of seven, which he visited in his journey to Peking; the highest among them was near Káutáng chau in Shántung, and was eleven stories high. This writer seems at a loss to account for the fact that those erected near small towns are lower and smaller than those in cities, and supposes there may be some proportion demanded by usage between the size of the pagoda and the town; but the difference is owing probably entirely to the greater wealth of the city. This author mentions one of seven stories near Yángchau fú in Kiángsú nearly uniform in size to the top, the stories of which were merely divided by three rows of black bricks. He also speaks of many pagodas of five and seven stories in height:—indeed no district town or prefecture is considered to be complete without one of these felicitous structures, and they are probably as numerous as the district towns, though in many cases a cheap brick edifice of five stories is made to insure whatever of good luck the *ták* can bring.

The following account of the pagodas in the vicinity of Canton by a visiter to one or two of them, we introduce in connection with the preceding general observations, assured that our readers will be interested in its notices of these structures, which are such prominent

objects of sight and curiosity to every one who comes up the Pearl river to the City of *Rams*. A notice of an attempt to repair two of them will be found in Vol. IV., page 189, to which we refer the reader in connection with these notices.

“It was a cloudy fresh morning in the month of May, when I left Whampoa in company with a friend to visit the Second Bar Pagoda. The tide was in our favor, and as we rapidly drifted by the ships, and found ourselves beyond Blenheim Reach and going down the river, the boatmen began to throw out hints of the proximity of pirates, river thieves, and other evilminded people ; but not a word would we hear of all their misgivings. After a couple of hours' rowing we left the boat in a creek at the foot of the hill on which the pagoda stands, and went ashore at a farmhouse. The workmen in this establishment were a hearty set of fellows, and received us with loud protestations of goodwill asking us a variety of questions, and replying to our inquiries with much good humor. Their dwellings and the buildings for storing the grain, and the farming utensils, were arranged on two sides of a well made threshing-floor, above two hundred feet long. Many boats, apparently connected with the farmstead, lay in the creek, protected by a stout fence of wattles from marauders going up and down the river. The whole boat population came into the way, and after a few friendly words, we left them to proceed on our way. In passing through an avenue of fine plantain trees, which lay between the floor and the hill, I was led to observe the sagacity of the Chinese in planting this succulent vegetable in a spot where it would have plenty of nourishment in the driest weather, at the same time that its roots served to strengthen the bank, and its fallen leaves manure the adjacent fields.

“The pagoda stands on a bluff hill of old red sandstone; the side towards the river is quite precipitous, a narrow path leading up to the top. About half the way up this path, we reached a ledge a rod or more broad, and came to more quarries similar to those at the base, but much more extensive. These excavations showed that the Chinese were well acquainted with cutting out freestone. Myriads of tons had been removed, and the walls had been in most cases left perpendicular ; in their general aspect, they strongly reminded me of those at Silsilis on the Nile, though here the effects of moisture and vegetation had concealed most of the rubbish.

“As we mounted the brow of the hill, the landscape began to open upon us, and to increase in beauty as well as extent, so that by the

time we had reached the foot of the pagoda, we were fully repaid for the toilsome ascent, and the discomfort of getting wet and missing our path. The pagoda stood alone; not a building, nor anything was near to show that habitations had ever clustered around it; while the old citadel wall a few rods off indicated that this place had not always been thus lonely. The larger portion of the hill was covered with plats of vegetables and a few fields of rice, raised for the most part on numerous terraces, which gave the impression of former agricultural labors far greater than the present.

"We mounted by the stairs in the walls to the eighth story, meeting here a disjointed human skeleton, the remains of some poor wretch who had probably gone up in this lonely tower to die. The prospect around us was magnificent and picturesque in a high degree. From our lofty point of view, Lintin I. and the city of Canton were both visible, and the pagodas at Whampoa and Canton stood like guardians of the Inner Land. On the east, lay the wide expanse of the Pearl river, here called the Sea of Lions, and more than a mile wide; its further shore was once the scene of mortal strife during the late war with England; and its now peaceful waters were once illuminated by the lurid flames and explosion of the ship *Chesapeake*, on which and the raft before it, the Cantonese had fondly trusted for defense against the invaders. South, the barren hills about the Bogue shut out most of the prospect; but on the west and southwest, a plain stretched farther than the eye could reach, rendered picturesque by a succession of rice-grounds and other fields, villages embosomed in groves, and canals and rivulets running in every direction, whose course was apparent in many cases only by the masts and sails of boats peeping out of the rice fields; the whole showing the industry and thrift of the people. Hills bounded the horizon on the north, affording a pleasing transition from the plains in the other direction. Probably more than a hundred villages were in sight, and it was a melancholy reflection that all their industrious inhabitants were ignorant of the God who had spread out this fair expanse of fertility and beauty for their use.

"The stillness around us was the more pleasant in contrast to the noise of the Factories at Canton, and the feeling of repose which this quiet induced was deepened by the sight of the deserted citadel just below us, suggesting the toils and cares of its former human inmates—now all gone. Curiosity was excited to learn something of this ruin, and on since looking into a local topography, I have found a few notes respecting it and the pagoda, (usually called the *Lien-kuó táh*, or *Water Lily pagoda*,) which may interest other visitors, as they have me.

“ The *Shih Li* (Stone Whetstone) hill is about a *li* east of Golden Goose hill; it is 2000 cubits or so high, 10 *li* broad each way, and surrounded by water, which runs by it on each side, this hill rising abruptly in the centre. Below it is the Sea of Lions, and on its east is a stone precipice, rising high and steep, which resembles a lion in its form; in its bosom is a cave in which six or seven men can be seated, and a rill runs many hundred feet down it; this hill thus forms the defense of the Bogue. At this place there is a cliff called *Kin-láng*, or the Variegated Porch, because it can be paced along like a corridor for a hundred paces or more, and visitors go there and sit, sometimes getting their garments wet by the spray of the streamlet. The geomancers say that it is by five [hills like] beasts which here lock up and obstruct the flow of the waters, that the great sea is warded off from the entrance—a circumstance of great importance to the good luck of the capital. In the time of the Ming dynasty, Páng and Koh, two scholars in the district of Nánhái, took upon them to require rental of this hill, and invited traders to come and cut stone, which wounded the pulse of the ground, and caused sorrow and evil to the literary people around. In the year 1566, five *kujin* of the district, named Li, Liú, Lin, Liáng, and Tsui petitioned the government to prohibit the quarrying of stone, and then they erected a pagoda of nine stories on the summit, called *Shih-li* 石礪 or Stone Whetstone pagoda; it is situated below Whampoa I. and above Tiger I. In the days of Kángih, when the coast-people were removed into the interior, this place was fixed on as a limit, and a brick citadel was accordingly erected on the boundary line, with a camp and signal-fire tumuli; it is now called the *Lien-huá ching*, or Lily Flower citadel. Since the second year of Tsungching, in A.D. 1630, for a period of a hundred and more years, the quarries in this hill had been repeatedly opened and shut up; but latterly miscreants of the place in combination with the traitorous merchant Lán, surreptitiously got stone there as they pleased, the underlings of government receiving bribes therefor, and preventing any one from interfering—thus making the leak in the dam still wider. But in the 29th year of Kienlung, A.D. 1765, Doctor Ling and others petitioned their excellencies the provincial officers, who ordered two tablets to be erected, one in the citadel on the hill and the other in the literary chancellor's office in Canton, prohibiting stone to be taken from the quarries.”

“ From this it appears that this ruin is connected with one of the strangest freaks of despotism recorded in Chinese annals—that of ordering all the inhabitants of the coast to remove thirty miles into the interior to escape the ravages of a pirate from whom the imperial forces could not protect them. This event happened about 1665, so that this wall has stood not far from 180 years; not a vestige of the fire tumuli spoken of are to be seen, nor did we find the tablet ordering the quarries to be shut up, though perhaps a little search might bring it to light. The area inclosed by this wall is a few square

rods, and several piles of brick in it, covered with weeds, show where buildings once stood. The pagoda is built of brick throughout; one beam stretches across the eighth story to support a pillar which once projected beyond the top several feet, and was intended to call down good influences from heaven. The total height is 150 feet. It would be a difficult affair to reach the top, and I suspect none of the numerous visitors whose names are cut in the walls at the lookout window have ever undertaken it.

“ At the southern part of the hill is a small cave, and a solitary Buddhist, in the true ascetic spirit of his faith, has taken up his abode in it with a number of gilded idols, whom he serves. The inhabitants of a small town on the southwest no doubt furnish him food and praise enough for his support and encouragement in addition to the produce of his own gardening, to make his life comfortable. Not far from his cell is a singular well or shaft sunk in the rock about forty feet, but though there is water in it, one can not be sure it was dug for a well; perhaps this is the place where the stone-cutters ‘wounded the pulse of the ground,’ as the preceding account mentions.

“ We returned to our boat by a path which wound around the inland slope of the hill, enjoying the varied prospect before us. The frequent presence of foreigners in this region on shooting excursions after the wild fowl which abounds in these low grounds, has rendered the inhabitants well acquainted with them, so that no one who is disposed need hesitate to refresh himself with a visit to the Second Bar Pagoda.

“ As we approached Whampoa, its pagoda formed a prominent object of view, and as it is equally known by name with the other, I make a short extract from the same topography in explanation of its erection. Like that it is built of brick in an octagonal form, but the walls are thicker, and the stairs do not ascend regularly, but are cut in alternate flights on opposite sides. The floors or timbers which marked the several stories inside, and connected these stairways, have long since disappeared, so that now it is necessary to bring a stout plank to lay across from window to window as one goes up, pulling it up after him as the ascent is made. The pagoda rests upon a substantial stone plinth, each of its eight sides being marked with one of the mystical diagrams of Fuhí—in the eyes of the builders, doubtless considered to be essential to the prosperity of the building. It is finished off circularly inside instead of angularly to correspond to the outside; the height is not far from 180 feet. The native account of the *Hài Ngau táh* 海鰲塔 or the Whampoa Pagoda is as follows:—

“ In the southeastern part of the district of Pwányü, thirty *li* from Canton, an island rises out of the river, about a hundred cubits high, having three hillocks on it, like guitars in shape. In the reign of Wánli of the Ming dynasty, A. D. 1598, Kwoh Fí, Wáng Hieh-tsang, and Yáng Sui-yun, officers of the Imperial Banqueting House, requested permission of the lieutenant-governor and treasurer to build a nine storied pagoda, which standing prominently in the midst of the waters, would greatly add to the view. They named it *Hái-ngáu táh*, or the Sea Whale pagoda; on the north a hall was built for Shángti, and at its side a monastery called the *Hái-ngáu sz'*. The governors Tai Yáu and Chin Ták-ko, with the two fúyuen Kú and Liú, also subscribed for its erection.’

“ The buildings here mentioned are now deserted by the priests, and so dilapidated, that they are hardly inhabitable; while the grounds about them, the walls, gateways and everything else, show neglect and poverty—weeds having taken the place of flowers, and disorder of neatness and regularity. Ruin and solitude seem to be more in harmony, however, with these relics of olden time, and notwithstanding the zeal of some devout people, it is likely that the pagoda and its precincts will gradually become more neglected and ruinous, though it does not show symptoms of immediate falling.

“ From the Whampoa pagoda the Halfway pagoda stands in a westerly direction, by the side of a small creek, called Lob creek by the seamen, through which they sometimes pass to shorten their way in going up to Canton. This pagoda is surrounded by fields and habitations, and has not the neglected air of the other two, though like them its brick walls are crumbling, and low shrubbery on the projecting rooflets shows the progress of dilapidation. Its stairways are built like the Whampoa pagoda, and it is about the same height. I also subjoin a short extract concerning the *Chih Káng táh* from the same work which has furnished the preceding:—

“ The Red Stone Knoll is more than ten *li* south of Canton; it is red like cinnabar. The geomancers say there is a precious thing below it. In the days of the Táng dynasty, a man from the Fú-nán kingdom 扶南國 (Annám?) wished to buy it for ten thousand pieces of money, but the prefect replied, ‘It is the hill which protects the southern region, and can not be parted with.’ In the reign of Tienki of the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1621-28), Lí Shi-wan, a scholar of the district of Nánhái, took the lead in building a pagoda on the top of it in order to protect the river entrance to the prefecture and city; it is commonly called the *Chih Káng táh* 赤岡塔 or Red Knoll pagoda. There was once a Buddhist temple and pavilion to the God of Literature near it, and scholars often collected there to study and write, but these are now all destroyed.’



“The two pagodas within the walls of the city of Canton are not as conspicuous to persons coming up the river as their height would indicate, in consequence of the intervening city walls, masts, flagstaves, &c., which partly hide them. They are seen to good advantage, however, from the hills north of the city. The *Kwáng táh* 光塔 or Plain Pagoda, as it is commonly called, is remarkable, as it shows the wealth and power of the Mohammedans in Canton at the time it was erected, about a thousand years ago. The Mohammedans still reside in its neighborhood, and maintain a mosque for their religious services, which surrounds the base of the pagoda, it rising like a minaret from the centre. The Manchú garrison is also stationed in this quarter. The account of the Plain Pagoda given in the *Kwángchau Chai* is very meager:—

“‘The *Huá Shing sz*’ 懷聖寺, or Remembering-the-Holy Monastery, is situated within the city, and was built during the Táng dynasty by foreigners; it can be ascended by circuitous stairs. It is 165 cubits high. In the days of Ming, Abdallah, a foreign officer lived here with seventeen families. On the summit was a golden cock, which turned with the wind, and every year the foreigners used to go up to the top of it during the fifth and sixth moons about four o’clock in the morning, and call out with a loud voice, praying to the weathercock. In 1333, a typhoon threw down the golden cock, which was carried to the imperial treasury, and a copper one put up in its place; this was thrown down, and a [wooden] gourd put up, which was again thrown down in 1670.’

“If this notice is complete as regards its erection, it shows that the structure must be very solidly built, to have resisted the effects of climate and time; and though a few shrubs can be seen growing on the upper part, it is not ruinous. Not far from it stands the *Huá táh* 花塔 or Flowery Pagoda, as it is called for distinction’s sake, but as no foreigner can go in and see these erections, I can only give the native account, from which it appears that the Flowery Pagoda is a very ancient edifice, though not so old as its fellow:—

“‘The *Tsing Wei sz*’ 淨慧寺 (i. e. Placid Intelligence Monastery) is situated in the northwest part of Canton, under the jurisdiction of the Nánhái magistrate. In the time of the Eastern Hán (A.D. 25-190), the Longevity Monastery was erected on the spot, and a niece of the Imperial house of Liú dwelt there as a nun. In the reign of Tátung (A.D. 537), the lama Tányü erected a pagoda here to hold a relic, and called the edifice the Precious Dignified Monastery; this was recorded in a tablet put up about the year 620 by Wáng Poh. In 968, the name was changed to Tsing Wei; at this date the pagoda was dilapidated. About the year 1090, Lin Siú, the deputy district magistrate of Páukü in Shensi, took the lead in giving funds for rebuilding it.

He had fixed the limits of the ground, when a god appeared to him in a dream and told him to make the place broader; so he made it 45 cubits broad; on digging, he came to an ancient well, and found nine rings spread around the wall just where he had measured to build, and a huge tripod in which were discovered three swords and a mirror shining as bright as a newly buried Buddha's tooth; under these 'he foundations of the old pagoda were recognized. He collected laborers and procured tiles, and raised it 207 cubits, calling it the Tsing Wei monastery and 'Thousand Budhas' Pagoda. In the reign of Sháushing (A.D. 1095), the minister Sú Tungpo coming here called the monastery the Six Banians; and in 1374, half of it was taken down to erect a granary; two years after, the abbot Kienyü built a Buddhist temple on the east side of the pagoda, and changed the gate of the monastery to the east, ordering the priest Kin-pien to fast there very strictly. At present, the monastery receives the rental of about 240 acres. Next to the Kwáng-háu ss', or Bright Filial monastery, this is the most ancient in Canton.'

"A native friend tells me that the banians mentioned in this notice still exist, but I suppose this assertion is to be taken like the legend given of the mulberry tree near Cairo, under which the Virgin rested when she came into Egypt from her flight out of Judea—namely, that other banian trees stand where they did; for since the famous poet Sú Tungpo came to Canton, it has been sacked twice, and almost burned to ashes. These trees are, I think, cherished for the sake of the poet, and it is pleasant to find that in China too, genius can hallow spots in the eyes of posterity. The *Hwá táh* is a good deal out of repair, and the citizens are no longer allowed to ascend it as formerly to enjoy the prospect, lest accidents occur.

"These five are all the pagodas visible when ascending the Pearl river, but according to the same work from which I have before quoted, there are fifteen others in this department alone, of which I have seen only the one near Hiángshán town, a lofty spire nearly 200 feet high perched on a hill fully 500 feet above the river, and forming one of the most conspicuous objects in that region. On asking a native friend the reason why none have been built during the present dynasty, he says the *fung-shwui* doctors, or geomancers, now decry them as bringing ill luck, and that they have gone out of fashion in these days. People now erect *wan táh* 文塔 or literary pagodas, three stories high, and dedicate them to the God of Literature, whose image is usually found enshrined in them. This, he remarks, indicates the literary taste of the present day, but I tell him I think it proves the poverty and want of spirit of the people nowadays to be content with a *wan piá* or mere writing-pencil, which these are modeled after and usually called, while their ancestors put up solid structures two hundred feet high, and calculated to last a thousand years."

**ART. V. *Version of the Old and New Testaments in Chinese: proceedings of the Protestant missionaries at the several ports, and of their delegates at Shánghái, relative thereto; Resolutions adopted August 1st, 1850.***

FROM the Committees of Delegates, now engaged at Shánghái on the revision of the Chinese version of the Sacred Scriptures, we have received two Resolutions, with permission to lay the same before our readers. Before doing this, however, we will bring down the narrative of proceedings, relative to the work, which has so long been an object of interest to many, viz., *an improved version* of the Holy Bible. This work, it will be remembered, was undertaken by Protestant missionaries of various denominations, assembled at Hongkong in 1843. Delegates, elected in pursuance of measures then adopted, assembled at Shánghái in June, 1847; and finished their revision of the *New Testament* at their session on 24th of July, as mentioned on page 464, having had the work in hand somewhat more than three years. This may seem a long time, yet perhaps not, if the nature and difficulties of the work be duly considered. In writing as above, "finished their revision," we do not understand that the Delegates have no more to do in endeavoring to improve the version; and we will revert to it again after giving some account of what has been done with reference to a version of the *Old Testament*, and introduce the two Resolutions alluded to above.

The plan of having the work of preparing the improved version of the Sacred Scriptures in Chinese, apportioned to the missionaries at the several stations, having failed in a great measure with regard to the *New Testament*, it was not deemed advisable to adopt the same plan with regard to the *Old Testament*. Entertaining these views the Committee of Delegates, engaged on the version of the *New Testament* at Shánghái, passed the three following Resolutions, December 18th, 1849:—

"1st. That the plan of having the existing translations of the Sacred Scriptures portioned out for revision among the local committees of stations, recommended at the original meeting (at Hongkong in 1843), with reference to the *New Testament* be not adopted with regard to the *Old*,—because, on trial, that plan has been found to consume much time and to be productive of but little benefit, it being (as the secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society remarked) beautiful in theory, but unsatisfactory in practical application.

"2d. That the work of revising the versions of the Old Testament in Chinese be placed in the hands of a Committee of Delegates, who shall be appointed for that purpose by the several local Committees hereinafter to be mentioned, and who shall be the final judges of the version.

"3d. That the Protestant missionaries, who are interested in the original plan of revising the Chinese versions of the Sacred Scriptures, and located at the following places,—viz. Canton, Hongkong, Amoy, Fuhchau, Ningpo, and Shánghái—be recommended to form local Committees at their respective stations, which local Committees shall be entitled each to send one or more delegates at their option; it being understood, however, that the delegate or delegates from any one local Committee shall only be entitled to one vote."

These three Resolutions were immediately communicated to the missionaries resident at the abovenamed places; and, consequent thereon, delegates were elected. It was also determined, by resolutions passed by a majority of these six stations, that Shánghái should be the place of meeting, and the time the first of July 1850, or as soon after that date as practicable,—it being deemed proper that the delegates employed on the New Testament should complete their work, before those for the Old should commence their sessions. At length, the work on the New Testament being nearly completed, the first of August was agreed upon as the day for the meeting of the delegates, elected to form the Committee for the preparation of the version of the Old Testament. Accordingly, so many of those delegates as were present at Shánghái on that day, assembled and organized themselves into committee; and immediately proceeded to their work on the Old Testament.

On the two following Resolutions, both passed the same day by the two Committees (the one on the New Testament and the other on the Old), we offer no remarks, further than to note the fact, that thereby the two Committees are relieved from any further discussion of, or action on, a most perplexing question. The meetings, at which these resolutions were passed, were held at the residence of Dr. Medhurst.

"Shanghái, August 1st, 1850.

"Present, Drs. Medhurst, Boone, and Bridgman, and the Rev. Messrs. Stro-nach and Milne; the following passed unanimously:

"The Committee of Delegates, engaged on the version of the translations of the New Testament in Chinese, having now completed their work, the words Θεός and Πνεῦμα being left untranslated, according to the resolution of the Committee of Delegates passed in 1847, do hereby *Resolve*,

"That the version, as it now stands, be offered to the Bible Societies of Europe and America, and to all and every one of the Protestant missionaries at present engaged, or who may hereafter be engaged, in the work of evangelizing China; with the understanding that all parties who shall make use of

this version shall refrain from altering the text, as now given out by this Committee, who reserve to a majority of their own body the right to make any alterations therein: this last restriction, however, not to extend to those who differ from us with respect to the rendering of the word *Βασιλεῖω*, which is to be left open to various renderings, according to the Resolution of the General Committee passed in 1843.

"The vote of the members of the Committee of Delegates, being equally divided on the rendering of the words *Θεός* and *Πνεῦμα*, this version must either leave their hands with the blanks that have been left for these words, or be laid aside as useless, unless an appeal be taken to some other parties to fill these blanks; to which appeal this Committee can not agree. Under these circumstances, being fully persuaded that several parties will issue on their own responsibility, versions that differ in the rendering of the words *Θεός* and *Πνεῦμα*, and believing that said diversity of rendering will cause less injury if all parties use the same version, instead of having different versions as well as various renderings of these important words:

"The Committee of Delegates resolve, as before mentioned, to offer the version as it now stands, to the Bible Societies of Europe and America, and to all the other parties abovementioned, throwing upon said parties all the responsibility of any action with respect to the version thus offered to them, which they may severally deem it best to take for the spread of the Gospel in China, the Committee of Delegates feeling themselves released from any further responsibility with respect to the rendering of the words *Θεός* and *Πνεῦμα* by their inability to come to any decision in regard to it in their body.

"True Copy,

E. C. BRIDGMAN, *Recording Secretary.*"

"Shanghai, August 1st, 1850.

"Present, Drs. Medhurst, Boone, and Bridgman, and the Rev. Messrs. Stronach, Milne, Shuck and Culbertson, the following was passed unanimously:

"A paper, stating the grounds on which the Committee of Delegates for the version of the New Testament had agreed to offer to the Bible Societies of Europe and America, and to all the Protestant missionaries in China, their version of the New Testament in Chinese, with the words *Θεός* and *Πνεῦμα* untranslated, having been read, Dr. Boone proposed the following Preamble and Resolution, which being seconded by Mr. Stronach, was unanimously carried:

"Whereas, a majority of the Committees at the local stations having determined, that the rendering of the words *El, Eloah, Elohim* and *Ruach*, shall be excepted from the decision of the Committee of Delegates appointed for the revision of the translations of the Old Testament in Chinese, it is therefore,

"Resolved, that this Committee, with a view to place the rendering of the words *God* and *Spirit* in the Old Testament on the same basis as they have been put in the New Testament, will offer each successive portions of the Old Testament, as it shall be completed by them, to the Bible Societies of Europe and America, and to all the Protestant missionaries in China, leaving the

words *El, Eloah, Elohim*, and *Ruach*, when they correspond to the words God, a God, Gods, and to the word Spirit, untranslated; throwing upon the abovementioned parties all the responsibility of taking such action with respect to the version of the several parts of the Old Testament thus offered to them, as they shall severally deem best for publishing God's holy word among the Chinese.

"The Committee in making this offer of their version to the Bible Societies, and to the Protestant missionaries in China, wish it to be distinctly understood, that they shall expect all parties who publish editions thereof to refrain from altering the text given out by this Committee, who reserve to a majority of their own body the right to make any alterations therein.

"The Committee feel themselves as a body released from the responsibility of making any decision with respect to the rendering of the words *Elohim* and *Ruach*, by the action of the majority of the local Committees, by which action the right to render these words is withheld from this Committee.

"True copy, E. C. BRIDEMAN, *Recording Secretary.*"

There is yet one other Resolution which we are able to lay before our readers; it will bring up the point to which we alluded above. It was passed at a full meeting of the Delegates, April 2d, 1850:—

"Resolved, that as we proceed with the revision, copies of each book, when completed, shall be sent to such of the local Committees as request them,—it being understood, that the missionaries at said stations defray the expense of transcribing their respective copies, and also that they do not publish the same without the consent of this Committee."

The "revision" here spoken of is of the version of the N. T., preparing and revising which has engaged the attention of the Committee for nearly three years. In a preamble to the above resolution, the object of sending copies of each book to the local Committees is stated to be, "that suggestions and criticisms may be elicited for consideration previously to the separation of this Committee." Now as all the delegates forming the first Committee have been elected members of the second, the period for their separation will, we suppose, terminate only with the completion of the entire work. We draw attention to this point, because, if we have taken the correct view of the case, the delegates for the version of the New Testament, while they, by their resolution of August, "offer the version as it now stands to the Bible Societies, &c.," do still "reserve to a majority of their own body the right to make any alterations therein." This is an important provision, for by it any one, interested in the improvement of this version of the New Testament, will have opportunity to bring to the notice, and urge on the attention of the Committee every and all "criticisms and suggestions" he may think worthy of further consideration.

Manuscript copies of the version of this New Testament are already, we presume, in the hands of most of the missionaries now in China; and we understand that it is the purpose of different parties to put it immediately to press, said parties filling up the blanks so as to accord with their own respective views. This early printing of the version will not we hope, prevent it from receiving the closest possible examination by all the missionaries, with a view to further improvements, ere the separation of the Committee. We rejoice to know that several very able and competent judges have declared themselves highly pleased with the version. A variety of opinions however, there doubtless will be; and it will be strange indeed if all are favorable. We say, Give it a full and fair trial; and to such as have the ability, we say, Improve it all you can. Whoever will point out its errors, and bring forward suggestions requisite for their correction, will do good service.

We have also received a copy of the following Preamble and Resolution adopted by the Committee of Delegates on the New Testament, Shánghái, August 11th, 1850.

“WHEREAS a diversity of opinion exists respecting the intention of this Committee in regard to criticisms and suggestions which may be sent to them for the improvement of their version, after it shall have been put to press; and *whereas* all the Delegates forming this Committee have been elected members of the Committee on the Old Testament, therefore un-  
“animously

“Resolved, that this Committee will give all due attention to the criticisms and suggestions, which may be sent to them, as well after as before the version is put to press; and that they do not propose to put the version out of their hands, finally, till such time as the Committee on the Old Testament is prepared to take the same step in regard to its version.”

ART. VI. *Tenets of the Budhists, and laws respecting their idols in Siam.* By A CORRESPONDENT.

BUDHISM is a system of atheism. According to its religious teachers and their sacred books, they have no God, no supreme Being who made the world, whom they fear or venerate, or who will call them to account, or reward or punish them for their deeds. Reward follows merit, and punishment follows wickedness, as a certain consequence. Hence an accumulation of good deeds such as building temples and

feeding priests, secures either in the present or some of the numerous future states of being through which they are to pass, a reward of happiness; while wickedness, such as taking animal life, will be followed with a sure penalty of suffering, either in the present or some future state of being. But no God, nor intelligent agent, has any part in awarding these premiums and penalties; they follow as a necessary sequence.

Godama, the last god of the Budhists, according to their own chronology, died B.C. 543. He is said to be the 25th Budha, and the 4th of the present *kulpa*, or world. One more Budha, viz., *Maitree*, is expected during the present world. Godama was of princely birth; his native place was on the banks of the Ganges, some three or four hundred miles from its mouth. Near his birth-place are the present Patna and Benares—two places famed for the production of opium. Thus the same district may claim the honor of furnishing the world with two specifics for putting people to sleep. One reduces its votaries to a temporary dream of happiness from which they soon awake to real misery; the other promises its disciples, as the reward of their meritorious services, an absorption into *nothingness!* The Budhists do not imagine that Godama himself in any sense is now existent, but verily believe that when he died, his intellectual being which had till then, constituted his identity throughout the various stages of his transmigratory existence became absolutely *extinct*. The disciples of Budha, now including so many millions of the human race, have no god to fear, no god to worship, no god to punish or protect them,—since, according to their own theory, Godama, more than two thousand years ago, passed into absolute annihilation.

The images of Budha represent a human figure in a symmetrical form with a sleepy countenance, having the toes as well as the fingers all of equal length, and the ears extending to the shoulders. These are made of iron, or brass, or of bricks and mortar, of the size of a man and in a sitting posture; the images vary in size from those of a finger's length to some so immense that they might class with the wonders of the world. One has been seen in Siam which measures *one hundred and thirty feet in length*, and is made in good proportions, lying in a reclining posture, and gilded from head to foot. At times more than a hundred of these gilded images, six feet high, are found surrounding a single temple, with one 40 or 50 feet high within.

The Budhist priests wear a yellow robe, shave their heads, and collect their meals in person by going at early dawn from house to house with a rice-pot to receive from the people their food already cooked, which they eat before the middle of the day. They may take tea and fruits



after high noon, but not rice ; and they may eat animal food, but must not take animal life. They may make their own garments, row their own boats, &c., but are not allowed to engage in remunerative employments, nor hold offices of government. They live a life of celibacy, and some of them perhaps a life of chastity. They preach, or tell stories, at funerals or festivals, when invited at private houses, for which they receive pay. They also preach at the houses of the nobles when invited, as well as at the temples, and recite prayers at the temples morning and evening.

These prayers are recited from books written in the *Bali*, or sacred character. The *Bali* is a dialect of the Sanscrit, and has been employed by the Buddhists since the time of Godama, in like manner as the Sanscrit has been used by the Brahmins. The Buddhists' sacred books are said to number 3,683 volumes, and contain 84,000 sections. They are written on the palm leaf by means of the stile, each leaf being 4 inches wide and 24 inches long, written on each side. Twenty-four of these leaves make a volume, or more properly a *bundle*, since they are bound or tied together by means of a string passing through the centre of each leaf. One of these volumes may be read in about an hour. The word *Bali* has by some been supposed to mean the *text*, but among the 3,683 volumes, all written in this sacred character, some are doubtless commentaries on original works, and both text and commentaries are included in the list of Budhistical sacred books. The *Bali* language is written in a different character in different countries. In Camboja, Laos and Siam, it is written in the Cambojan character ; in Burmah, in a different character, and in Ceylon with still another ; but in all of them, the language and its pronunciation is essentially the same. Few of the priesthood understand more than the sound of the words, not troubling themselves about the signification. During the life time of Godama, Budhism found its way into many of the central countries of India, and numbered among its supporters men of wealth and power. About two hundred years after his death, it was driven by Brahminical persecution to seek an asylum in the island of Ceylon, which has long been regarded as its stronghold and headquarters. It is now the prevailing religion of China, Annam, Camboja, Laos, Siam, Burmah, &c.

In Siam, no other faith is allowed among the people by government, and the laws respecting the usage of the images of Budh, and the penalties for injuring them are severe. The following extracts from the code of laws (Section on Theft and Robbery,) show the reverence attached to them :—

**SUB-SECT. 47.**—If any malicious thief shall steal an image of Budh, whether made of gold, silver, precious stones, pinchbeck, nickel, copper, or lead, or any other material; and go and sell it, or destroy it, or has not yet succeeded in selling or destroying it; if he can be apprehended, let him be examined and all his friends and accomplices, and if found guilty, let each be flogged 60 lashes; let the feet and hands of all his accomplices be cut off, and then fined 700,000 cowries out of respect to the image of Budh. As for the thief himself, let him be slain to pay for his wickedness, and thus finish it.

**SUB-SECT. 48.**—If a thief steal an image of Budh, and use various devices for getting off its ornaments, as washing, smelting, &c., let him be put into a furnace and treated in the same way as he treated the image, and thus pay for his wickedness; and make thorough work of it.

**SUB-SECT. 49.**—If any thief strip a Buddhist image of its gold or gilding, let him be taken to a public square, and a redhot iron rubbed over him till he is stripped of his skin as he stripped the image, and thus pay for his crime. If a thief scrape off the gold, or ornaments of a Buddhist image, pagoda, temple, or sacred fig-tree, and on apprehension, it be proved against him, let his fingers be cut off, or at least let him be flogged 60 lashes. If he is not flogged, let him be fined double the value of restoring the image, &c. If he destroys such things repeatedly, let him be publicly exposed by land and water for three successive days, then let his head be cut off, and his breast cut open that none may follow his example. If those whose business it is to guard the images, avert the thief in his depredations, and it can be proved against them, let them be put to death; but if those guardians have been slaves for several generations let them be flogged 60 lashes, fined to the limit of their means, removed, and other guardians appointed in their stead.

**SUB-SECT. 50.**—If any malicious person steal articles belonging to Budh, his law or priesthood, such as jewels, rings, silver, or gold, clothing, or other things which have been dedicated to Budh, his law or priesthood—if he steal them to sell, or steal the sacred books to sell; let him be punished as other thieves, then placed in the pillory and exposed, that his example may not be followed; let him be flogged 60 lashes, his fingers cut off, and he fined four times the value of the stolen articles.

**SUB-SECT. 51.**—If the relatives or servants of any person who strips off the gold or ornaments of any image of Budh, or any pagoda, or temple, or consecrated shed, or priest's dwelling, or cut down a sacred banian tree; whether those relatives be rulers, or common people or slaves, if they are aware of his guilt, and do not bring and deliver him up to the authorities, let them be brought to the Court that they may be punished as transgressors liable to eight kinds of penalties:—viz. 1. to be put to death; 2. to have their mouths cut off; 3. to have all their goods confiscated, and themselves made to cut grass for the elephants; 4. to be flogged from 25 to 50 lashes; 5. to be disabled from all civil functions; 6. to be fined fourfold; 7. to be fined twofold; 8. to be fined one fold. Either of these penalties to be inflicted at the discretion and direction of the sovereign.

**SUB-SECT. 52.**—If any malicious person stealthily destroy any priest's dwelling, bridge, or consecrated shed, let him be obliged to repair the damage;—and then flogged from 30 to 60 lashes, and delivered over to his master. If he dig into or undermine a Buddhist image, a pagoda, or temple, he is liable to punishment in three ways; 1. to be killed; 2. to have his fingers cut off; 3. to be flogged sixty lashes.\*

J. T. J.

\* The above extract is taken from the Siamese Code in 55 Vols., written on the black book and sold for 120 ticals (about \$72); the work is now printing at the Mission press at Bangkok at the expense of a Siamese nobleman, and will be furnished in the printed form for about 20 ticals, the whole contained in two volumes.

ART. VII. *Corrections in the Inscription on the Syrian Monument, erected in A. D. 781, contained in Vol. XIV.*

IN our fourteenth volume, pp. 202-222, a copy of this inscription was given, taken from Kircher's *China Illustrata*. Recently, by the kindness of William Lockhart, Esq. of Shánghái, we have obtained what purports to be a copy of the Inscription, printed from the stone monument itself: if such be the fact, then of course this copy is a *facsimile* of the inscription. Dr. Lockhart's copy was given to him by some of the Roman Catholics. In Vol. XIV., there are three translations; and as we suspected at the time, there are some errors in the Chinese characters; we now give a list of them, noting the places where they occur. We also improve this opportunity to correct a few other errors, which we have detected in the same notice. In the heading on Vol. XIV. page 201, the monument is said to have been erected in A. D. 718; the date given on page 222, A. D. 781, or the 3d year of the reign of Kienchung is the correct one.

In the introductory note on page 201, it is stated that there are 28 lines in the inscription of 26 characters each, which would make 728 characters; but there are in fact, according to this impression, 1,764 Chinese characters on the monument, besides the names of the priests in Syriac. The heading given from Kircher on the top of page 202 is wanting in the copy before us. The corrections are as follows:—

*Corrections in the Chinese text.*

Vol. XIV. Page 202, 3d column from the right hand, and 10th character from top; for 阿 read 阿. in the proper name Aloah.

Page 204, 3d column, 6th character, for 道 read 迫; the first is an incorrect form of the second.

Page 208, 3d column, 11th character, for 祝 read 祀; the translation is correct, "9th year of Chingkwán," i. e. A.D. 636.

Page 208, 6th column, 9th character, for 特 read 持; the translation is correct.

Page 210, 5th column, 21st character, for 統 read 浣; the translation would then read, "The country produces a cloth that can be cleansed by fire."

Page 218, 6th column, 18th character, for 徒 read 徒; the translation is correct.

Page 220, 4th column, 22d character, for 那 read 邦; the version is correct.

Page 202, 2d column, 16th character, for 惟 read 唯; and in the next column, 4th character, for 無 read 无; the first alteration also occurs on page 208, 1st column, 1st character.

Page 204, 1st column, 3d character from bottom, for 托 read 託; 5th column, 5th and 6th characters, 睹耀 read 覩耀.

Page 206, 3d column, 3d character from bottom, for 震 read 振; 7th column, 3d character, for 切 read 功; and change the sentence "Anxious to make it clear and manifest," to "Its practice illustrates it clearly."

Page 208, 1st column, 6th character, for 宏 read 弘.

Page 210, 3d column, 16th character, for 汎 read 汎; same column, 3d character from bottom, for 蹟 read 極; 5th column, 1st character, for 鼠 read 衆, which shows that "Shúpáu" is not a proper name, and the version should read, "On the north by hills bearing all precious things." Same page and column, 10th character, for 林 read 枝.

Page 214, 3d column, last character, for 榜 read 榜; 4th col. 2d character, for 載 read 戴.

Page 216, 4th column, 16th and 17th characters, for 靜專 read 肅靜.

Page 218, 2d column, 6th character, for 傳 read 博; same column, 14th character, for 廷 read 庭.

Page 220, 3d column, 15th character, for 貫 read 冠; the version "in reason joining all that was possessed by former kings," should read, "who wore his crown [better than] former kings." Same page, 4th column, 14th character, for 設 read 殛; 5th column, 2d character, for 纘 read 纂; same column, 10th character, for 敵 read 敵; same column, 12th character, for 徧 read 遍; 7th col 2d char., for 療 read 療, but the first seems to be the correct reading.

Page 222, 3d column, 5th character, for 翠 read 萃; the whole sentence may now be read, "and in the recesses of the moon (i. e. the palace) all were assembled."

Page 222, 4th. column, 19th character, for 蜜 read 密; same column, 22d character, for 言 read 景; and in the translation, instead of "Word," read "Illustrious." Same page, 6th column, 13th character, for 持 read 時, and leave out the word "special" in the version.

In all these corrections, where no change in the translation is noticed, the alteration of the character does not affect the meaning, or else the translation is already the right one.

In Dr. Lockhart's copy, taken from the stone, the groundwork is black, the characters standing out in white relief. The dimensions of this black-ground, showing the size of the engraving, are sixty-six inches long, and thirty-four and one half inches broad. In the Latin version, the words 眞主阿羅訶 are rendered "veritas Dominus *hology*;" what the Nestorian Christians intended by these words is not very clear; if the first and second, *Chin chú*, were, like *Tien chú*, intended for *Elohim*, the remaining three might be considered as in apposition. We are not aware that the Nestorians ever attempted to translate the Bible, and we are left in doubt, therefore, whether they intended *Chin-chú* and *Aloah* to stand in apposition or not. When we made the translation given in Vol. XIV., we supposed that *Chin chú* was to be regarded as the *T'ien chú*, and *Aloah* as a transfer of the proper name Jehovah.

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ART. VIII. *Topography of the province of Kánsuh; its boundaries, mountains, lakes, rivers, divisions, cities, population, productions, historical notices, &c.*

WHEN Du Halde compiled his geographical notices of China, this province formed part of Shenaf, and was ruled by a deputy stationed at Lánchau fú, and the nomadic tribes within its borders were kept in subjection by garrisons at important points. Since that time, the increase of the population and the quiet of the region, has led to a division of the province, and the substitution of civil for military jurisdiction, though the garrisons have not been withdrawn. The words *Kán Suh* 甘肅 mean Voluntary Respect, and are obtained by combining the names of the two departments Kánchau and Suh near the termination of the Wall. Since the division, the limits of Kánsuh have been extended across the Desert of Gobi to include Barkoul and other towns lying in the valleys of the Tien-shán. Its extreme points extend from lats. 32½° to 45° N., and longs. 85° to 106° E.; the outline is irregular, not unlike an hourglass in form, the neck of which is at Kánchau fú. The longest line which can be drawn in the province, from lake Ayar in the nothwest to Pingliáng fú, is upwards of a thousand miles; in Kánchau fú at Yungcháng hien, between the R. Edsinei and the Kílien Mts., the breadth is hardly forty miles.

The total area is computed at 400,000 square miles, of which one third lies within the Great Wall, and the remainder includes the Desert and the department of Barkoul. Probably one half of Kánsuh is a wilderness, unsusceptible of cultivation, and traversed by caravans and wandering hordes of Sunites and other Mongols.

It is bounded on the north by the Great Wall, which separates it from Inner Mongolia, by the Dzassaktu khanate, and by Kúr Kara-úsú, a part of Ílí; east by Sheusí and Mongolia; south by Sz'chuen and Koko-nor; and west by the latter and Harashar, a district of the Southern Circuit of Ílí. It is probable, however, that these limits are much better defined on the Chinese maps than they are in these wastes themselves.

The mountains in Kánsuh comprise the lofty ranges of the Peh-ling and the Kilien 祁連, in the eastern part, and the Tien-shán in the western. The Peh-ling 北嶺 is a name applied by foreigners to the range which extends from the Bayankara eastward through the south of Kánsuh into Shensí, forming the watershed of the Yellow and Yángtsz' rivers, and which bears many names among the Chinese. Some of its peaks rise above perpetual snow. The Kilien is a well defined range, inclosing the valley of the Azure Sea on the north, and separating this vast depression from the Desert, and the shut up valley of the R. Edsinei. Many of the conspicuous peaks of both these ranges bear particular names. The Teng-kiri 騰格里 Mts. (Tokty or Erin-kabirgan Mts.) constitute the eastern portion of the Tien shán or Celestial Mts., no part of which rise as high as the peaks further west. Arable tracts exist in some parts, and a vast number of small streams flow through their valleys, and lose their waters in the desert on the east side.

The rivers of Kánsuh are numerous; all of them are tributaries of the Yellow river, or else inland streams having no connection with the ocean. The Yellow river enters the province at Kweiteh ting, and flows in an easterly and northeasterly course to Ninghiá fú, a distance of about 600 miles. Its confluents during this part are the Tátung and Chwángláng ho on the north, and the Tahiá and Táu ho on the south, all of which join it within fifty miles west of Lánchau. Besides these four, the Tsúlí ho and Tsing-shwui ho, which flow in between the capital and Ninghiá, are the only branches of the Yellow river in Kánsuh. The southern departments are watered by the numerous branches of the King and Wei rivers, which drain off the superfluous waters of the Peh-ling into Shensí; the Kúshwui 苦水河 (Bitter-water R.) and Málien ho 馬連河 are the largest of these headwaters.

North of the Kilien Mts. are two rivers, each over 200 miles long, the Edsinei and Purunki, which lose themselves in desert lakes. The Edsinei or Etzina river flows from the northern acclivities of the Kilien east of the Pass of Kiáyü, in many streams, the whole of which, north of the Wall, at last combine into two, the Edsinei 額濟納 and Tola 滔賴, and these finally into one, which falls into the Sobo and Sogok lakes, both called Kü-yen hái 居延海 on the Chinese maps. The upper streams flow through a fertile region, and the cities of Kánchau, Suh and Káutái lie on them; but beyond the Wall, the towns are few. One of the roads to Barkoul runs north along the eastern bank to the lake, and there are several settlements of Mongols in the bottom lands.

The R. Purunki 布隆吉河 runs westerly. It takes its rise in a marshy depression between the Wall and Ngánsí, where many small streams unite and flow west for about 70 miles, when their waters are nearly doubled by the R. Sirgalzin 西爾噶爾遜河; this has a course of about 80 miles from the southeast. The united stream, after running about 80 miles further, loses itself in lake Kara 哈喇 in long. 93° E. Between the R. Purunki and R. Tola, there are two short rivers running parallel with each other about fifty miles north, which lose themselves in two small lakes, the Alak-nor 阿拉克泊 and Altan-nor 達巴遜泊. The valleys are fertile and cultivated. Besides these streams in eastern Kánsuh, there are scores of small ones running among the valleys of the Teng-kiri Mts., but only two of them empty into lake Ayar.

Lake Ayar 阿雅爾泊 lies in the extreme northwest, north of the Tengkiri Mts. in lat. 45° N. and long. 86° E.; it is about fifty miles long and twenty broad. The R. Loklun 羅克倫河 empties into it after a course of about 200 miles. The great Lake Lop 羅布泊 is placed within the confines of Kánsuh on Chinese maps; this sheet of water receives the Tarim river, the largest inland stream in the world. Lake Lop occupies an extensive depression in lat. 41° N., and long. 87° E., on the western side of the desert; it is surrounded by marshes and small lakes, and lies in a region of wild desolation. Near Barkoul, there is a lake about a hundred miles in circuit, called Lake Barkoul 巴爾庫爾; the region around it is fertile and well peopled. Two small lakes south of Lake Kara, called the Great and Little Serteng 色爾騰, complete the list of lakes in Kánsuh. All of them are probably salt, and none of them are connected with the ocean.

The Desert of Gobi divides Kánsuh into two portions totally unlike in their productions and climate; and even in population, language, manners, and government, there is almost as great a difference as in natural features. That part lying within the Great Wall is Chinese in all its characteristics, that beyond the Desert is still Mongolian and nomadic, despite of the civilizing tendencies and efforts of the Chinese sway. The former is under a civil government, the latter is still essentially a military rule; but during the last fifty years, the process of assimilation and concord between the heterogeneous materials has probably been more rapid than during the two centuries preceding. The whole province is now subdivided into fifteen departments, comprising sixty-five districts, according to the following list.

I. *Lánchau fú* 蘭州府, or the Department of Lánchau, contains seven districts, viz., 1 ting, 2 chau, and 4 hien.

- |                    |                     |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1 皋蘭 Káulán,       | 5 靖遠 Tsingyuen,     |
| 2 狄道州 Yintáu chau, | 6 河州 Ho chau,       |
| 3 金縣 Kin hien,     | 7 循化廳 Siunhwá ting. |
| 4 渭源 Wei-yuen,     |                     |

II. *Pingliáng fú* 平涼府, or the Department of Pingliáng, contains six districts, viz., 1 ting, 2 chau, and 3 hien.

- |                    |                       |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 平涼 Pingliáng,    | 4 鹽茶廳 Yenchá ting,    |
| 2 華亭 Hwátíng,      | 5 隆德 Lungteh,         |
| 3 固原州 Kúyuen chau, | 6 靜寧州 Tsingning chau. |

III. *Kungcháng fú* 鞏昌府 or the Department of Kungcháng, comprises ten districts, viz., 1 ting, 1 chau and 8 hien.

- |                  |                     |
|------------------|---------------------|
| 1 隴西 Lungsí,     | 6 岷州 Min chau,      |
| 2 漳縣 Cháng hien, | 7 洮州廳 Táuchau ting, |
| 3 寧遠 Ningyuen,   | 8 安定 Ngánting,      |
| 4 伏羌 Fuhkiáng,   | 9 通渭 Tungwei,       |
| 5 西和 Sího,       | 10 會寧 Hwuining.     |



IV. *Kíngyáng fú* 慶陽府, or the Department of Kingyáng, comprises five districts, viz., 1 chau and 4 hien.

- |      |            |      |            |
|------|------------|------|------------|
| 1 安化 | Ngánhwá,   | 4 環縣 | Hwán hien, |
| 2 正寧 | Chingning, | 5 合水 | Hohshwui.  |
| 3 寧州 | Ning chau, |      |            |

V. *Ninghiá fú* 寧夏府, or the Department of Ninghiá, comprises five districts, viz., 1 chau and 4 hien.

- |      |            |      |           |
|------|------------|------|-----------|
| 1 寧夏 | Ninghiá,   | 4 中衛 | Chungwei, |
| 2 寧湖 | Ningsoh,   | 5 平羅 | Pinglo.   |
| 3 靈州 | Ling chau, |      |           |

VI. *Síning fú* 西寧府, or the Department of Síning, comprises five districts, viz., 2 ting and 3 hien.

- |      |         |      |                    |
|------|---------|------|--------------------|
| 1 西寧 | Síning, | 4 碾伯 | Chenpeh,           |
| 2 大通 | Tátung, | 5 貴德 | Kweiteh ting,      |
| 3 巴燕 | 戎格廳     |      | Payenjungkih ting. |

VII. *Liángchau fú* 涼州府, or the Department of Liángchau, comprises six districts, viz., 1 ting and 5 hien.

- |      |          |      |                    |
|------|----------|------|--------------------|
| 1 武威 | Wúwei,   | 4 鎮番 | Chinfán,           |
| 2 平番 | Pingfán, | 5 永昌 | Yungcháng,         |
| 3 古浪 | Kúláng,  | 6 莊浪 | 廳 Chwángláng ting. |

VIII. *Kánchau fú* 甘州府, or the Department of Kánchau, comprises three districts, viz., 1 ting and 2 hien.

- |      |           |      |              |
|------|-----------|------|--------------|
| 1 張掖 | Chángyih, | 3 撫彝 | 廳 Fú-í ting. |
| 2 山丹 | Shántán,  |      |              |

IX. *Chínsí fú* 鎮西府, or the Department of Chínsí or Barkoul, comprises four districts, viz., 2 ting and 2 hien.

- |      |        |       |                             |
|------|--------|-------|-----------------------------|
| 1 宜禾 | Ího,   | 3 哈密  | 廳 Hámih ting or Hami,       |
| 2 奇台 | Kítái, | 4 吐魯番 | 廳 Tú-lú-fán ting or Turfan. |

X. *King chau* 涇州, or the inferior Department of King, comprises three hien districts.

- 1 靈臺 Lingtái,                      3 崇信 Tsungsin.  
2 鎮原 Chinyuen,

XI. *Kíai chau* 階州 or the inferior Department of Kíai, contains two hien districts.

- 1 文縣 Wan hien,                      2 成縣 Ching hien.

XII. *Tsin chau* 秦州. or the inferior Department of Tsín, comprises five hien districts.

- 1 兩當 Liángtáng,                      4 秦安 Tsín-ngán,  
2 徽縣 Hwui hien,                      5 清水 Tsingshwui.  
3 禮縣 Lí hien,

XIII. *Suh chau* 肅州 or the inferior Department of Suh, contains the single district of

高臺縣 Káutái hien.

XIV. *Ngánsi chau* 西安州, or the inferior Department of Ngánsi, comprises two hien districts.

- 1 敦煌 Tunhwáng,                      2 玉門 Yuhmun.

XV. *Teh-hwá chau* 迪化州 or the inferior Department of Tehhwá or Oroumtsi, contains three hien districts.

- 1 阜康 Faukáng,                      or 阜康城 Faukáng ching,  
2 昌吉 Chángkih.                      or 寧邊城 Ningpien ching,  
3 綏來 Suilái,                      or 康吉城 Kángkih ching.

Garrisoned Towns in Tehhwá chau.

Suining ching 綏寧城 or Manas 焉納斯  
Kinghwá ching 景化城 or Kutupi 呼圖壁  
Kungning ching 鞏寧城 or Oroumtsi 烏魯木齊  
Kái-ngán ching 愷安城 or Tsimusah 濟木薩  
Fauyuen ching 孚遠城 or Kú-ching 古城 Old city.  
Muh-lui ching 木壘城

I. *The department of Lánchau* extends along the southern bank of the Yellow river, for about 120 miles, and includes the valleys of the Tahíá and Táu rivers north of Kungcháug, fú; the area of the depart-

ment is probably five thousand square miles. The provincial capital is situated in lat.  $36^{\circ}$  N. and long.  $103^{\circ} 55'$  E., near where the Yellow River turns to the northeast. The Great Wall approaches the town on the opposite side of the river, and in former times this point was regarded as the strongest post to oppose the incursions of the nomads. Lánchau is a great mart for skins, felt cloths, brick tea, and rhubarb, which are brought here to exchange for other commodities.

II. *The department of Pingliáng* lies on the borders of Shensí, south of Ninghiá fú and east of Kungcháng, including many of the headwaters of the R. King. The chief town stands on this stream not far from Mt. Kungtung 崆峒 a peak of the Peh-ling, and the source of the river. The region is very rough, but affords much arable land and good timber for the use of man. The climate is mild, and the pleasant streams which irrigate the country, together with the fine scenery, render it a desirable location.

III. *The department of Kungcháng* is one of the largest in the province, extending along its whole southern border from Koko-nor on the west to near Shensí on the east, having Lánchau fú on the north. The ranges of the Min Mts., a spur of the Peh-ling, extend into the department from Sz'chuen; these hills are so rough as to render access to the towns rather difficult, thus proving one source of their security. They afford musk, rhubarb, metals of various kinds, and drugs. The chief town lies on the river Wei, and the upper waters of this stream take their rise in the prefecture. The Chinese say the tomb of Fuhfí is in Kungcháng,—an older artificial monument than one will hardly credit can be found in China, as it would be over 4500 years old. This department and Pingliáng fú rather belong to the province of Shensí in the character of their productions and climate than to Kánsuh, the difference in these particulars being great on the two sides of the mountains.

IV. *The department of Kingyáng* lies in the extreme east of the province, on the borders of Shensí, in the valleys of the R. Málien, a large branch of the R. King. The chief town is pleasantly situated at the junction of the Hwán 環河 and Jáuyuen 柔遠川, two streams which combine to form the Málien. It is surrounded by a strong wall and deep ditches, which with the forts placed on the contiguous eminences, and the river on two sides, make it a very strong position. The productions of this and the two preceding departments are wheat, millet, gold, silver, varnish, wax, salt, cornelian stones, musk, felt carpets, drugs, and timber, the surplus of which finds its way down through Shensí to a market or to Peking.

V. *The department of Ninghiá* lies in the northeastern part of the province between the Great Wall and Shensi, along the shores of the Yellow river. This town was once the capital of Tangut, and for five hundred years after the decline of the Táng dynasty, i. e. about A. D. 850, was one of the leading towns in this region. It is about five miles in circuit, and access to it is rendered difficult by its position on an island in the Yellow river, which here finds its way by many channels through a large depression, in which the labor of man has been greatly assisted by the waters of the river to render it a very productive region. The Holan Mts. form its boundary on the west, and serve to ward off the harsh winds of the Desert, but still the climate of Ninghiá is very severe for lat. 38°—snow sometimes falling in April. The town is the mart of trade for the tribes wandering through the Desert, who bring their herds and skins here to exchange for manufactures. Marco Polo visited Ninghiá, which he calls Egrigaia, and speaks of it as a large trading-place, from whence merchants carried the camel's hair cloth manufactured there to Cathay and other parts of the world. Three towns under its jurisdiction were held at the time by Nestorian Christians. A large number of towns still exist in this region, proving the fertility of the district. A general of division, supported by generals of brigades and a large body of troops, is stationed on this frontier city, to keep in subjection the Mongols.

VI. *The department of Sining* extends westward of Lanchau fú to Koko-nor, north of the Yellow river, and along the banks of the R. Tá-tung, occupying one of the most fertile parts of the province. The chief town lies at the junction of the Sining and Peh-chuen 北川河 rivers, and is the residence of the superintendent of the Mongol tribes of Koko-nor, who resort to this place to dispose of their surplus produce, and receive the stipend allowed them by the government. The road leading to Tibet through Northern China passes up the valley of the Tá-tung, and diverges from Sining westerly by the Azure Sea. The road beyond the Sea lies partly over numerous large mountain masses, furrowed by narrow glens, and partly over rocky and sandy table-lands, the whole forming a desert region in which only a few mountaineers of the Hoshoit tribes are met with, and where the traveler finds no other accommodation for forty days' journey than what their tents can afford him. Sining is the entrepôt of the rhubarb which is collected on the mountains, and here are found even many luxuries brought by the caravans from Hami across the Desert. Within the limits of the prefecture, a large number of settlements are met with of the nomadic Mongols, who have settled down to an agricultural

life, and ruled by their own officers. Síning fú is mentioned by Marco Polo under the name of Singuy, as a large city inhabited, like the surrounding towns, by a mixed population of Nestorians, idolaters and Mohammedans.

VII. *The department of Liángchau* extends north of Síning between the Kílien Mts. and the Great Wall, having Kánchau fú on the northwest, and Lánchau on the southeast. The region is watered by several short streams running northward through the valleys, and losing themselves in the Desert beyond the Wall. The chief town is of considerable size, and the number of villages shows that these intervals are fertile and the climate salubrious. Liángchau fú seems to be the place called Erginul by Polo, who speaks of many towns attached to it.

VIII. *The department of Kánsuh* lies between the preceding on the east, and Suh chau on the west, like them both shut up in this Thermopyla of China, having the Desert on the north and the mountains on the south. Kánchau has increased in population and wealth under the Manchús, and the manufactures of woolen stuffs and felts for the consumption of the Eleuths, Hoshoits, and other Mongolian tribes, have attracted a large trade. Wool, rhubarb, drugs, and the produce of herds, are the chief articles of traffic. Kánchau has always been one of the most important places in this region, as the fertility of the valleys has induced multitudes to settle near it. Marco Polo and his relatives lived here a year; he calls it Canpicion, and says it is "chief and capital of the whole province of Taugut;" there were three large and beautiful Christian churches in his day. He also mentions a city named Ezina, twelve days northward of it, the last town met in crossing the Desert on the road to Karakorum.

IX. *The department of Chinsí* lies in the northwest of Kánsuh, beyond the Desert, Hami, the most southeasterly town in it, is 320 miles from Kiáyü kwán. The towns in this extensive region are comparatively few, and we refer the reader to Vol. IX. page 115, for a description of their position and inhabitants. Chinsí fú is better known under the name of Barkoul; south of it is the fortified place of Palikwan 巴里坤 called in Chinese works Hwuining ching 會寧城. by which names it is better known abroad than by the local ones.

X. *The inferior department of King* has been detached from Ping-liáng fú; it is a small section lying on the R. King near where it flows into Shenfí. The country, though hilly and cold, is well cultivated, and in its productions resembles the departments on its west and north.

XI. *The inferior department of Kiái* has been set off from Kung-cháng fú in order that its officers might exercise a closer scrutiny over the mountaineers on the borders among the Min Mts. It is a rough region, producing quicksilver, musk, timber, deer's horns, and drugs.

XII. *The inferior department of Tsin* has been, like the preceding, set off from Kungcháng fú. It lies between King chau and Kiái chau, along the frontier of Shensí, in the valleys of the R. Wei; and in its productions and appearance resembles those two prefectures. It has a denser population, and carries on some trade with Shensí.

XIII. *The inferior department of Suh* lies west of Kánchau fú, including in its limits the important pass of Kiáyü kwán 嘉峪關 (i. e. the Pleasant Valley Pass), at the termination of the Great Wall, in lat.  $97\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ , about fifty miles west of the town. Suh chau is a large and well fortified town, with numerous bazars, well provided with provisions and manufactured articles. The Chinese live in one part, and the Mohammedans in another, the two divided by a wall, and the inhabitants placed under a modified separate rule. The trade in provisions and garments at this place is very great. At Kiáyü kwán, a special officer is appointed to examine every one who passes through, and to levy a slight transit duty on goods. Suh chau is called Succiu by Polo, and is mentioned by him as a great mart for rhubarb; the people were Christians and idolaters. The whole of this region seems then to have almost recovered from the devastation and destruction of life caused by its conquest by Genghis Khan in A.D. 1227, or else the accounts given in De Guigne's *Histoire des Huns* of the slaughter made by the Mongol troops in Taugut are greatly exaggerated.

XIV. *The inferior department of Ngánsí* lies in the valleys of the R. Purunki and Sirgalzin beyond the Pass, including however, in its limits the whole Desert between the territory of the Alashan Mongols and Lake Lop, as far north as Barkoul, being nearly one half of the whole province. The population chiefly inhabits the few fertile valleys between the Kilien Mts. and the Desert, an area about 150 miles long and 60 wide; they are said to be numerous and wealthy. The number of towns in this region is apparently considerable, but of their size and importance, we have very little reliable information. Ngánsí is the largest town in the region; Shá-chau 沙州 or Sandtown, is the outpost towards the Desert on the road going west to Tibet and Lake Lop. Marco Polo reached this town first when coming from Lake Lop, and describes the passage across as occupying thirty days; water was met with in about twenty-eight places, but no food. He thus describes the people of Sacchion or Shá-chau :—

"When you have rode thirty days through this desert, you find a city named Saccion, which belongs to the khan. The province is called Tangut, and the people are idolaters, mixed with some Nestorian Christians and Saracens. The first have languages of their own; they subsist not by merchandize, but by the grain which they produce from the earth. They have many abbeys and monasteries, all full of idols of various shapes, to which they offer frequent sacrifices and homage. Every man who has children rears a sheep, and at a particular festival at the end of the year, leads them along with that animal into the presence of the god, to whom they all perform reverence. They cook the sheep and offer it very humbly before the idol, leaving it while they make their prayers for the safety of their children. They then take the meat and carry it to the house, or wherever they please, send for their relations, and eat it with great joy and respect. They afterwards collect the bones, and preserve them with much diligence. You must know likewise, that when any one of them dies, his body is burned, and after he is carried to the place for this last ceremony, they erect in the middle of the path a house of cane, covered with cloths of silk and gold. When the dead man is laid before this ornamented house, they place before him wine and victuals, believing that he will be similarly honored in the other world. At the place of burning, too, they cut in paper, men, horses, camels, and coins of the size of bezants, convinced that the deceased will possess all these things in the future state. On this occasion, all the instruments in the land are sounded before the corpse. I must tell you, too, that after death the relations send for the astrologer, who is informed of the day, month, and year of his nativity, and then divines, by his diabolical art, the day on which the burning ought to take place. If it should be a week, a month, or six months, they keep it all that time, and never burn it till the appointed day. During this interval, they deposit it in a large box covered with cloth, and so preserved with crocus and spices that no stench arises. Throughout this period, they daily place meat and drink, before the box and leave it there for some time, till they think he has eaten it. These sorcerers, too, often tell the relations that the dead body must not be carried out by the main door, but by a private one, or even through a breach made in the wall. All the idolaters in the world proceed in this manner."—*Murray's Polo, page 247.*

The inhabitants of this region are still Budhists, and still observe these rites. The principal productions are melons, hides of wild horses, wild sheep, nuts, wild boars, scaleless fishes, 'great headed sheep,' liquorice 'fire foxes,' and pheasants. The town of Yuhmun, or Pearl Gate, is just beyond the Pass, on the road northwest to Hami, and is a stopping-place to refresh the caravans before they enter the Desert.

XV. *The inferior department of Teh-hwá* lies west of Chinsí fú on the north side of the Tieu-shán, around and east of Lake Ayar. The whole formerly belonged to Songaria, and is still inhabited by various tribes of that race, intermixed with other Mongol tribes and Chinese settlers and troops. The peace which has reigned in these distant parts of the empire has been favorable to the increase of population and amalgamation of these various races, and they are now probably favorably disposed towards the Chinese rule.

The population of Kánsuh is given at 15,193,125, in the census of 1812; this amount probably includes the population of the entire

province, but we have no means of ascertaining how many inhabitants are found beyond the Great Wall, or even a base for a guess of the size of the towns in and across the Desert.

That part of the province of Kánsuh north of the Peh-ling to the Desert, including Ninghiá and part of Shenáí, with the arable portion of Koko-nor, anciently formed the kingdom of Tangut, one of the most celebrated names in the history of Central Asia. The people emigrated to this region from Tibet, bringing with them the tenets of Buddhism, and established themselves along the valleys of the Yellow river, and extending their conquests across the Desert, until they presented a consolidated government and formidable army to resist the aggressions of the nomads and the power of the Chinese. Their kingdom was conquered by Genghis khan, who died very soon after. When the Mongols were expelled, Tangut became gradually incorporated with China, and the very name has gradually died away.

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**ART. IX. *Journal of Occurrences ; trade with Camboja and Singapore ; edict against Christianity by the prefect of Kiáying chau ; honorary portals in Canton ; proclamation of the insurgents ; Lin Tsehsü sent to Kwángst.***

TRADE with Camboja in vessels of European construction is gradually opening with Singapore through Chinese merchants residing at the latter port ; these send cargoes of piece goods hardware, opium, and sundries to Kampót (the only port in Camboja not lorded over by the Siamese or Cochinchinese), and receive in return rice, gamboge, pepper, dyewoods, and small sundries of provisions. The exportation of rice can be developed to any amount, by fostering its growth. Owing to the aggressions of its neighbors, the maritime limits of independent Camboja have gradually become reduced to this port of Kampót, and a few miles on each side of the river of that name. A person in the employ of the king of the country lately reached Singapore to publish a dictionary of the Cambojan language, or to learn if it could be done ; and also to ascertain if any assistance could be rendered his master to suppress the piracy which bids fair to destroy every vestige of the trade. The present limits of Camboja and the position of its seaport, are thus described :—

“The coast of the Cambojan territory formerly extended from cape Liant, near the head of the gulf of Siam, in lat. 12° 30' N. long. 100° 50' E. to Cape St. James, on the east coast of the Peninsula, in lat. 10° 20' N. long. 107° 10' E. comprising upwards of 500 miles of coast line, which included the mouth of the great river Mekong, and several important commercial towns, as Saigong, Cancao or Ahtien, about 25 miles to the south of Kampot, and Chantibon, a city near the frontier of Siam, and now the great naval arsenal of that power, owing to the abundance of teak timber in the vicinity. The encroachments of the Siamese on the one hand, and the Cochinchinese on the other, took their course along the coast, where facilities were afforded for the transport of heavy artillery, without the aid of which they would probably never have been able to deprive the Cambojans of any portion of their territory ; for in the interior, where heavy guns can only be transported along the rivers, the Cambojans retain their independence, the boundaries being still the same as they were three centuries ago. At present the western limit of Camboja is the seaward base of the mountain range which extends along the eastern shore of the gulf of Siam, and terminates near Kampot,—in fact that town is situated on its uttermost southern extremity. It is probably owing to the circumstance of this range being still in possession of the Cambojans, and thus affording a secure retreat in case of attack from either enemy, that Kampot is the spot at which they



descend to the sea whenever a cessation of warfare invites them to renew their intercourse with foreign countries. The southern bank of the Kampot river is in the actual occupation of the Cochinchinese, so that the desire of the Cambodjans to have trade carried on in English vessels is easily accounted for. The two nations, however, dwell in peace with each other just now. The southern boundary of Cambodia is the delta of the Mekong, or nearly a straight line drawn from the mouth of the Kampot river to Saigong. To the east it is bounded by a desert tract which extends in a parallel direction with the left bank of the Mekong; and to the north by the Laos nation, which is met with about 14° N.

"Kampot is in lat. 10° 38' N., long. about 104° 40' E. It is situated at the point where the coast, after running in a due north direction from the south extreme of the peninsula, takes a sudden turn to the W. and S.W., thus forming a bight at the head of which is the Kampot river. Its position may easily be recognized by the high land to the north, which slopes down and terminates on the western side of the river's entrance, the land to the south being uniformly low. The anchorage is to the S.S.W. of the western mouth, in 5 fathoms, distant about 5 miles. During the N.E. monsoon, when the wind is off the land, the water is perfectly smooth; and during the other season ships are tolerably well sheltered from west and S. W. by Koh Dad, a long island which lies to seaward of the Roads; but during this season intercourse with the shore is sometimes suspended by a heavy surf on the bar of the river, which prevents loaded boats from coming out."—*Singapore Free Press, Aug. 30th.*

The following edict respecting Christianity was issued Aug. 8th, on occasion of the arrest and imprisonment of several native Roman Catholics in Kiáying chau in the northeast of this province; a foreigner was also imprisoned at the same time, but has since been liberated and sent to Canton.

Wan, prefect of the inferior department of Kia-ying chau, translated to his present post from another of the same degree, raised ten steps and recorded ten times, puts forth a proclamation in earnest language; that the hearts of men may be rectified, and that the laws may be had in due respect.

Be it known that there is in the western world a doctrine of the Lord of Heaven which originated with Jesus. So long as the barbarians propagate or practice this amongst themselves, expounding its books and worshiping according to its ritual, there is no occasion to take notice of it; but it is not permitted them to enter the Inner Land to propagate this doctrine, and natives of the Inner Land who invite men from far places to flock hither, who, in league with them, inflame and unsettle the minds of the people, who inveigle females [to join their sect], or commit any other offenses contrary to the law, are punishable under the statute still in force. The provisions of the code are explicit; who shall venture to act otherwise than in observance of it?

In this department the literary persuasion is held in chief esteem; the character of its people stands high; descended from and connected with men in office, fragrant with scholarship, they are assuredly not about to desert the learning of the sages and worthies of the Central Kingdom to run wildly after another doctrine. It has come to my knowledge, notwithstanding, that the simple unenlightened population of the village of Chi-kang and its vicinity have of late invited hither men from afar, and have seduced some to link themselves with these; and that females as well have joined [their society]: a serious infraction of the laws. It will be my duty to seek out and apprehend such persons as may be guilty of so inviting [foreigners], and of connecting themselves with them, and to punish them severely, in conformity with the old established law; and, farther, to put forth an earnest proclamation. I issue this accordingly, for the full information of the military, common people, and others.

You should all be aware that Jesus, born in the time of Ngai Ti, of the Hán dynasty, ranks no higher than Hwá To, Chuh-yu, and others of the same class; being merely skilled to relieve mankind by curing them of disease. His power of breaking seven cakes into food for three thousand men, is not either any more than the witchcraft of the Rationalists, by which things are shifted from one place to another; in other ways he had no peculiar ability. As to his extravagant title of the Lord who made heaven, be-think you, the three sovereigns (B.C. 3369-2622), the Five Emperors (2169), Yáu, Shun, Yu, Táng (1743), Wan, Wá, (1106), the Duke of Chau, and Kung (Confucius) the Philosopher (500), spread abroad civilization, as the agents of heaven, during thousands and tens of thousands of years: the different countries beyond the sea had from an early date rulers and peoples, forms of government, and laws to punish crime: did none of these exist until Jesus appeared to create them in the time of the Hán?

It will be found, in the *Há-kwoók T'ú Chí*, that Mary, the mother of Jesus, was the wife of a man named Joseph; that he (Jesus) broke off all intercourse with his father, and regarding himself as the offspring of his mother, conceived while she was a virgin, falsely affirmed that he was her illustrious son created by heaven. The converts to his doctrine therefore allowed no sacrifices or obeisances to be performed to ancestors or sovereigns, or before any sacred representations of supernatural beings (*shén K'í*); they distracted the people with doubts, and misled them to believe that there was no heaven,

no law, no father, no ruler (*sc.* superior to Jesus), and that there was no such thing as filial piety or loyalty, no sympathy with one's kind, and no moral duties: for which cause the wrath of heaven was excited, and the judgment of heaven fell upon Jesus; on its behalf, the king of Judæa seized him, and his guilt being proved, punished him according to the laws of the realm, by nailing him upon a cross. His blood flowed until his whole form was covered with it; he was unable to move his body; and so in seven days he died, and orders were given to the local authorities to have him interred; but his vagabond disciples fabricated a report that when he had been three days buried, he revived, and after forty days took his flight upwards: this tale was devised with a view to delude men by the doctrine they preached, and it, again, resembles that of Sun-ngan, who drowned himself when his troops were defeated, and was reported by his followers to have become a water-sprite; or that of [the rebels] of the White Lily faction, who were put to a slow and ignominious death by being cut to pieces, when their fellows gave out that the body, killed by a metal weapon, relaxed [its hold of the spirit, which] disengaged itself, and ascended to another state amongst spiritual beings.

The fact could not have been as it is stated; for if it were, how should a body that was lord of heaven be yet so little lord of itself, as to let ordinary mortals cause its death by binding and nailing it fast? The idle fiction of his disciples, that, as lord of heaven, he suffered punishment of sin for the sake of man, is also extremely ridiculous. So, to hide the traces of the death upon the cross, the body which was high minister of heaven and earth, could do everything but remit man the punishment of their sins, and to do this was obliged to undergo punishment on their account!

Then, this doctrine pretends to the encouragement of virtue and the repression of vice; but this is the language constantly held by the literati (Confucianists). Its dogma, that those who believe in the Lord of Heaven will be made happy, and that after death their spirits will ascend to heaven; and that those who do not so believe will be visited with misery, and that, after death, their spirits will enter the prison of hell, is of the same import as the saying of Wú San-si', "Those who are good to me are good, those who are evil to me are evil." Suppose the believers in the Lord of Heaven all robbers and vicious persons; happiness is to be hereafter bestowed upon them all, while those who are not believers, although just men with as tore of merit, are all to be hereafter subjected to misery. Never was the fair order of reward for virtue, and punishment for vice so inverted and confused. Is it not fatal to what heaven (*sc.* nature) teaches us to be right?

Again, the terms "palace of heaven" and "prison of hell" are simply from the lowest class of Buddhistic works; [Christians] notwithstanding, vilify the Buddhists as people for evermore fallen into the prison of hell; if so, who has seen them there? The crucifixion of Jesus alive is like the tree of swords and the mountain of weapons in the hell (of the Buddhists,) perfectly [incapable] of proof.

It will next be found that of all nations beyond the sea, none so much believe in the Lord of Heaven as Germany, and yet [its inhabitants are] scattered, [its power] is in ruins, and more than one partition of its territory has been made: why, as believing in the Lord of Heaven, has happiness not been bestowed upon it? Of those that do not believe in the Lord of Heaven, none can compare with Japan: on a quay in their port is engraven a crucifix, and every merchant who repairs thither, and does not, as he lands, tread on the crucifix, is immediately beheaded as a warning to others; there is besides this, outside the city-gate, an image of Jesus sunk in the ground, so that it may be daily exposed to the insult of being trampled on: and yet this kingdom has endured 2000 years; why has not the Lord of Heaven visited it with calamity? It follows accordingly that the statement regarding the power to confer happiness or misery is utterly without foundation; it will merely make the simple people in this life, leave their ancestors without the power of enjoying the oblations of sweet-smelling incense and of the offerings which should be set before them in sacrificial vessels; while after death, they are to become blind ghosts, undergoing in addition the torments of burning till their bones are scattered in ashes. What happiness results from such a doctrine?

Again, as to the adoration of the crucifix, the stone tablet of the "luminous doctrine" says "[Also] signed with a cross to determine the four quarters (*sc.* of the heavens):" the professors of this creed, it is not known at what period, thence devised the tale of [their teacher's] crucifixion: but were their tale fact, it would still be quite inexplicable why the worshippers of Jesus should adore the instrument of his punishment, and consider it so to represent him as not to venture to tread upon it. Would it be common-sense, if the father or ancestor of a house had been killed by a shot from a fowling-piece, or by a wound from a sword, that his sons or grandsons should adore a fowling-piece or a sword, as their father or ancestor?

Although an ordinance of a late date did give permission to barbarians to expound their religious books to each other, it gave none to them to stray into the Inner Land, mixing with its people, and propagating their doctrine amongst them; and if there be any passing themselves off as barbarians, or any inviting men from far places to flock hither, leaguely with them to excite and unsettle the public mind, inveigling females [to become converts], or otherwise offending against the law, they will be punished, as of

old, under the statute, with strangulation summarily, or strangulation after detention in prison, or transportation to greater or less distances, or flogging with the heavier bamboo; the law admits of no leniency. But if any guilty persons shall come to the authorities and declare themselves to be penitent, and shall walk over the crucifix, the penalty shall in each case be mitigated one degree. The laws of the state are of a stern severity, but it has ever been their wont to allow men to repent of their errors. If therefore there be any among you, simple people, who have been led astray or excited as aforesaid, lose no time in waking up, and by coming forward save yourselves from falling into the meshes of the law; but you who, regarding [this command] with an unfriendly eye, continue to indulge in your own liking, it will assuredly be my duty to seize forthwith and bring to trial and punishment, as a warning to the doltish and perverse. Families of literary fragrance, and those whose members are in office, or descended from officials, must at once draw up rules to be displayed in their ancestral temples, and publicly and conjointly expel from their tribe all sons or brothers who may have adopted this creed, as persons who have of their own accord broken communion with their kindred, past and present; and they must, as occasion shall require, report them to the authorities, that they may be subjected to judicial investigation; to the rectifying of the natural relations. In the village jurisdictions, the headboroughs and inhabitants must be prompt to [detect and to make inquiry; and if there be any members (of a society) engaged in propagating this doctrine, they must not leave them to entice or excite our population, but must immediately inform against them to their superiors, and assist in their apprehension; lest they be involved in their criminality. By those means the hearts of men will be daily rectified, and the laws more solemnly observed. It is my earnest desire that this should be. Let every one tremble and obey. Let none resist. A special proclamation.—*China Mail*, No. 296.

*Six p'ai-fang, or honorary portals*, are now erecting in and around Canton to commemorate the victory over the English in April, 1849, and the elevation of Sū to the peerage for keeping them out of the provincial city. One is in Honám suburb, three are inside of the city, one is near the southern, and the sixth near the eastern gate. They are all made of stone, and built on the usual plan of these structures, a large gateway in the middle, and a smaller one in each side. Small roofs project over the top and side gates, more for ornament than use. The edict given in our last volume, page 230, conferring honors on the provincial authorities, is engraved in intaglio on the frieze over the main entrance, and on the lintel below it is the inscription *Yih tái sū yung 翊戴錫榮* "Reverently to commemorate glory conferred." The names of every village and neighborhood which contributed its quota of braves, are inserted in the frieze over the side doors. The total force enumerated on the six portals, as having been drafted to resist the English if they attempted to enter the city, is 89,598. The total expense of their erection is about 6,000 taels, which has been defrayed by the provincial treasury.

*The insurgents in this province* gained a victory over the imperialists during the month, having decoyed a detachment into a defile in the hills between Tsingyuen and Yingteh, and cut the entire body of 2000 to pieces. The insurgents seem however, to be retiring, or acting on the defensive. They issued a proclamation of their intentions when they first appeared from which it is apparent that nothing beneficial can be expected if they should succeed:—

"The present dynasty are only Manchus, people of a small nation, but the power of their troops enabled them to usurp possession of China, and take its revenues, from which it is plain that any one may get money from China if they are only powerful in warfare. There is therefore no difference between our taking money from the villages, and the local authorities taking the revenues. Whoever can take keeps. Why then are troops causelessly sent against us? It is most unjust! The Manchus get the revenues of the eighteen provinces (China Proper) and appoint officers who oppress the people, and why should we, natives of China, be excluded from levying money? The universal sovereignty does not belong to any particular individual; and a dynasty of a hundred generations of Emperors has not been seen. All depends, therefore, on obtaining the possession."

*Lin Tschü* has been commissioned by his young master, to proceed from his home at Fuhchau to Kwángsi, in order to concert measures with the authorities to repress the troubles there and quell the insurgents.

## CHINESE REPOSITORY.

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VOL. XIX.—NOVEMBER, 1850.—No. 11.

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ART. I. *Defense of an Essay on the proper rendering of the words Elohim and Θεος into the Chinese language.* By W. J. BOONE.  
(Continued from page 478.)

HAVING shown the reasons which forbid us to regard the Chinese *Tien* 天 as the true God, and also why we can not use the phrase *Shángti* to render the words Elohim and Θεος: 1st. because it is a mere title, and we want an absolute name; 2d, because it is the *distinctive* title of a false god; and 3d, because it is a compound term, and we want a simple uncompound term to express the monotheism of the Bible; I now pass on to the consideration of the last proposition that I proposed to discuss, which reads as follows:—

(c.) "Admitting that under the above-mentioned circumstances the generic name of the Chinese gods should be used, if such name can be found, deny that *shin* is this generic name, and affirm on the contrary that the Chinese have neither a name for any being who is truly and properly God, nor any generic name of their gods; and since the words *Elohim* and Θεος *must* be rendered by a generic term, we have no resource but that of transferring the original word."

After making ample trial of *Shángti*, *T'ien-ti*, and lastly *Ti*, this is the ground taken by Dr. Medhurst and those who act with him, in their letter of 30th Jan. 1850. They admit that *Elohim* and Θεος are generic terms; they maintain that we need a generic term to render these words, and propose to make one for the Chinese, as they have no generic term for *god* in their language.

The ground taken by Dr. Legge is in every point the opposite of that maintained by Dr. Medhurst and his friends, and also of that maintained in my Essay; and I think it will aid the reader in getting a

clearer view of the whole case to point out this contrariety at this stage, before entering upon the defense of the argument of the Essay.

Dr. L. maintains that the Chinese *Shángtí* is truly and properly God. We maintain that the Chinese know no being who is entitled to be called God *proprie*. Dr. L. maintains that even if *Shángtí* is not the true God, this *title* should be used as the rendering of *Elohim* and  $\Theta\sigma\varsigma$ ; as such a title can properly belong to God alone, and the words *Elohim* and  $\Theta\sigma\varsigma$  being relative terms—mere titles, which “do not indicate the essence, nor express anything of the *being* of Jehovah”—they must be rendered by a relative term. We maintain, on the contrary, that as the Chinese do not know the true God, we must not use the *name* of any individual god, but the general name of their gods; that this appellative name must be *absolute*, and not merely a *title*, because *Elohim* and  $\Theta\sigma\varsigma$  are absolute names that *do* “indicate the *essence*, and express something about the *being* of Jehovah.” If it is objected that, according to Chinese usage, this general name has never been employed to designate the Being we design to call by this name; we answer, that the absolute name of a class of invisible beings, who among them govern the world, and are sacrificed to and addressed in prayer by all persons in the empire, in all places, and at all times—a class, who divide among them all the attributes and acts of GOD that the Chinese *have known* or *discoursed about*,—that such absolute term “ought to belong to Jehovah;” that to predicate—*e. g.* the hearing of prayer at the same time in every house in China of any invisible Being but Him is false; therefore this name of right belongs to Him, and we *must* give it to Him, and maintain that He alone can properly be called by this *name*; and this we *must* do to reduce the Chinese polytheism to monotheism.

Dr. Legge's view of the character of the word God differs fundamentally from mine and from that taken by Dr. Medhurst and the other signers of the letter of the 30th Jan., and this difference affects our whole systems. If this word *is*, as Dr. L. contends, only a title of *office* or *dignity*, the mere *exponent* of a relation, and not the *absolute* appellative *name* of the Being so designated; it would seem only necessary to decide definitely what *the relation* indicated by this word is, and to render it accordingly. If God mean Creator, this is easily expressed in Chinese; if Ruler, 天 帝 is ready to our hand: indeed, any relationship can be easily expressed. If this too is the character of the word *God*, it can be no objection to the use of the term proposed as its rendering to say, “The Chinese have never so called any Being;”—“This term will give them no idea what sort of *Being* the

one thus designated is;" the answer would be, the word *God* "does not indicate the essence, nor express *anything* of the being of Jehovah." The only question to be asked would be, Does this word or phrase clearly express the fact that the being so designated does sustain the *definite relationship* indicated by the words *Elohim* and *Θεός*? If so, then it conveys all the information that the term which renders "those *relative words* *elohim* and *θεός*" should convey. If Dr. Legge's view of the word *God* is correct, these answers to my mind would be amply sufficient.

If however, the words *Elohim* and *Θεός* are the *absolute* appellative names of Jehovah, the reader will agree with me that to render them by any mere relative term whatsoever is wholly out of the question; and that if no absolute appellative name of the Chinese gods can be found, then the ground taken by Dr. Medhurst and his friends in their letter of the 30th of January, viz., that we must transfer the original term—we must make such an absolute appellative for the Chinese—is the true solution of our difficulties.

I must confess that ever since the question of rendering *elohim* and *θεός* by the generic name of the Chinese gods has been agitated, I have had the strongest impression that they must have such a term in their language. That such a people as they should have never conceived of the existence of any gods at all; or that, having the beings, they should have no general name for them—both of these things have seemed incredible to me; and the more I have inquired into the matter from the Chinese around me, and looked into their books, the more firm has my conviction grown that the Chinese people are polytheists, and that *Shin* is the general name of their gods—let us decide by what test we please, who and what the Chinese gods are.

This is the definite point for our consideration at present, and I must be allowed to say that it can only lead to an endless war of words for one party to affirm that "*Shángtí* is not merely the chief god of the Chinese, but is the true God also," to be denied by the other party, while they affirm that *shin* is the generic name of the Chinese gods, and that these *shin* are not mere spirits but gods; to be denied again:—unless both parties will consent to define their terms *God* (*proprîè*) and *god* (*improprîè*), and make proof according to their definitions.

I have urged above the importance of our regarding the word *God*, whether, used *proprîè* or *improprîè*, as the *name* of a *Being* or *Beings* (as the case may be), and not as the mere symbol of an idea. If the views there expressed were correct, they should guide us in the present part of our inquiry. To try the points here at issue, viz., Is

*Shingti* the true God (God *propriè*)? and, Are the Chinese *shin* gods and not mere spirits? we should determine what are the *characteristics* of a Being, who is truly and properly God; and also of a being, who is a god according to the polytheistic sense of the word; and then use these characteristics as tests to ascertain whether the *T'ien* of the classics and the Chinese *shin* are respectively God (*propriè*) and gods. Unless we consent to this, our discussions will only lead to endless logomachy.

When we contend that the *shin* are the gods of the Chinese, Dr. Medhurst replies that they are mere spirits, not gods; the Chinese are polypneumatists, not polytheists. To settle the point, we must inquire what is the CHARACTERISTIC difference between a spirit and a god?

The word *God*, whether used *propriè* or *impropriè*, is closely allied to the word *spirit*; *spirit* may be called the genus; God, god, gods, the species. This we soon perceive if we attempt to form a definition of the word *God*, when used *propriè*. No matter what attributes of power, wisdom, &c., we may ascribe to a being, if this being be material or corporeal, he is not God (*propriè*); to be God he must be a spirit possessed of certain characteristic attributes. Let us then look into the matter minutely, and endeavor to ascertain, 1st, The *characteristic* difference between a being who is truly and properly God, and a mere spirit; and 2dly, The characteristic difference between a god, gods, as these words are used by polytheists, and mere spirits.

To the question, "What is God?" the Westminster Assembly of Divines in their Larger Catechism, answer, "God is a Spirit, in and of himself infinite in being, glory, blessedness, and perfection; all sufficient, eternal, unchangeable, incomprehensible, everywhere present, almighty, knowing all things, most wise, most holy, most just, most merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth."

Melancthon defines the word, "*Deus est essentia spiritualis, intelligens, verax, bona, pura, justa, misericors, liberrima, immensæ potentis et sapientiæ, Pater æternus qui Filium imaginem suam ab eterno genuit, et Filium imago Patris cœterna, et Spiritus sanctus procedens a Patre et Filio.*"

The first article of the Church of England reads as follows: "There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts or passions, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, the maker and preserver of all things both visible and invisible. And in unity of this

Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

These definitions all agree; for the words "without body, parts or passions" are a mere periphrasis for the word *spirit*. According to these definitions, God is a spiritual being, or *essence*, possessed of certain *attributes* which distinguish Him from all *other spirits*. Should it therefore be affirmed of any being that he is God (*propiè*), the first question should be, Is he a pure spirit, or a compound, corporeal being? Next, Is he a Spirit, "and of himself infinite in being, all-sufficient, eternal," &c., &c. †

The Chinese *T'ien* 天, Heaven, the Supreme Ruler, tried by these characteristics as a test, is not God (*propiè*). He is not self-existent from eternity; he is not the first principle of all things, the making of the heavens and the earth being ascribed to another agency than his by Confucius and his disciples, who teach us all that the Chinese have predicated of him. This, I think, has been sufficiently shown in the previous part of this Defense.

The question then arises, If the Chinese have no being who is truly and properly God, no word in their language which answers to God (*propiè*), can they have any word that will answer for the rendering of *Elohim* and *θεος* into Chinese? To this question I answer unhesitatingly, Yes; it is quite possible for a people to have had a *subject* before their minds for centuries, to have discoursed and written much about it, and yet never to have discovered the truth concerning it. It is quite possible for a people, who do not know the true God, to have thought much about the subject of Deity in general, to have a general name for their false gods, and to have sinned greatly against the true God, by the worship of these false ones.

If we look into the argument for the existence of God from the general consent of mankind, as it is presented by most writers, we shall find that the passages cited to prove this point, most of them, refer to this *general view of the subject*, and do not show that heathen nations generally have believed in a simple, self-existent, spiritual being, the Creator of the world and the *author* of all other beings.

Calvin, in his Institutes, writing on this point, thus expresses himself; "Certainly, if there is any quarter, where it may be supposed that God is unknown, the most likely for such an instance to exist is among the dullest tribes, furthest removed from civilization; but, as a heathen tells us, 'there is no nation so barbarous, no race so brutish, as not to

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† See Appendix A.



be imbued with the conviction that there is a God.'” From the use of the capital G in both instances in which the word God occurs, we might suppose that Calvin used the word here *proprie*, i. e. to designate definitely the true God; but his quotations show that this can not be the case. These are,

“Intelligi necesse est *deos*, quoniam insitas eorum vel potius innatas cognitiones habemus. Quæ nobis natura informationem *deorum* ipsorum dedit, eadem insculpsit in mentibus ut eos æternos et beatos haberemus.” Cic. de Nat. Deor., *lib* i. c. 17. “Itaque inter omnes omnium gentium summa constat; omnibus enim inuatum est, et in animo quasi insculptum esse *deos*.” *lib*. ii. c. 4.

Here the word, in both quotations, which are cited to show that there is no quarter in which “God is unknown” is in the plural, “*deos*,” “*deorum*,” “*deos*.”

Witsius, when commenting on the first Article of the Creed, to prove that the heathen derive a knowledge of God from the contemplation of the heavens, quotes the following proofs; “I shall quote another passage from Cicero: ‘Who is so stupid and infatuated,’ says he, ‘as not to perceive, after having looked up to the heavens, that there are *Gods*, or to ascribe to the operation of chance works which discover so great intelligence that scarcely any one is able, by any art, to trace their order and their revolutions.’ But why do I insist on the convictions and declarations of individuals? Zaleucus, the lawgiver of the Locrians, by a law which he enacted, bound all his citizens to acknowledge a *Divinity*, from the contemplation of the heavens. According to the testimony of Diodorus Siculus, ‘Zaleucus having been chosen by the people to frame laws, and attempting to confirm them by new sanctions, began by directing their attention to the *celestial Gods*. At the beginning of the preamble to the whole code he says, that the inhabitants of the city are required, first of all to believe and to be firmly persuaded that there *are Gods*, and having attentively considered the heavens and their astonishing magnificence and order, to conclude that they are neither the production of chance, nor the workmanship of man.’”

Here we see that Witsius, to prove that the heathen derive a knowledge of God from his works, and that they acknowledge “a Divinity,” quotes sentences in which the existence of Gods is asserted. There is very great looseness of expression on this point in almost every book into which I have looked Barrow expresses himself much more accurately. His words are, “That in the world there are beings imperceptible to our senses, much superior to us in knowledge and power,

that can perform works above, and contrary to the course of nature, and concerning themselves sometimes to do so for the interests of mankind; for these qualifications and performances deserving extraordinary respect from us, hath been a constant opinion in all places and times, to which sort of beings *some one general name* hath been in all languages assigned, answering to that of *God* among us. Of such beings that there is one, supreme and most excellent, incomparably surpassing in all those attributes of wisdom, and power and goodness; from whom *the rest, and all things beside have derived their beings*, do depend upon, are sustained, and governed; *the author, I say, of all beings*, and dispenser of all good; to whom consequently supreme love, reverence, and obedience are due, hath been also the general sense of the most ancient, most wise, and most noble nations among men; to whom therefore, in a peculiar and *eminent manner* the title of *God* (and those which answer thereto) is appropriated; so that when the word is absolutely put, without any adjunct, or limitation, or diminution, he only is meant and understood; to which sometimes for fuller declaration, are the epithets *Optimus, Maximus, Summus, Eternus, Omnipotens, Dominus*, and the like; the Best, the Greatest, the Most High, the Eternal, the Almighty, the Sovereign God."

Of the almost universal consent of heathen nations to the polytheism stated by Dr. Barrow in the first part of this quotation, there can be, I think, no doubt; with respect to the second point, I am persuaded that a careful examination of what these nations have said for themselves, not trusting to what too-indulgent theists have said for them, will greatly diminish the number of those who can fairly be set down as believing in one Supreme, "from whom the rest *and all things* have derived their beings." Such examination will show that the same nation, at different stages of its existence, is to be placed in a different category with respect to its *explicit* belief of a self-existent, *intelligent*, first cause of all things.

In my *Essay*, Vol. XVII. page 70, I expressed the opinion that we now "meet *Shin* just where the *Greek philosophers* found  $\Theta\epsilon\varsigma$ ; designating any one of a class of beings who are all regarded as proper objects of worship." The correctness of this opinion has been questioned, and it is of such importance that it demands our consideration. Above, (on pp. 423, 424,) we have considered the probability there would be of our finding the posterity of any of the rebels who were scattered abroad on the face of the earth from Babel, say B.C. 2554, retaining a knowledge of the true God, when they come up to our notice on the pages of profane history, say in the 8th, 9th, or 10th century before Christ.

We saw above, that the ancestors of the chosen people, and the nations around them, had fallen into idolatry before the time of Abraham. These facts are referred to for the purpose of repelling the presumption which many seem to entertain that patriarchal tradition will prove so efficacious a means of transmitting this truth, that we shall, yea, must, find a knowledge of God (understanding this word *propiè*) among every people, in the first records we have of their existence as a nation. A calm consideration of the circumstances of the case, it seems to me, removes any such presumption, and produces on the contrary a conviction that we should come to the examination of the early documents of any people, when we desire to learn what their religious creed was, with minds perfectly unbiased, and base our decision *wholly* upon the facts made known to us. If we do this in the case of the Greeks and Romans, we shall, I think, conclude that their knowledge of a monadic  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  was owing, not to *tradition*, but to their philosophy; or, at any rate, if derived from tradition, that this tradition was not handed down from the patriarchs, by their *own ancestors*, and recorded by their own *poets* and other *early writers*, but was gained by their philosophers at a comparatively modern date in their foreign travels.

If we take Homer, Hesiod, and Orpheus as the oldest Greek authors whose productions have come down to us, how much do we find in these writers "of a Spiritual Being in and of himself" existing from eternity, the Creator of the world, and the Author of everything extrinsic to himself? "In the Homeric poems, Ocean is termed the origin of *the gods* and of all things, though Jupiter is commonly described as the Father of gods and men."<sup>\*</sup>

"Homer represents Father Oceanus as the generator of all things."<sup>†</sup> In what part of the Iliad or Odyssey shall we find a being called  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  who is superior to  $Z\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ , who is self-existent; the Creator of heaven and earth and ocean; of  $Z\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ , and of all the gods?

"First in order of time (we are told by Hesiod) came Chaos; next *Gæa*, the broad, firm and flat Earth, with deep and dark Tartarus at her base. Eros (Love), the subduer of gods as well as men, came immediately afterwards. From Chaos sprung Erebus and Nyx; from these latter *Æther* and Hemera. *Gæa* also gave birth to Uranos, equal in breadth to herself, in order to serve both as an overarching vault to her, and as a residence for the immortal gods; she further

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<sup>\*</sup> Thirlwall's History of Greece.

<sup>†</sup> Brucker, *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, Tom. II. quoted in Elton's Remains of Hesiod.

produced the mountains, habitations of the divine nymphs, and Pontus, the barren and billowy sea. Then Gæa intermarried with Uranos, and from this union came a numerous offspring—twelve Titans and Titanides, three Cyclopes and three Hekatoncheires, or beings with a hundred hands each. The Titans were Oceanus, Koios, Krios, Hype-riôn, Iapetos, and Kronos: the Titanides, Theia, Rhea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Phœbe, and Tethys." Kronos and Rhea intermarry; "but Kronos foreboded to himself destruction from one of his own children, and accordingly as soon as any of them were born, he immediately swallowed them, and retained them in his own belly. In this manner had the five first been treated, and Rhea was on the point of being delivered of Zeus. Grieved and indignant at the loss of her children, she applied for counsel to her father and mother, Uranos and Gæa, who aided her to conceal the birth of Zeus. They conveyed her by night to Lyctus in Crete, hid the new-born child in a woody cavern on Mount Ida, and gave to Kronos, in place of it, a stone wrapped in swaddling-clothes, which he greedily swallowed, believing it to be his child. Thus was the safety of Zeus ensured."\* And this being is henceforth to be the chief god, the Father of gods and men.

There could surely be no knowledge of a self-existent, understanding Being, who was the first principle of all things, among those who could write and believe such a cosmogony as that above given. If Homer had believed in the existence of any being who could truly and properly be called God, could he have written *ὄξασαν ἱεθεῶν γένεσιν, καὶ μήτερον Τηδῶν*?—*Iliad*, XIV. 210. The Homeric and Hesiodic gods are to us a mere fable, but the whole story to the men of their own times was not romance, but history—sacred history.

"Homer and Hesiod were the grand authorities in the Pagan world respecting theogony; but in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* nothing is found except passing allusions and implications, and even in the Hymns (which were commonly believed in antiquity to be the productions of the same author as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*), there are only isolated, unconnected narratives. Accordingly, men habitually took their information respecting their theogonic antiquities from the Hesiodic poem, where it was ready laid out before them; and the legends consecrated in that work acquired both an extent of circulation and a firm hold on the national faith, such as independent legends could seldom or never rival. Moreover, the scrupulous and sceptical Pagans, as well as the open assailants of Paganism in later times, derived their

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\* Grote's History of Greece, Vol. 1. pages 5, 6—8.

subjects of attack from the same source; so that it has been absolutely necessary to recount in their naked simplicity the Hesiodic stories, in order to know what it was that Plato deprecated and Xenophanes denounced."<sup>9</sup>

It was philosophical inquiry, a better acquaintance with nature, more correct views of geography, &c., &c., which led the philosophers of the 5th and 6th centuries before the Christian era, to doubt the story of the gods which was so firmly believed by all in the days of Homer and Hesiod "The honor of having *first* represented God as the intelligent cause of the universe is ascribed to Anaxagoras by the ancients. . . . That he maintained an infinite mind to be the author of all motion and life, is attested by many ancient authorities. Plato expressly asserts that Anaxagoras taught the existence of 'a Disposing Mind, the cause of all things.' *Νοῦς ἡ διακοσμῶν ἑὲ καὶ πάντων αἰσίος*. Aristotle gives it as his doctrine that mind is the first principle of all things, pure, simple and unmixed; that it possesses within itself the united powers of thought and motion; and that it gives motion to the universe, and is the cause of whatever is fair and good. Plutarch confirms this account of the doctrine of Anaxagoras, and shows wherein it differed from that of his predecessors. 'The Ionic philosophers,' says he, 'who appeared before Anaxagoras, made fortune or blind necessity, that is, the fortuitous or necessary motion of the particles of matter, the first principle in nature; but Anaxagoras affirmed that a pure mind, perfectly free from all material concretions, governs the universe.' The infinite Mind, or Deity, which his *predecessors* had confounded with matter, making them one universe, Anaxagoras conceived to have a separate and independent existence, and to be simple, pure, intelligence, capable of forming the eternal mass of matter according to his pleasure. Thus he assigned an adequate cause for the existence of the visible world." *Enfield*, Vol. I. p. 161.

Here we have, if this account may be relied on, this great truth of the existence of an intelligent mind or God, separate from matter, first asserted in Greece in the 5th century B.C. The word *θεός* was much older than this. Homer, and Hesiod, and Orpheus had used it. If, as used by them, this word designated, when standing absolutely, an understanding, spiritual being, who is self-existent and the former of the universe, how could any respectable ancient authority "ascribe to Anaxagoras the honor of having first represented God (*θεός*) as the intelligent cause of the universe?"

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<sup>9</sup> Grote's History of Greece, Vol. I.

If this honor is denied to Anaxagoras, and it be maintained that Thales and Pythagoras are also theists, it will not alter the force of our argument that  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  was not used by Homer, Hesiod, and the earliest Greeks, as the name of a self-existent, spiritual Being; for if this had been the general belief in the age of Homer, how can we account for the existence of any controversy with respect to the theism of Thales and others of the Ionic sect, and for the direct assertions above quoted that Anaxagoras was the *first among the Greeks*, who conceived of mind as detached from matter?

If the belief in a monadic  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  was the ancient traditionary faith of Greece, handed down to them by their ancestors from the patriarchal age, and not either the fruit of philosophic speculation, or a tenet of foreign importation, how can we account for the treatment of this very Anaxagoras and the Greek philosophers generally by the *common people*, who are sure to adhere most firmly to the tradition of their fathers? Cudworth says, "It is certain the vulgar in all ages have been very ill judges of theists and atheists; as for example, Anaxagoras the Clazomenian, though he was the *first* of all the Ionic philosophers (unless Thales ought to be excepted,) who made an infinite mind to be a principle, *that is, asserted a Deity according to the true notion of it*; yet he was, notwithstanding, cried down for an atheist, merely because he affirmed the sun to be 'a mass of fire,' or 'a fiery globe,' and 'the moon to be an earth;' that is, because he denied them to be animated, and endued with understanding souls, and consequently to be gods. So likewise, Socrates was both accused and condemned for atheistical impiety, as denying all gods, though nothing was pretended to be proved against him but only this, that he did teach that those were *not true gods* which the city worshiped, and in the room thereof introduced *other new gods.*"\* What is this, but saying in other words, that he was condemned for rejecting the old traditionary gods for the new philosophic ones; among whom the monadic  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  is to be included?

If  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  when standing absolutely in Homer and Hesiod designates God (propriè), and not some particular god, either  $Z\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  or some other, to be inferred from the context, how can we account for the facts mentioned above, and for a thousand others that might readily be brought forward?

The truth is, we are prone to read old writers with our modern eye. Polytheism seems infinitely foolish to us; and it is inconceivable, in

this age of philosophy, and among Christian men, how any could rest content without clear and definite views of the *first cause of all things*; hence, if the ancients talk only of material, physical causes, and *keep silence* about a self-existent mind, many are impelled by their kindness to give them credit for knowing all about such an intelligent first cause, and suggest that they only forgot to mention it in their cosmogonies. Others again, if they meet with the word  $\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$  standing absolutely (in any old writer, as Homer), and can not readily infer from the context *what god is meant*, immediately jump to the conclusion that it is used *propiè*. They do not stay to inquire whether any such Being, as Him whom we call God (*propiè*), *was known and worshiped in the Homeric age*, (without which fact being established it seems over hasty to conclude that the writer had this Being in his mind, when he wrote the word  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  in question) but decide at once that this being is designated, because, by  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  standing absolutely, Greek writers of a *later age* unquestionably did mean the intelligent First Cause.

To jump thus to conclusions without examining the premises can serve no purpose but to deceive ourselves. If we wish to ascertain whether the Greek word  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  is used in Homer as the name of a being who is truly and properly God, we must inquire whether he and the Greeks of his age knew such a being, and called Him by this name; and not content ourselves with merely finding a few instances in which this word stands absolutely, and thereupon refer it at once to such a Being, without taking the pains to inquire whether Homer knew any such Being or not, before we determine that he wrote about Him. From the Greek theogonies, from all their early writings, and from the gradual manner in which the idea of a monadic  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  grew clearer among the philosophers: from the reception this view met with from the common people, and from the fact that it never was popular among *them* even down to the time that Paul preached at Athens, I am satisfied that it was not a *native traditional* doctrine in Greece, and that the word  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  was in use among them, as the name of a class of invisible beings superior to men, who were regarded as proper objects of worship, long before Anaxagoras, or some other philosopher, *first* used it as the name by which to designate "a disposing Mind, the cause of all things." This is the reason that induced me to say in my Essay, that we find the Chinese *shin* where the Greek Philosophers found  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , designating any one (as shown by the context or some qualifying word) of a class of Beings, who are all regarded as proper objects of worship. Whether I am correct or not in the opinion

that *θεός* in the Homeric age meant a *god*, and if used *κατ' εἶκος*, designated the Homeric *Ζεὺς*, and not the Being who is truly and properly God, still I think that the position for which I contend that the general name of the false gods of a people should be used as the appellative name of such a Being, when He is to be *first* made known to them, can be shown to be correct. That the Chinese are in this position has been already sufficiently shown. We have seen that the *Tien* 天 of the Shú King, worshiped alternately with *Ti* 地 Earth, in the *kiáu* sacrifice can not be accounted God (*propiè*) and I think it is certain that there has no Anaxagoras yet arisen among the philosophers of China, who has clearly taught an intelligent first cause of the heavens and the earth, or who has pointed out any Being, who is the author of all *other* beings extrinsic to himself.

If my idea, however, is correct, that Homer, Hesiod and the Greeks of their age, used *θεός*, as the general name of their deities, designating any one of them indifferently by this name, to be determined by the context, or occasionally using it when standing absolutely to designate *Ζεὺς*, the highest Being known to them; then, when the philosophers learned from foreign travel, or from their own reflections, that there was an intelligent First Cause, a *Being* wholly different from *Ζεὺς*, and one who had not been spoken of before; the question must have arisen, by what name He should be called? Anaxagoras called his "Disposing Mind, the cause of all things" *Θεός*, and from this grew up the monadic *θεός* of the Greek philosophers.

But whether we may consider this course, viz., that of calling God (*propiè*) by the general name of their objects of worship, when He is to be first made known to a heathen people ignorant of Him, to be sustained by the analogous action of the Greek philosophers or not; it can, I think, be clearly shown by independent reasoning to be the correct course to be pursued under such circumstances. Because men fail to discover a "FIRST CAUSE," to which they ascribe spirituality, free-will, intelligence, omnipotence, &c., we must not conclude that they have had no thoughts on the subject of Deity. "No one," says Morrell, "will affirm that the earlier ages of the world were destitute of any searchings after God. So far from that, everything in the mythological period was wondrously gilded with the divine. The only thing to be noticed is that men in those ages conversed mainly with nature; that they formed their conceptions of the *numina divina* without much reflection, and chiefly from nature; and that the argument from this source resulted more frequently than not, in *polytheism*. Can we say that the process was illogical? I think



not. Confine our view to nature only with its endless variations, and what is there unnatural in admitting the whole hierarchy of Olympus? Nay, history and present experience prove, that under such circumstances, the polytheistic hypothesis is by far the most acceptable to the human understanding. Even on this ground, however, the chief share in the argument is derived from the mind or the consciousness. The irresistible belief we have of causation is a primary law of our consciousness, and the first attempt we make to hypostatize the cause of the universe around us, is the transference of our own forms of intelligence, and our own personality into the conception of that vast architect, or hierarchy of architects, by whom the world was constructed. The theistic argument then in which the appeal to nature is the prominent feature, ends at best in the idea of a *Δημιουργός*.\*

Men thus working out for themselves polytheistic systems everywhere, we find false gods in possession of the field, and in teaching them monotheism, it is as in teaching men to become good—we meet them in a state the opposite of that to which we desire to lead them; as in the one case we must say, “cease to do evil, learn to do well,” so in the other, the burden of our preaching must be, “put away your *false gods*; learn to love, honor, and adore Jehovah the *true God*.” To enforce this exhortation, it seems plain to me, Jehovah must be called by the same name as the false gods who are to be put away. He is *the truth* of the *very thing* of which they are the *falsehood*; and we shall succeed most easily in conveying to polytheists a general correct idea of Him, by representing Him as taking the place of *all* their gods, rather than that of any particular one, however exalted that one may be. We *must* teach that He can afford them protection, succor, &c.—yea, and ten thousand times more than all their gods put together were ever supposed to afford; that He is the alone God, there is no place left for any other: hence, we give Him the *common name of all*, and write over our system mono-theism.

While this general name is the best word by which to teach a people who have hitherto been ignorant of Him, a knowledge of the true God, the use of this word is absolutely *necessary* to forbid the false worship in which they have *previously* indulged. The great sin with which a missionary must charge a polytheistic people, the sin which, when God pours out his Spirit, and carries home the preached word to the hearts of his heathen hearers, they will feel more deeply than all others, is that of having worshiped false gods to the dishonoring

of the true God. With this *sin* we must, here in China, charge our hearers; but what conviction of sin could be expected to be produced from a sermon or tract charging the Chinese with the worship of false *Alohos* or false *Θεοι*? Would not their answer be that so far from having sinned in this particular, they had never so much as heard there were any such beings or things in the universe?

If we maintained that the Chinese had never had this *subject* up before their minds so as to have predicated anything either right or wrong about it, then it would be consistent to contend that we must either transfer a foreign word, or invent a new Chinese character to represent this perfectly new *subject*: but if we admit that the Chinese have worshiped false gods, then we admit that they actually *have* had the *subject* up before their minds, though under a false aspect, and we must inquire by what name they themselves have called *this subject*: for we may rest assured we can best teach them the truth with respect to *this subject*, by predicating said truth of the *Chinese name* thereof.

We must teach them what their errors with respect to this subject are; so that, being properly instructed, they shall understand that the Being designated is *one*, not many as they have incorrectly supposed; that He is self-existent from eternity, the Creator of all beings and things, &c. Now to point out *their past errors*, to convict them of *their past sins* with respect to this *subject*, and to warn them against the false gods they have been in the habit of worshiping, of what avail will the use of either of the foreign words, *Aloho* or *Θεος* be? They have never written or spoken of any *Alohos* or *Θεοι*; they have never worshiped them; it would be a mere waste of breath to preach against false *Alohos* or false *θεοι*.

I need not however detain the reader any longer to prove that the generic name of *god*, if such exists in the language of a polytheistic people, should be used to render *Elohim*, if such can be found, for Dr. Medhurst and his friends expressly contend for this, and differ from us only in denying that the Chinese have such a word in their language. Dr. Legge insists upon the use of a native appellative in opposition to any transferred term, differing from us only in contending that this appellative must be a relative, and not an absolute term. The points on which we differ from Dr. Legge have been sufficiently discussed: let us now inquire if the Chinese have any generic or absolute appellative name for *god* in their language.

As in the case of the word *God* when used *proprie*, we inquired what is the difference between a being who is truly and properly God and a mere spirit, so here we shall inquire what is the *characteristic*

difference between a spirit and a god. I shall pursue this method as the shortest course leading to the most direct issue. The *shin* worshiped by the Chinese are admitted to be spirits: gods are spirits; so far we are agreed: the point on which we differ is, are they mere spirits, or are they, in addition to being spiritual beings, regarded by the Chinese as something more—as gods? To state the matter logically, we are agreed as to the genus—*spirit*; but differ as to the species—*god*. We must therefore inquire, what is the differentia or characteristic of the species, for the genus, plus the differentia, gives us the species. In my Essay, I contended that the best mark and distinguishing indication of the differentia or characteristic was, “supposed to be a proper object of religious worship.” If this be the true characteristic, as it is admitted that the *shin* are spirits, I have only to show that the Chinese regard them as proper objects of worship, to prove that the Chinese *shin* are gods, and not mere spirits.

I may illustrate the propriety of pursuing this method of proof, viz. Inquiring what is the characteristic difference between a god and a spirit, by taking an analogous case.

If asked the meaning of the word *man*, I should answer, It is the name of a class of beings.—*Qu.* What kind of beings, spiritual or what? *Ans.* A class of animals.—*Qu.* What kind of animal? *Ans.* Rational.—Here then, in the words *animal* and *rational*, we have reached the characteristics of this class of beings.

If we were contending whether a word in a foreign language should be rendered “*man*” or “*animal*,” the point to which inquiry should be directed would be, Are the animals in question rational or not? It would be beside the mark to inquire whether the word, in the foreign language, corresponded etymologically with *Adam* (red), —*anthropos* (to turn the eyes to heaven)—*homo* (*qui ex humo*, earth-derived)—or *man* (etymology not known); for the derivation of this word differs in each language above quoted; nor does that of either afford us the slightest hint that our tests would be for genus, *animal*, or for species *rational*. To state our parallel: If asked the meaning of the word *God*, I should answer, That this word is used for purposes so distinct that we must divide its meaning into two classes, viz. *propiè* and *impropiè*, and then we shall be prepared to answer in conformity to our case above stated. If asked then, What is the meaning of the word *God* when used *propiè*, I answer: It is the name of a spiritual being.—*Qu.* What kind of spiritual being? *Ans.* Self-existent, Almighty, &c., &c. If, in the next place, asked the meaning of the word *god* when used *impropiè*, *Ans.* The name of a class of spirit-

ual beings.—*Qn.* What kind of spiritual beings? *Ans.* Spiritual beings, other than the true God, who (whether self-existent or dependent) are considered by men proper objects of worship.

Here, as in the case of the word *man*, we fix upon our characteristics from our knowledge of the two classes we are comparing: the etymology of the word for *God*, like that of the word for *man*, in different languages varying so much, and being so uncertain in Hebrew, Greek, and English, that we can derive no help from thence.

The illustration afforded by the word *man* makes plain the propriety of our calling for the characteristic test between gods and spirits, that our controversy may not degenerate into a mere war of words. Unhappily, on the point before us, we are not so agreed as we should be, with respect to the test to be employed to ascertain whether a given animal was a man or not.

In his "Reply to Dr. Boone" (Vol. XVII. p. 499), Dr. Medhurst says, "We would suggest a different definition, viz., The name of the being, or class of beings, to whom the Chinese ascribe the highest attributes. For the following reasons: A god is a being possessed of divine attributes. . . . . Worship is not necessary to his being or his nature; he may never be worshiped, and yet be God.

"The genus of gods (supposing such a genus to exist) is the class of beings possessed of divine attributes.

"The generic name for *God* is the name of the class of beings supposed to possess divine attributes.

"The attributes possessed by a divine being are in many respects the same in kind with the attributes possessed by other intelligent beings, only differing in degree. Thus intelligent beings in general possess some power, wisdom, goodness, &c., but a divine being or beings must be conceived to possess these attributes in the highest perfection.

"There are some attributes, however, which are peculiar to a divine Being or beings, such as the originating and governing of all things.

"Religious worship is the ascribing honor to a being or beings possessed of divine attributes; the qualities or the station of the being or beings must first be allowed, before worship can be paid. Hence the possession of attributes is the primary, and the offering of worship the secondary idea of God."

I am glad to observe that Dr. M. would make attributes—essential attributes, "power, wisdom, goodness, &c.,"—not relationships, the tests of divinity. From his saying, "A divine being or beings must

be conceived to possess these attributes in the highest perfection," and that "those peculiar to a divine being or beings are the *originating* and governing of *all things*," he must have had the word *God* (as understood by us propriè) before his mind when he wrote this; for he surely could not contend that all the Greek Θεοι, for instance, had "power, wisdom and *goodness* in the *highest perfection*," or that they all had something to do with the "*originating* and governing of *all things*." Accordingly, on reflection, Dr. M. gave up this view, and adopted that of Cudworth, Mosheim, and others, which was presented by me, and in this he was joined by Messrs. Stronach and Milne, and his other friends, who signed the letter of the 30th January; for they therein maintain (see p. 11) that we must have a generic term, "which, while it is capable of being used for the highest being of whom they have any conception, includes all worshiped beings, and goes no farther." This is also apparent from the definition which they give of the transferred word *Aloho*, in a subsequent part of this letter; viz., "the name of whatever men sacrifice to and worship."

Dr. Legge contends that I make "God" and "worshiped being" interchangeable terms, and styles this "A blunder, of which the best that can be said is that it is a very bad use of the second kind of metonymy which puts the effect for the cause. The Supreme Being is not God because He is worshiped, but He is worshiped because He is God." Dr. Legge's view here is precisely that quoted from Dr. Medhurst's Reply, "the *qualitics* or the *station* of the being or beings must be *first* allowed *before worship can be paid*." Dr. L. seems to have fallen into a strange confusion of mind in the part of his argument quoted above.

In my Essay, I made the fact of being worshiped a test to ascertain whether a given being is regarded as a god or a mere spirit; this is very different from saying that "God" and "worshiped being" are interchangeable terms. With respect to our proposing "religious worship" as the characteristic test by which to distinguish a god from a mere spirit, if Drs. Medhurst and Legge are correct in their theory of worship, there can be no doubt of it. Dr. M. says, "Religious worship is the ascribing honor to a being or beings *possessed of divine attributes*." If then we find a man worshipping any being, may we not use the fact of his offering worship to this being, to infer that said being is "possessed (in his estimation at least) of divine attributes?" And if, as Dr. M. says, "the *qualities* or the *station* of the being must be *first allowed*, before worship can be paid," must we not, where the worship is paid, infer the existence (in the brain of the votary, if no

where else) of the *qualities* or *station* so allowed, in the being worshiped?

Or, let us take Dr. L.'s illustration. "The Supreme Being is not God because he is worshiped, but he is worshiped because he is God." Now then substitute "a being," for "the Supreme Being," and "a god" for "God," and what Dr. L. says, will prove the propriety of using the test I propose. Remember, our object is not to prove that a being who is worshiped is a god (for I am firmly persuaded there is only one God in the universe), but that he is a god in the eye of his worshippers; and then, with Dr. L.'s statement changed as above suggested, the matter will stand thus: "A being is not a god because he is worshiped, but he is worshiped because he is (*i. e.* in the mind of his worshiper) a god." May we not then take the fact that a being is worshiped to prove that in the opinion of his votaries he is a god? Instead of putting the effect for the cause, is not this, *according to the theory of worship of both Drs. M. and L.*, from the effect inferring the cause?

To this explanation of my meaning, Dr. L. thus replies in his Letters at p. 34:—"From this, and similar passages, and the general strain of his Essay, I supposed, when I published my Argument, that he understood *God* as meaning *object of worship*. I could not otherwise make out any connection in his reasoning. I have been given to understand, however, that his reasoning is not that *God* means object of worship, or that *Shin* means object of worship, but that the *Shin* being worshiped, are to be regarded as the Gods of China, and that therefore *Shin* is the generic name for *God*; and God, a God, and Gods, ought to be translated by *Shin*. If it be granted to him that the *Shin* are to be regarded as the Gods of China, I do not see the bridge from that to the conclusion that *Shin* is to be translated God, or that *Elohim* and  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  are to be rendered by *Shin*. We may regard *rice* as the oatmeal of China, but if I were to translate a treatise upon oatmeal into Chinese, I should write to little purpose if I spoke all through of *fan*. If the first sentence were, "Oatmeal is a farinaceous food, much used in certain countries," the Chinese could not possibly understand me of anything but *rice*. Unless *Shin* and *God* have the same meaning, Dr. Boone's reasoning is too trifling to be examined at length."

To judge whether my reasoning be too trifling or not to deserve an examination, the Reader should observe what the question at issue between Dr. Medhurst, Dr. Legge and myself is. Dr. Legge, says *shin* does not mean what *Elohim* and  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  mean. They are correctly ren-

dered in English by *God*, and *Shin* by *spirit*. We can no more translate *Elohim* and *Θεός* into Chinese by *Shin*, than we could translate them into English by *spirit*." This is Dr. L.'s assertion. Mine is, that, though *Shin* does not answer to *Elohim* and *Θεός* when these words are used *proprie* (having never been used as the name of a self-existent, almighty, spiritual Being), still it does answer to these words when used *improprie*, and should therefore be rendered into English, not a spirit, spirits, but a god, gods. The question is, How the Chinese regard the class of beings they call *Shin*; what are they to them—gods or mere spirits? Dr. Legge says they regard them as a class of mere spirits; I say, as a class of gods. Hereupon I propose as a test the characteristic difference between gods and mere spirits, given by such men as Cudworth, Mosheim, and Waterland. I show that, according to Dr. Medhurst's theory of worship, and that advanced by Dr. Legge himself in the very context in which he charges me with "blundering," and putting "the effect for the cause," &c., that this test is CHARACTERISTIC; that worship does imply the belief on the part of the worshiper of "divine attributes" in the Being worshiped; and Dr. L. instead of pointing out my "blunder," and showing how I had put the effect for the cause, contents himself with saying, "Dr. Boone's reasoning is too trifling to be examined at length."\*

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\* The difference between Dr. Legge and myself here, arises from the different view we take of the word *God*. He argues as if this word were a simple, in-complex term, the symbol of an idea, and demands a word in Chinese that conveys *this idea*. I, on the contrary, regarding the word *God* as a complex term, the absolute name of a Being (when used *proprie*), and of a class of beings (when used *improprie* by polytheists), fancy, that instead of looking for the name of *this idea*, what we want is, *just the name* of said Being or beings as the case may be; so that if a word in any foreign language is proposed as corresponding to this word, I ask, is the *being* of whom this foreign word is the name, the same as *the Being* of whom our English word *God* is the name; if so then, the foreign word answers to, or means (if you like) the same thing as our English word *God* means when used *proprie*: If the question be with respect to the word *god*, as used *improprie* by polytheists, when it is the name, not of one Being merely, but a name common to a class of beings; then I ask, does the class of beings of whom this foreign word is the name, answer to the class of beings called by us, a god, gods. It is of no importance how any people came to give the name in question to the Supreme Being, or to the class of beings of whom we are speaking, the only question of practical importance is, Is this word in said language the absolute name of the self-existent first cause, the all-wise author of all things on the one hand; or on the other, the absolute name of the class of beings of whom we are speaking?

There is one additional point to which I would advert in this note; the peculiarity of the beings of whom we are speaking; they are mere imaginary beings, and not like Dr. Legge's oatmeal and rice. They have no existence except in the minds of their blinded votaries; hence it is that we must look into the mind of their worshipers, and not to anything in *rerum natura* to find our mark or test of the differentia between them and mere spirits. The differentia between spirits and gods consists no doubt in the one having "divine attributes" as Dr.

In his Letters, at p. 21, Dr. L. says, "We worship because of the *qualities* we apprehend in the *object* of our adoration. These fill us with awe, and of that awe, worship is the fitting expression." That this is the correct theory of worship will perhaps be denied by none. Dr. South, in his Sermon on "Natural Religion," says, "The ground and reason of *all worship* is an opinion of power and will in the person worshiped to answer and supply our desires; which he can not possibly do unless he first apprehend them." And this, I conceive, to be the reason at once why worship is the best test by which to distinguish between a god and a mere spirit; and why it is emphatically that "glory" which God will not give to another. To suppose that an invisible being can "apprehend," attend to, and answer the prayers of all his votaries in all parts of the world, is investing him with attributes of infinity, such as omnipresence, omniscience, &c., &c.; and when you add to this, what the Chinese *predicate* of their *Shin*, and what seems to be implied in all religious worship, such a knowledge of the thoughts and purposes of the human heart that the object worshiped can not be imposed upon by an insincere worshiper; we perceive that the act of worship implies a belief of the existence of many attributes in the object worshiped, which can belong properly to the true God only, and which it is robbing him of "his glory" to ascribe to any other being.

Let us, for instance, take the case of the *Tsdi Shin*, 財神, god of Wealth, who, though not of high rank, is yet perhaps more worshiped than any other *shin* in China. This *shin*, we may suppose, is often

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Medhurst says, while the others have not. But where are we to look for the proofs that the *shin* possess these attributes? I answer, To the acts of their worshipers, that we may learn how they *regard* them, as it is only in their minds that they have any existence at all. The proof to be made of the *differentia* in this case is similar to that in the case of murder, in remarking on which Dr. Whately observes "that the *differentia* which *constitutes* the species, and the mark by which the species are known (in some cases) are not the same: *e. g.* Murder the *differentia* of which is, that it be committed 'with malice of forethought;' this can not be directly ascertained; and therefore we *distinguish* murder from any other homicide by circumstances of preparation, &c., which are not in reality the *differentia*, but indications of the *differentia*, *i. e.* the grounds for concluding that the malice did exist." So in this case; while we admit the *differentia* to be "divine attributes," if Dr. Medhurst pleases, we propose "religious worship" as the "mark," the circumstance which serves as an "indication of the *differentia*," "the ground for our concluding" that "the divine attributes" are possessed by this imaginary being, as he stands complete in the mind of his worshiper, the only place where he has any existence. We have never proposed religious worship as the only mark of distinction between a Being who is truly and properly God and a mere spirit. To make out a being to be God *proprie*, we propose to Dr. Legge to show that he is a self-existent spirit, the author of all other spirits, and of everything extrinsic to himself.



called on at the same moment by many thousands, who are separated hundreds of miles apart. The knowledge of human hearts he must be supposed to have to attend to, and appreciate all these prayers, and the control he must have of all sublunary affairs to enable him to cause matters to work together for the wealth of all who worship him, must be most absolute, and imply power little short of infinite. Now it would appear that this dependence upon any beings without the compass of civil intercourse, this calling upon them for help, this belief in their ability to hear and answer our prayers, is that which constitutes the violation of the First Commandment, and which makes the beings so regarded *gods* in the eye of this commandment and throughout the Scriptures; and it is this same point that Cudworth, Mosheim, and Waterland regard as the distinctive characteristic of the gods of pagan Greece and Rome.

If we are not to contend about mere words, we must agree upon some test by which the claim of *Shángti* to be considered the true God, and of *shin* to be the general name of the Chinese gods may be tried respectively. I have proposed tests for trying the claims of both, not framed by myself to suit my own purposes in this controversy, but quoted from the works of the most learned men that have written on these subjects. If Drs. Medhurst and Legge do not agree to these tests, let them be set aside by argument, and let something *definite* be proposed in their place. Let them furnish a definition of the word *God*, when used *proprie*, that shall commend itself to the judgment of those who are interested in this controversy, and then show that the Chinese *T'ien* is truly and properly God, according to this definition; or, let them give us a definition of the word *god, gods*, that will not cut off the Greek and Roman gods as well as the Elohim of the Old Testament, and I will engage to stand to it. If any other attribute than that of *being supposed a proper object of worship* is necessary to constitute a god in the eyes of polytheists, and they will mention it, I think I may venture to promise that we will prove the *Shin* have this or these attributes also. But to convince us that worship is the *characteristic* mark of a god, we need only look at the 30,000 gods of the Greeks and Romans, and to the Elohim of the Old Testament, and endeavor to find anything else that is common to them all. Therefore we say, that if we wish to distinguish between mere spirits and gods, the test is worship; the worshiped spirit is a god, and this applies even to inanimate things, to wooden images—a worshiped image is a god, *e. g.* Is. xlv. 17, "And the residue thereof he maketh a god, even his graven image; he falleth down unto it and worshipeth it, and saith, *Deliver me, for thou art my god.*"

To prove that the *shin* are the gods of the Chinese, we show that the class of beings so called have been worshiped from the earliest annals of the Empire to the present time; that the highest being known to them, viz., *T'ien* heaven, and *Ti* earth (worshiped at the solstices in the highest sacrifice, called *kiâu*); the beings who preside over the five elements (the immediate producers of all things, styled the Five Rulers); those who preside over the land and grain; the governor of the seas; the dispenser of wealth; the bestower of longevity; the tutelary guardian of their cities; the patrons of every kind of their handicraftsmen; in short, every invisible being, who is invoked by them in times of either joy or sorrow, is included in and *worshiped under this general name Shin*.

We show that in explaining the phrase *Shángti*, the title of their chief deity, they make him neither more nor less than the chief of their *shin*. "*Shángti*, the Supreme Ruler, is the *Shin* of heaven." "*Shángti* is the most honorable of the *shin*." "Expansive Heaven, the Supreme Ruler (*Shángti*) is the most honorable of the hundred *shin*," i. e. of all the *shin*. "They used the *Yen-sz'* to sacrifice to Expansive Heaven, the Supreme Ruler (*Shángti*); this offering did not belong to any other *shin*." The chief of the *shin* is thus described:— "*The greatest of the celestial Shin* is called Expansive Heaven, the Supreme Ruler (*Shángti*). He (this chief *shin*) is also called the celestial, august, great Ruler; also the GREAT ONE, or Unity, "*Tüi yih* 太一." "The Great ONE 太一 is the most honorable of the *Shin* of heaven." "The *Shin* of heaven (*t'ien shin* 天神) is most honorable, and (a Being) with whom none can be compared."

We show that from the time of Shun, there has been an officer appointed to superintend the rites and ceremonies used at the worship of this class of beings; that of the ceremonies thus used in the national worship, we are told, "the principal object of these ceremonies is to serve the *shin*;" and that "in regulating their ceremonies, those which were used in the service of the *shin* were considered most important," thereby excluding all idea of the existence of a class of beings who are above this class called *shin*, and who being worshiped with higher ceremonies, are therefore to be considered the gods of the Chinese. In the *Shú King*, we find the phrase "*shin and men*," just as we meet with the phrase "*gods and men*" in the Greek poets.

These facts appear to me amply sufficient to sustain my position that *Shin* is the general name of the Chinese gods—the absolute appellative name for *god* in the Chinese language, and to show that this word answers to the word θεός in the Homeric and Hesiodic poems.

While they deny none of these facts, Drs. Medhurst and Legge maintain that the Chinese *shin* are mere spirits, not gods, and to this point I must devote the remainder of this Defense. Before attempting however, to answer their objections, I would only ask the reader to take away, in his mind, from the Chinese pantheon all the beings mentioned above, who are called *shin*, and *who are worshiped under this NAME*, and see what place is left for a class of gods after this. And if Drs. M. and L. contend that the beings abovementioned are not gods, but mere spirits, I here call upon them to point out to us who the Chinese gods are; to tell us by whom they are worshiped; what officer is appointed by the state to superintend such worship; by what general name these gods are called, and where—in what classic, their worship is enjoined?

When we insist upon the fact that the *shin* have been worshiped from the earliest times, as proof that they are gods in the eyes of the Chinese; and we contend, that, as Shángtí, the Wú Tí, and all the objects *worshiped* by the Confucianists, Yuh-hwáng Tái-tí the chief god, and all the objects worshiped by the Táiists, are *worshiped* under this *name*, therefore the Chinese are polytheists, and *shin* is the general name of their gods: Dr. Medhurst replies, the Chinese are pneumatists not polytheists, because of such worship, as the *Shin* worshiped are spirits, not gods. Here then, unless we can find some characteristic test to decide our dispute, we may wrangle for ever over this point. I propose worship as the test given in the Sacred Scriptures, and by able men who have written on this subject, and have attempted to show the reasonableness of this test, from the theory of worship given by both Drs. Medhurst and Legge.

In answer to this, our opponents point to the Romanists, who worship saints and angels, the Virgin Mary, &c., and say that as they are not polytheists, so the Chinese, though they worship great numbers of *shin*, may not be polytheists either. This objection is worthy of consideration. The worship of any other being than the self-existent God is false worship, is idolatry; but all idolatry is not necessarily polytheism. What makes the distinction? The answer is, the worship of these objects under the same name with God, thus ranking them in the *same class* of beings with him. The Romanists we know, not only never worship any saint or angel, calling them gods, but they make a distinction also (a vain one as I think) between the worship given to God, and to the Virgin and the saints. But the Chinese in the worship of their Shángtí (who, it is now maintained, is the true God) and their *shin*, make no such distinction. They have no absolute name

of a *higher class of beings* for him; they call him merely the *chief*, the *most honorable* of the *shin*, and worship, along with him, all their *shin* under this *common name*. When in the Chau Lí, we read that an officer, "the Tsung Peh," was appointed to worship the national *Shin*, *K'i*, *Kwei*, &c., we find Shángtí the first enumerated *shin* on the list of those sacrificed to. When, in the same work, we read of the Great Chaplain, we find that this officer's duty was to superintend the offering up of the six forms of prayer to the *shin* (the celestial gods), the *k'i* (the terrestrial gods), and the *kwei* (the man-derived—the manes). Of these six forms of prayer generally, thus offered to these beings, the commentators say, they "were used at the *kiáu* when they sacrificed to Heaven (*Shángtí*) and Earth, and to the gods (*shin*) of the land and grain, and at the sacrifices offered in the ancestral temple." Of the second prayer, the "*nicn chuh*," that it "was used to pray to *Shángtí* and the gods (*shin*) of the land and grain for the bestowal of grain." So it is everywhere; *Shángtí* is *worshipped* as a *shin*, there is no special officer appointed for his worship; he is merely honored as the *chief* of the *Shin*. Now suppose that the Romanists were to worship Jehovah and the Virgin Mary, the Apostles and angels, all under one *common name*; would they not be polytheists? When we find Hau-t'ien Shángtí, the chief object of worship among the Confucianists, and Yuh-hwáng Shángtí, the chief object of worship among the T'auists (which are the two native indigenous religions of China), both called *shin*, and *worshipped* as *shin*; and that all the other beings worshipped in the national rites, or by the T'auists, are called *shin*, and *worshipped* as *shin*; we contend that if Hau-t'ien Shángtí is a god, and Yuh-hwáng-tí Shángtí is a god, then, if the Chinese have any gods at all, and any name by which they call them, these gods are their *shin*; and that this word *Shin* is the appellative name of these gods.

But, says Dr. Medhurst, *Shángtí* we admit is a spiritual being, and *shin* in these cases means spirit. Let us test this by a parallel case, and see if the word *spirit* could maintain its meaning if used as *shin* is. "There are six celestial spirits. Jehovah, who is worshipped in the temple on Mount Zion, is the first." "Jehovah is the spirit of heaven." "Jehovah is the most honorable of all the spirits." "The greatest of the spirits of heaven is called Jehovah." "The *Spirit* of heaven is most honorable, and (a Being) with whom *none* can be compared." "There is not a *spirit* we have not honored. But *Michael* is not able, and *Jehovah* does not come down to our relief." Would not this way of speaking either bring down Jehovah God—the Supreme Being—

to the rank of spirits, or carry up the spirits so spoken of, to the rank of Jehovah, and if He be God, make them Gods too?

Again, let us suppose that we learned from the Sacred Scriptures, that Jehovah had been worshiped under the *name* of, and as a spirit; that throughout the whole ritual directing the worship conducted on Mount Zion, He was regarded as a spirit; that we should observe, that, according to this ritual, "the principal object of the ceremonies (there used) was to serve the *spirits*," and that among all the ceremonies employed, "those that were used in the service of the *spirits* were considered *most important*; that the officers appointed were "to sacrifice to, and offer up prayers to the *spirits*," and that there was not any passage in the whole ritual which spoke of any priest appointed to sacrifice to or worship Him under the name of, or as, God; should we not think that the words *God* and *Spirit* had changed places?

Now this is the case in China. *Shin* is the highest *absolute appellative noun* in the language; there is no class of beings higher than this class; Shángtí, the Supreme Ruler, the highest being spoken of in the Classics, is merely the *chief one* of this class. No officers were ever appointed to worship any class of beings called *tí*, rulers. Shángtí, the Supreme Ruler, was worshiped, but, as we have seen, as a *shin*, the Ruler of the *other shin*, and not as a being of a distinct class, or species from the *shin* over whom he ruled, as he must have been, if the Chinese regarded him as a god, and the other *shin* as *mere spirits*, beings belonging to a *different species*. More than this, we are expressly told, that "if Shángtí were not a *shin* (observe he might still be a *tí*, a ruler; or a *Shángtí*, a Supreme Ruler), it would be of no use to pray to him; but if he be a *shin*, he can not be deceived." Here Shángtí's being a proper object of *worship* is ascribed to the fact of his being a *shin*, (not to his being *tí*, or *Shángtí*), and it is in consequence of his being a *shin*, that he knows the thoughts and purposes of the human heart, so that he can not be deceived by an insincere worshiper. If *shin* means nothing more than spirit, and Shángtí is the highest being known to the Chinese, deriving as he does his right to *worship* and his *heart-discerning intelligence* from his being a *shin* (the word which denotes his *nature*, and not from his being Shángtí, the Supreme Ruler over the other *shin*,—his *official title*), then it seems clear that the Chinese can not know of any higher being, or class of beings, than spirits, and it is of no use to seek for any word in their language meaning a god, gods, not to mention for an instant, a word answering to our word God.

From these considerations it is quite conclusive to my mind that the Chinese, because of the worship of their *shin* are to be accounted polytheists, and not polypneumatists.

But the Chinese are acquainted not only with the objects worshiped in their two indigenous religions, viz. Confucianism and T'auism; they have encountered men of other religions, and in their books have given us an account of the objects worshiped by these foreigners. By what Chinese name then do the Confucianists and T'auists call the beings whom these foreigners call gods?

The answer to this question will assist us much in determining what is the appellative name for *God* in Chinese. For instance, if it is maintained that Heaven and Earth, and the beings who preside over the land and grain, over wealth, fire, &c., when worshiped under the common name *shin*, are all worshiped as mere spirits and not gods; there can be no doubt of the light in which Budha is regarded; no one would think of calling him a mere spirit. What then do the Confucianists call him?

In the historical work called Káng Kien í Chí 網鑑易知, or Mirror of History, when describing the introduction of Buddhism into China, the author says, "The king heard that in the West 有神其名曰佛, there was a god (*shin*) whose name was Budha." The historian quoted in Kanghi's Dictionary under the character *fuh* 佛, tells a story of the Emperor Ming 明 of the Hán dynasty (A.D. 50), seeing in a dream a golden man flying about his palace. The next morning, upon inquiring the meaning of it he was told by one of his courtiers that it related to Budha. His words were 天竺國有佛即神也, "In India there is Budha, that is a god (*shin*)."  
In the Commentary on the Sacred Edict, he is repeatedly called "*Shin Fuh* 神佛 the god Budha." The word *shin* in all these instances must be rendered *god* and not *spirit*; if then when speaking of a foreign object of worship, who is confessedly not a mere spirit but a god, they call him *shin*, why should not we suppose that when they call their native objects of worship, Heaven, Earth, &c., &c., *shin*, they mean to rank them as *gods* also, and not as mere spirits?

We have also accounts of other foreign religions besides that of the Budhists. In a work on geography recently published by Sü Sung-lung, the lieut-governor of Fuhkien province, the author speaks much of the religions of the people he describes. Speaking of the Persians and Indians, he says, "In the high antiquity, in Persia and India, all served the god of Fire (*Ho Shin* 火神). Those who served the

god of Fire worshiped the rising sun, or igniting faggots, they worshiped towards them. For the people considered that if there was no fire wherewith to cook, they could not live; and that if there was no bright sun, then in the universe there could be nothing seen. Therefore the foreigners of these two countries, from a high antiquity, had this custom. The idea arose from a desire to recompense the root (*i.e.* to acknowledge their god, the sun, as a source of blessing): it was not a depraved god" (*sié shin*) *i.e.* a being who afflicted them with curses, but a benignant being who sent them blessings. Now the Sun is the one being worshiped by the Parsees. Do they regard this being as a mere spirit? Could this author have supposed they regarded it as a mere spirit? Speaking of the ruin of Ormuz, our author says "There is an old temple there where the sun, the god of Fire (*Ho Shin*) was honored." "The Africans," he tells us, "worship trees, birds, and beasts as gods (*shin*), and whoever kills an enemy offers him in sacrifice to them. . . . The people of Guinea worship birds and beasts as gods (*shin*)." When telling of Hannibal's swearing eternal enmity to the Romans, he says that he swore before 人必德爾. *Jih-pih-tih'rh*, Jupiter, and in a note calls him "so fung tsung tsú chí *shin* 所奉宗祖之神, the god (*shin*) whom their ancestors worshiped." Thus we see that the word *shin* is used by this writer just as we would use the word *god* in English. No one would say the Parsees worshiped "the Sun, the spirit of fire;" that Jupiter was a spirit; that trees, birds, beasts, &c., were worshiped as spirits.

But there are nations with whose worship we are yet more familiar, whose religion is spoken of by this writer. In the 3d Section, 37th page of his work, he speaks of the object worshiped by the Jews and by all the European nations. By what name does he call this Being? His account is as follows:—"In Fuh-lin (Palestine) *i.e.* in Judea and in the countries to the west of it (Europe), all serve the God (*Shin*) of heaven. The worship of the God (*Shin*) of heaven commenced with Moses in the time of *Wuh-ting* (B.C. 1720) in the beginning of the Sháng dynasty. He (Moses) pretends that the God (*Shin*) of heaven descended upon Mount Sinai in Arabia, and delivered the Ten Commandments for the instruction of men. The observance of the seventh day as a Sabbath commenced from this time, which is distant from the birth of Jesus one thousand and several hundred years. The (*t'ien chú kiáu*) religion of the Lord of Heaven (the Romish) sprung from this; it is not the Romish religion."

Of the character of the Being worshiped by the Jews and Europeans, *we* can have no question; and I think there can be no doubt

that this author knew that He who gave the law at Mount Sinai, and who is the alone object of worship of the Jews, the Romanists, and of all Europeans, was no mere spirit; and yet he calls Him all through this section the *Shin* of heaven. In other parts he calls Jesus, when spoken of as an object of worship, by this name *Shin*: e. g. the 6th Section, at the 39th page:—"Those who enter the religion of Jesus, do not sacrifice to any other god (*Shin*) 不祀别神, they do not make offerings to their ancestors, but regard Jesus as the Savior of the world." Also Section 2, p. 7., 不祀先祖, 所奉之神, 惟吐氏而已, "they do not sacrifice to ancestors but *Luh-shi* (*Logos*?); that is, Jesus is the only god (*Shin*) they serve."

These quotations from the work of the lieut.-governor of Fuhkien, who is admitted to be a very accomplished writer, are of importance, not only to prove that the word *Shin* is, in some cases at any rate, used in the sense of god and not spirit; they are also very important to rebut some assertions of Dr. Medhurst contained in his recent publications.

In the Letter to the Protestant Missionaries at the Five Ports, signed by himself and five others, he asserts that the use of *shin* to render Θεός in the N. T. would render "the whole work unclassical and contemptible," "provoke the ridicule of every well informed Chinese;" that "it would spoil the work for any efficiency to others;" "produce monstrous difficulties for us to struggle against," "involve an absurdity;" and above all, "throw obstacles in the way of the reception of the truth on the part of the Chinese."

That, under all the circumstances of the case, Dr. M. and his friends, to carry a particular point should have had recourse to such rhetoric as that above quoted, is very much to be regretted. Dr. Medhurst has been for thirty years a student of the Chinese language; he is known to be an excellent scholar, and he might justly expect that his opinions on any matter respecting the Chinese would have great weight, not only in Europe and America, but also with his missionary brethren in China, especially those recently arrived. This should have bound him to particular carefulness in the statements of the facts of this great case which he put forth to the public, and to the exercise of much caution in the expression of his opinions. Instead of this, his statements concerning the facts of the case have been so contradictory (no notice being given to the reader of these contradictions), and many of the opinions expressed by him are so manifestly the result of irritation, not of calm judgment, that we must warn him not to be surprized if, in China at least, and among his missionary brethren,



whose knowledge of the language of the country enables them to inquire for themselves of "well-informed Chinese," what is their opinion of the use of *Skin*, if his statements and opinions cease to have any weight at all.

On Dr. Medhurst's contradictory statements with respect to the meaning and character of some of the most important words about which controversy exists, I have already commented, and shall have still further occasion to comment; so that I shall say nothing more on that subject at present. But I will here mention some of the circumstances connected with the Letter of the 30th Jan., which tend, in my mind, to deprive the opinions therein expressed in the intemperate language above quoted, of all weight.

On the 17th of January, Dr. Medhurst, Mr. Stronach and Mr. Milne urged Dr. Bridgman and myself to consent to a compromise of our difficulties, in order to procure an immediate edition of parts of the N. T. The compromise proposed by them was that we should consent to their having 5,000 copies with the word Θεός rendered by 天, on which condition they would consent to our having 5,000 copies with Θεός rendered by *Skin*. This compromise we rejected: this was on the 17th of January, 1850.

These facts are important, as the sequel will show, to enable the reader to estimate, at their true worth, the opinions of Dr. M. and of Messrs. S. and M. above quoted. On the 17th of January, they surely could not have supposed that the use of *Skin* to translate Θεός would render God's holy word "contemptible," and "throw obstacles in the way of the reception of the truth on the part of the Chinese," or, they could not have consented to a compromise with such a term; and if they learned, at so late a stage of our controversy, all these sad things about *Skin*, only after they became provoked with us for rejecting their proffered compromise, *i.e.* between the 17th and 30th of January, the judicious reader will readily understand how much, opinions taken up under such circumstances, and expressed in such language, should weigh with him.

If the opinions concerning *Skin* above quoted are correct, no missionary, as he reverences God's holy word, should have anything to do with it as the rendering of Θεός; and if every "well-informed Chinese" is to be supposed capable of appreciating the "ridicule" its use must cause, all those who have used this term for God are to be esteemed shamefully culpable for not exercising even the commonest care in a matter of such extreme importance. I am far from desiring that the cause of *Skin* should stand upon the shoulders of any men; if it is not

sustained by truth and right reason, let it fall, and the sooner the better; but I am unwilling that all who have used it should be accounted guilty of rendering God's holy word "contemptible." It is well known that Drs. Morrison, Milne, and Marshman used this word *Shin* as the rendering of *Elohim* and *Θεός* in their versions of the SS.; and one would have supposed that this fact would have restrained all of the six signers from speaking in such language of the use of *Shin* for God in the Scriptures. But in the case of Dr. Medhurst, in addition to his respect for the dead and the living who have used this word, we should have supposed that some regard for his own past course would have prevented his asserting, so broadly and unqualifiedly, that such a use of *Shin* would render God's holy word contemptible.

I have before me a copy of a work of his on the Ten Commandments. The First reads thus:—" *Shin* spake all these words, saying, I am the Divine Lord (*Shin Chú* 神主) thy *Shin*," &c. The object of the First Commandment is thus stated, 論只拜一神. "Teaches that we should only worship one *Shin*." Had Dr. Medhurst never met with a "well-informed Chinese," when he wrote this work, whose opinion he might have asked, and so prevented himself from rendering that important part of God's holy word "contemptible," which I am sure the object of his work was to commend to the reverence and obedience of the Chinese? In the *Sán-sz' King*, Dr. M. uses the word *Shin* for God throughout. Such sentences as the following occur: 神爲靈. God (*Shin*) is a Spirit (*Ling*); 萬人乎頌讚神. O, all ye people, praise *Shin*; 神造人, *Shin* (God) made man; 神之子. God's (*Shin*) Son, &c., &c. This work has been distributed by members of the mission who signed this Letter, since the passages quoted from it were published. How can Dr. Medhurst and the other signers of this Letter account for their conduct in thus distributing this book, if they *really believe* that the use of *Shin* for God renders a work "contemptible," and that the calling God by this name will "provoke the ridicule of every well-informed Chinese?" And if they were not so fully persuaded of this as to allow it to influence their own conduct, how could they publish such opinions to influence the conduct of others?

When I read this letter, I could not but ask myself, Do these six signers really suppose that Drs. Morrison, Milne and Marshman, never met with any well-informed Chinese; or, meeting with them, never put themselves to the trouble to inquire what they thought of the use of *Shin* to render the word *God*? Do they really mean to assert that the result of the many years of hard labor of these zealous

men was to make God's holy book "contemptible" in the eyes of the Chinese, and to bring upon themselves and their work the ridicule of this heathen nation? Are Dr. Medhurst and those who signed this paper with him, the only missionaries now in China who are favored with the intercourse of well-informed Chinese? Dr. Medhurst, from his whole course seems determined either to destroy *Shin*, or his own reputation for accuracy. *Shin*, I am persuaded, is beyond his reach.

I will not dwell longer on this unpleasant subject; but we surely could not have more direct proof that *Shin* may be used for God, without giving offense to "well-informed Chinese," than that furnished in the quotations above given from the geographical work, unless the intelligence of this high dignity is to be impeached.\*

There is another consideration which proves conclusively to my mind that the *shin* are, in the estimation of the Chinese, gods, not spirits. It is that they call their idols by this name. 'The Chinese are, like the Athenians, "wholly given to idolatry." To their idols they have built thousands of temples: every street, every house, even their boats are full of them: so that Dr. Medhurst, in his work on this country, tells us, "that it was more easy to find a god than a man in China." These idols, whether done in stone or wood, or drawn on paper, are called by the people *shin*. Of this fact any one, who can speak the language, may satisfy himself by going into their temples and inquiring of the bystanders where the *Shin* thereof, *e.g.* of Fire,

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\* My object in quoting from this writer is not to produce the impression upon the mind of the reader, that according to his opinion the words *Elohim* and *Θεός* should, in our translation of the S. S., be rendered by *Skin*, or *Tien Shin* 天神, for I suppose the writer has never thought of the subject; but only to show that he does not hesitate to call the Being who gave the Law on Mount Sinai, the *Shin* of Heaven, and to call our blessed Savior "the only *Shin* worshiped by Christians." This author calls the Being worshiped by Christians, *Tien* 天, *Sháng Tien* 上天, *Sháng Ty* 上帝, *Tien Chú* 天主, *Tien Shin* 天神, and *Shin* 神. Thus his authority may be quoted for rendering this word, when used *proprie*, by any of these phrases; but it should be observed he does not call the Sun worshiped by the Parsees, the trees, beasts, and birds worshiped by the people of Africa, or the Jupiter of the Greeks *Tien* or *Shangtt*, but *Shin*. If then we would choose a word that can be employed to render *Elohim* and *Θεός*, both when used *proprie* and *improprie*, and will be guided by this author, we must use *Skin*; for it was a *Skin* who give the law at Mount Sinai; it is Jesus who is the alone *Shin* worshiped by Christians; and the objects worshiped by Greeks, Parsees, and Africans are *Shin* and not *Shangtt*.—For an interesting account of some old temples that were built in the Xth century to the God of Heaven, see Appendix B.

and inquiring of the bystanders where the *Shin* thereof, *e. g.* of Fire, Wealth, &c., is. Dr. Bettelheim gives us the following letter from an officer of Lewchew about the gods of a temple in that country:—

“I yesterday received your letter. You went to see the *Hü-kueoh* (Country-protecting) Monastery, and found it in all respects commodious and suitable for a residence. You do not speak now of removing to another lodging, but you request us to remove the gods (*shin*) of the temple, and place them outside of it. But the abbot of this monastery has told me, in relation to removing these gods (*shin*), that on his previous humble application you permitted them to remain as heretofore. Now this temple is the *place of prayer for the whole country*, and consequently of the *utmost importance*. In case you should remain long in it, there would be much inconvenience. I beg you to wait till another day, when I will choose a place, and let you know that you can move. I send this short note, respectfully hoping you are happy; this is all I have to say. Hiäng Yung-páu, treasurer of Chungshán fú. May 8th, 1846. An important communication.” See *Jan. No.*, page 31.

I have before me now a chart of all the *shin*, (*tsung shin* 總神). In the seat of highest eminence I see the representation of a venerable old man with a crown on his head; directly over him are written the two characters *Shángtí* 上帝; it is the chief god of the Táuists; there are *shin* of all ranks and sizes around him; Confucius, too, is there; the *Wú Tí* 五帝 Five Rulers are there also; every one of these *shin* is represented as a corporeal being, has a human figure; and yet Dr. Medhurst now tells us the Chinese *Shin* are not gods, but mere spirits. What! you ask: That old man who sits at the head of them all—this stone or wooden thing—do the Chinese really think it a spirit; an incorporeal, immaterial being? To this, Dr. M. replies: “The phrase ‘wooden gods’ may occur, but it is evident it is used by metonymy for the wooden *images* of gods; and it would be quite as appropriate to speak of the *wooden images* of spirits, or of saints, as of gods.” The propriety of such a figure of speech will depend upon the character of the gods of whom these wooden statues are said to be images. A spirit is, if we understand the word aright, *ex vi termini*, an immaterial, incorporeal being. A material image of such a being is very different from that of a god, who may be supposed to be a being compounded of spirit and body. The Apostle says in Rom. i. 21, “Their foolish heart was darkened; they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds,” &c., *i. e.* they lost the sense of God’s pure spirituality, and conceived of him as resembling men, birds, beasts, &c.

The Greeks we know made images of their *θεοι*, and all polytheists we believe have done the same: but these makers of images we fancy

have never regarded their gods as purely spiritual,—incorporeal, immaterial beings. Spiritual beings they were, but not uncomposed : they had bodies as well as spirits, so that there was no absurdity in their making corporeal images of them. If the Greeks esteemed their gods as pure spirits, how could Demetrius have any controversy with Paul for asserting that “ They be no gods that are made with hands.” The gods of Homer are certainly corporeal beings—not mere immaterial spirits. They ride in chariots, fight in armor, and are wounded in conflict with mortal men ; *e. g.* when Minerva mounted the car as the charioteer of Diomed,

“ The groaning axle bent beneath *the load,*  
So great a Hero, and so great a God.”

Diomed and Mars fight : the poet thus describes their encounter :—

“ Now, rushing fierce, *in equal arms appear,*  
The daring Greek, the dreadful god of War.  
Full at the chief, above his courser's head,  
From Mars's arm th' enormous weapon fled :  
Pallas opposed *her hand,* and caused to glance  
Far from the car, the strong immortal lance ;  
Then threw the force of Tidesus' warlike son ;  
The javelin hiss'd ; the goddess urged it on ;  
Where the *broad cincture girt his armor round*  
It pierced the God ; his groin received the wound.  
Mars bellows with the pain, &c.”\*

To speak of the images of such gods as these appears natural and appropriate ; but I can not see what propriety there would be in persons making “ wooden images of spirits,”—of incorporeal, immaterial beings. Until therefore Dr. M. brings us an instance of some people making stone or wooden images, and worshiping them under the name of *spirits*, we must conclude from the fact that the Chinese make images of their *shin* and worship them, that they do regard them as gods ; and that, because of this worship, they are to be accounted polytheists, and not polypneumatists.

In answer to all that we have urged above to show that *shin* is the absolute, appellative name of the Chinese gods, instances are produced in which the word can not be rendered *god* ; where, for instance, the human spirit—that of a living man—is called *shin* ; and as the word in this case can not be rendered a *god*, the inference is drawn that it can not in any instance have this meaning. Dr. L. says, “ If it

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\* According to the views of the American Missionary, Homer here seems to use the word  $\Theta\sigma\gamma$  very unclassically ; but if the *Iliad* is to be put aside, what Greek book shall we consider entitled to rank among the Greek classics ?

really mean *god* in any case, then it always means *god*." But words are not so bound down to a single meaning as Dr. L. would here have us to suppose; and in this particular case, the absurdity of supposing that different Chinese writers, or even the same Chinese writer, may have used the same word for both *god* and *spirit*, is not manifest to my mind. I know that Drs. Morrison, Milne, Medhurst, Gutzlaff, and a number of other very intelligent Christian men have used *shin* in the sense of *God*, *a god*, *gods*, and of *spirit* also; and if such men as these have fallen into the error of using the same word for *God* and *spirit*, it is surely too much to suppose it an absurdity to fancy that Chinese writers may have used the word *shin* in the sense of *a god*, *gods*, and in that of *spirit* also. I readily admit that to render *shin god*, in the cases adduced by Dr. L.,—"I felt my heart and god (*shin*) blown about;" and, "As I write, my god (*shin*) gallops away to you &c.;"—would be very absurd; for there can be no doubt that by *shin* 心 神 in the first sentence, and *shin* 神 in the last, the writer means his own mind.

But on the contrary, I contend that the absurdity is equally great to suppose the writers quoted above use the word *Shin* in *this* sense, when they call the Being who gave the Law on Mount Sinai a *Shin*; when they call Jesus the only *Shin* worshiped by Christians; or Buddha, the *Shin Fu*; or say trees, birds, and beasts were worshiped as *shin*. When both classes of facts are considered, the conclusion to my mind is inevitable, that the Chinese use this word *shin* where we would use *god* and also *spirit*. I contend, however, that when used in the place of the latter word, they do not attach the same meaning to the word *shin* that we do to the word *spirit*. With us, the word *spirit* means a created, incorporeal, intelligent being: the human spirit we regard as such a being. The Chinese, I fancy, do not call the human spirit *shin* from conceiving of it in this way; but on the contrary, from regarding it as a part of the eternally existing *Shin* that belonged to the primordial substance of which heaven, earth, man, and all things were made. The human *shin*, therefore, is only a portion of the universally diffused divinity. But I shall endeavor to set forth the Chinese views of this matter more fully after I have noticed Dr. Medhurst's answer to the conclusion drawn from the premises stated in my Essay, viz., "That the class of beings called *shin*, being the highest class worshiped by the Chinese, must be regarded as the gods of China, and *shin* as the generic name for *god* in the Chinese language." "In reply to this," Dr. M. says (See Vol. XVII., page 552), "we may observe that we have abundantly proved *shin* to be the general

name for spirits in the Chinese language, including a larger range of beings than what are usually termed *gods* in any country, while it is never used for *God*, par excellence, by any Chinese writer." This reply only brings out the necessity, above insisted on, of some *characteristic test* by which to distinguish between gods and spirits. To say the *shin* include "a larger range of beings than what are usually termed gods," is so vague that we can determine nothing from it, as the Chinese may have used the appellative name for *god* in their language to include a larger range of beings than any other people have ever done.

With respect to the next point, on which Dr. M. evidently lays the greatest stress, that as *shin* is never used for *God* par excellence, therefore it can not be the generic name for *god* in Chinese, it appears to me a complete *non sequitur*. It is in effect contending that, because an appellative noun has never been used to designate by way of eminence a certain one of the class of which it is the general name, *ergo*, it can not be the generic name of that class. The questions, I contend, are perfectly distinct. Is *shin* the generic or absolute appellative name of the Chinese gods? And, has this word ever been used to designate by way of eminence the chief one of the class; the highest being they have ever conceived of? It can serve no purpose but to entangle the argument to merge these questions into one.

We say the class called *gods* is the highest class of beings acknowledged by polytheists, therefore the word *god* is the highest absolute appellative noun in the language of said polytheists: in accordance with this we show that *shin* is the highest absolute appellative noun in the Chinese language; in other words, it is the absolute name of the highest class of beings known to the Chinese, and we conclude that this word must either be the name of their gods, or that they have no gods. We show that *Shángti* is merely the chief one of this class; that he is worshiped as one of this class, and that it is said it would be no use to worship him if he did not belong to this class; but, because it has not pleased the Chinese to use the general name of this class when standing absolutely to designate the highest being they know, but choose to call him either by his proper name 天 *T'ien*, Heaven, or by his title *Shángti* 上 帝 the Supreme Ruler, or the Ruler on high, Dr. M. contends that *shin* can not be the generic name for *god* in Chinese. As well might he contend that the word *jin* 人 is not the name of the genus *homo* in Chinese, because the chief one of this genus, he who has most power, to whom the most honor and reverence is shown, and whom all the other individuals of

this genus in China obey, is never called "the man" par excellence, but is distinguished either by his proper name, or by some title.\*

To upset the conclusion that *shin* is the absolute appellative name for *god* in Chinese, it should be shown who the Chinese gods are; that they are a higher class of beings than the *shin*, and what their absolute appellative name is; this last word being found, the claim of *shin* would be set aside at once. Dr. Medhurst wrote his Inquiry to prove that 帝 was this word, the "generic for God in Chinese." This ground, however, he abandoned in his letter of the 30th January, 1850, and it has since been most peremptorily overruled by Dr. Legge, who says, "The question 'what is the generic term for god in Chinese' is futile, as there is no such word in any language. It (帝) means Ruler." According to Dr. Legge, *god* is a relative term; he goes therefore in quest of an appellative relative, and finds all he wants in *Shángti*; this, however, can not content Dr. M., who must have a generic term, and who all through his writings has regarded the word *god* as an absolute appellative. Having fallen out with *shin*, and being obliged to abandon 帝 as this absolute appellative, there was no resource left him but to fly to a foreign language for aid. According to his principles, and that of those who signed with him the letter of the 30th January, that we must have a generic term, he should I think, have returned to *shin*, and adhered to this term, until some higher absolute appellative noun in the language was produced, or he became convinced that the Chinese have no gods at all; for the fact that *shin* is never used when standing absolutely to designate the chief Chinese god, can not prove that it is not the general name of all their gods. If the fact could be *proved*, which it is the object of this argument to *imply*, that because *Shángti*, the chief god, is never designated by *shin* when this word stands absolutely, he therefore belongs to a higher class of beings than the class called *shin*; i. e. that he is something more as to his *nature* than the chief *one* of this class, then indeed there would be great weight in the argument. Dr. M.'s Inquiry was written to make out this point, as I said, not only for *Sháng-*

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\* The argument of Dr. M., that, because *shin* is never used for God par excellence, it can not therefore be the generic name for *god* in Chinese, is based upon the assumption that the word for *god* in every language must first be used *proprie*, and then afterwards *improprie*, but I think I have sufficiently shown that this is bare assumption. The first use of the appellative name for *god*, when standing absolutely, to designate a disposing mind, the author of all things, may be long subsequent to the use of this word as the general name of the gods of a people, as we have shown above in the instance of Anaxagoras, who is said first to have used the Greek word Θεός in this way.



ti, but for the other shin who are styled *ti*, rulers; but it is now admitted that *ti* is a relative term "that does not indicate nature," and the whole argument of the Inquiry of course goes for nothing. Dr. Legge asserts it as his opinion that "there are to the minds of the Chinese people three orders of intelligent existences—men, shin or spirits, and Shángtí." If Dr. Legge had proved this instead of merely asserting it; if he had shown that the authors quoted by me in my Essay, who assert "That Shángtí is the Shin of Heaven;" "the greatest of the celestial Shin;" "the most honorable of the hundred Shin," &c., &c., were mistaken, and had degraded him by such a classification; and above all, that he was never *worshiped among this class*, and under the *name of shin*; it would have had more weight than such a naked assertion, without any attempt at proof; for I can not consider the assertion that "Shángtí is the Lord and Governor of the other two," as affording the slightest *proof* that the *nature* of Shángtí is higher than that of the shin he governs. If this be admitted as proof of superiority of *nature*, then I am sure, quite as good an argument can be constructed to prove that the Emperor, who is styled *Hwángtí* 皇帝 August Ruler, is of a higher nature than the men over whom he rules.

That *shin* has never been used, when standing absolutely, to designate the highest being known to the Chinese, has been, I believe, the greatest hindrance to its universal adoption as the rendering of *Elohim* and  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  by the Protestant missionaries now in China. Under all the circumstances of the case however, I fancy, that this word is better adapted to our purpose, which is, to teach this people the knowledge of the true God, not having been thus applied, than it would have been, if by previous Chinese usage, it had designated, when standing absolutely, their highest being, their chief god *T'ien*. This *T'ien* not being like the monadic  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  of the Greeks  $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ; not being the maker of the heavens and the earth; not a self-existent, independent being, who can be regarded as truly and properly God; had the word *Shin*, when standing absolutely, designated this being, we should have had to unteach them this meaning of the word, and to have taught them to understand by it when so used, not their *t'ien*, but Jehovah, the self-existent, the living and true God. Instead of an assistance, such a use of the word  $\kappa\alpha\iota'$   $\delta\epsilon\omicron\chi\eta\iota\nu$  would have been a hindrance to us. Being the absolute appellative name of *god* in Chinese, we should have been obliged to use this word; and its having already been employed, when standing absolutely to designate a false god, we should have had the double work, first to unteach, and next

to teach. If therefore seems to me that, as among all the Chinese gods there is not one who is self-existent, not one who is truly and properly God, we may rejoice that the general name of their gods was never used to designate any one of them as *Shin* καὶ ἕξοχόν; this use of the term, when put absolutely to designate a definite individual being, being reserved by God's providence, for his own servants to introduce, as the absolute appellative name of Himself, who alone can claim to be the God by way of eminence, the alone God.

*Shin* never having been used to designate any definite individual, the indefiniteness of this term has been felt by many as a great difficulty in the way of its use to render *Elohim*. That the word is thus indefinite there can be no doubt, and that our being obliged to use so indefinite a word to render *Elohim* is a matter much to be regretted, is clear; but this is not so much an objection against *shin*, as against the whole Chinese language, and is, if the Chinese really know no being who is truly and properly God, just what we might have expected; for without a clear apprehension, that among the beings called by the "one general name, answering to that of God among us," (to use the words of Dr. Barrow quoted above p. 575) there was *one*, who himself uncreated and self-existent, was the author of all the rest, and of all things beside, we could not expect that this general name would have been used to designate any καὶ ἕξοχόν, for such a use has a monotheistic force about it, and gives an absolute eminence to this one, which nothing but his being the cause of all the others would, we may suppose, suggest, or seem to justify.

In the Confucian classics their chief god *T'ien* is never so conceived of; he is never supposed to have made *ti* 地 earth, or any of the *t'ien* *shin* 天神 celestial gods. He is, as we have so often said above, merely the chief of his class, and is therefore more appropriately distinguished from the other *shin* by a title of office or dignity, than he would be by a καὶ ἕξοχόν use of the general name of the class (*shin*), just as in the case of the chief among the men in China, who is in like manner distinguished from his fellowmen by a title of office or dignity, and not by the καὶ ἕξοχόν use of the word *jin* 人 man: the only difference being, that whereas Yáu or Shun is simply *Ti Yáu*, the Emperor Yáu, or *Ti Shun*, the Emperor Shun, and their remarks are introduced by the phrase *Ti yuch* 帝曰 the Emperor said: *T'ien* is called *Shángtí*, the Ruler or Emperor on high, and he is so impersonal a being in their conceptions, that I do not remember a single sentence in which the phrase "*Shángtí yuch* 上帝曰, the Ruler on high says," occurs.

If we compare the Chinese views on the subject of deity with the views which Dr. Barrow has given as first, those which have "been a constant opinion in all place and times;" and secondly, those which have been "the general sense of the most ancient, most wise, and most noble nations among men," we shall find that the Chinese agree in every particular with the first class, but have never attained to the second. *E. g.* they have believed, to use Dr. Barrow's words, "that in the world, there are beings imperceptible to our senses, much superior to us in knowledge and power, that can perform works above and contrary to the cause of nature, and who concerning themselves sometimes to do so for the interest of mankind; for these qualifications and performances deserve extraordinary respect from us;" and they have to this "sort of beings given one general name" (*shin*) "as hath been in all languages assigned, answering to that of *god* among us." But they have never gone on to the second class described by Barrow; they never believed that "of such beings there is *one*, supreme and most excellent, incomparably surpassing in all those attributes of wisdom, and power, and goodness, from whom *the rest* and *all things beside*, have derived their beings, do depend upon, are sustained and governed by; the author of *all being*, and dispenser of *all good*, to whom consequently supreme love, reverence, and obedience, is due:" and in consequence of this they have not, as "the wisest and noblest nations among men have done," appointed "this general name" (*God* or *shin*) "in a peculiar and eminent manner to *this one*, so that when the word is absolutely put, without any adjunct of limitation or diminution, he only is meant and understood." This is the plain fact of the case, the Chinese have not used the absolute appellative name of their gods, as Barrow says the noblest nations of men have done; the reason I have supposed is, that their highest being wanted the essential characteristics (self-existence and omni-causality, as Cudworth calls them) of the highest being of these noblest nations.

But however it may be accounted for, the fact is undoubtedly so, and the question is, What are we, under the actual circumstances of the case, to do? How are we to teach the Chinese the knowledge of such a being, and to lead them on even beyond this, to monotheism. I answer, follow the example of these noblest nations; use "the general name of this sort of beings, without any adjunct of limitation or diminution, when absolutely put," to designate, not their highest being, but ours—to designate Jehovah, the true *Shin*. By this course we shall teach an unmistakable monotheism; the general name of their gods is challenged as proper to Jehovah alone; the other *shin* are all

pushed *out of existence*, they are made to be no *shin*—nonentities. A new distinction is introduced as existing between the members of the class comprehended under this common name, in place of the old polytheistic one of higher and lower, ruler and ruled—a distinction of true and false—a distinction founded on nature, according to the words of the Apostle in Gal. iv. 8., "Then when ye knew not God, ye did service unto them which by *nature* are no gods "

Dr. Legge proposes to effect this object by the use of a title of dignity or office, by the use of the phrase *Shángti*, the Supreme Ruler. But with this phrase, I am persuaded, he will never teach the Chinese a real monotheism. He may teach a Divine Monarchy, but this, so far from being monotheism, implies, in all the polytheistic systems with which we are acquainted, a plurality—a large class of gods, as the subjects of this Divine Monarch.

The affirmation that "there is only one *Shángti*" will never teach monotheism. The assertion "that there is only one Supreme Ruler" does not push the gods now worshiped by the Chinese out of existence; it does not introduce the scriptural distinction of true God, or no God at all, but only continues the old polytheistic distinction of supreme and inferior, recognized here in China from the days of Yáu and Shun to the present time, and which *ex vi termini*, instead of negating, implies the existence of the inferior equally with that of the superior. No title of office or dignity will answer, no word limited "by adjunct" or adjective can be used to declare that there is in reality *only one of the species* spoken of; and therefore it is, that we *must use* the absolute appellative name of the gods of a polytheistic people to render *Elohim* and *Θεός* into their language. The fact that *shin* has never been used *καὶ ἕσχατον* to designate their *T'ien*, should not induce us to lay this word aside for the name of a dignity or office, but only be remembered by us as indicating how much we have to teach this poor, benighted nation.

That people have fallen into errors on any given subject is no reason why we should not call this subject by the same name they do, when our object is to correct these errors.

There are two uses of the word *Shin* that have weighed very much against its employment as the rendering of *Elohim* and *Θεός*: I refer to the fact that the manes of the dead, and the human soul have been called by this name. When the circumstances that led to these uses are duly considered, it does not appear to me that either use is a valid objection to the employment of this word to render *Θεός*. I shall consider them separately.

And first that the calling the manes of ancestors in common with all the other objects worshiped, *shin*, is no argument to prove that the word when so used does not mean *god*, we think will appear from the following considerations:—1st. That the *distinctive* name of the manes of ancestors is *kwei*, not *shin*. 2d. That *shin* is the distinctive name of the objects of worship who reside in heaven (the Olympian deities). 3d. That, when not restricted to this, its appropriate meaning, it is then used as the general name of all the objects worshiped in the state religion. This appears from the explanation of the uses of this word quoted in Vol. XVII., p. 33:—"If we speak of them (*i. e.* the objects worshiped in the national rites) separately, the *t'ien shin*, celestial gods, are alone called *shin*; but if we speak of them collectively, then the *kwei*, human manes, and the *k'i*, terrestrial gods, are both called *shin*." That is, *Shin*, when thus used, is the general name of all the objects worshiped in the national rites. 4th. That the manes of a deceased ancestor, when regarded as an object of religious worship, should be ranked in the same class with the Chinese Olympian deities, so far as this is done, by their all being called by the same appellative name, *shin*, should not surprise us, when we remember the hero-gods of Greece and the "*Dii lares et penates*" of the Romans. That heroism was the idol of ancient Greece accounts to us for the fact that Hercules, after death, was ranked among the *θεοι*. If we remember that the whole ethical system of the Chinese turns, not on the duty of obedience to *T'ien* 天, to *Ti* 地, or to any other god, but on filial piety; with this fact on our minds, we shall have as little cause to wonder at the Chinese deification of a deceased ancestor, as at the Greek deification of a hero; find as little cause of surprize in the fact that *Hau-tsih* (the ancestor) is classed with *Shangti*, among the *Shin* sacrificed on the occasion of the great drought referred to on p. 46 of Vol. XVII., as that the Greeks called *Zeus*, the father of gods and men, and Hercules (the hero), each a *θεος*. 5th. *Elohim* being a name common alike to the true and to false gods, one of the most important uses of this word in the Sacred Scriptures is to forbid polytheism. It is indeed by its appellative character, and the consequent use that can be made of this word to forbid polytheism, that it is chiefly distinguished from the word "*Jehovah*;" and this is a point of the utmost importance for us to keep in mind, while discussing the rendering of this word into the language of a polytheistic people. Now it is an unquestionable fact that the false worship to which the Chinese are most addicted, and to which they are much the most attached, is that of their deceased ancestors. Should we not then rejoice, rather than

otherwise, that the word by which we must render *Elohim* (our great weapon against all false objects of worship), although it specially designates the Olympian gods, yet, by Chinese usage ready to our hand, has had its meaning so *extended* as to make the blow aimed at objects of false worship equally fatal to deceased ancestors and the terrestrial *K'i*, as to the celestial gods themselves? As the Chinese are so inveterately addicted to the worship of their deceased ancestors, should we not be obliged to extend, by our explanations, the meaning of whatever word we use to render *Elohim* in the First Commandment, so as to include these manes? If this is so, surely it can not be an insuperable objection to the use of *Shin*, that the Chinese have preceded us in so *extending* its meaning.

The error of extending this name, the distinctive name of the celestial beings worshiped, to the terrestrial and man-derived, was a polytheistic error, one into which the Chinese polytheists naturally fell, for it is of the very nature of polytheism to go on from age to age increasing the number of its gods. The other error referred to above—that of calling the soul of a living man *Shin*, is of much more recent date I judge, from all I can learn; and has, I think, grown out of the pantheistic system of cosmogony taught in the *Yik King*.

As in the previous instance, so here, it is important to remember that the *original name* of the human soul in Chinese is *hwan* 魂 not *shin* 神. I have taken great pains to ascertain if the word *shin* occurs anywhere in the Five Classics, or in the Four Books, as the name of the soul of a living man, and have not been able to find an instance of such a use of the word. The calling the *hwan*, the human soul or mind of man *shin*, is said to have been introduced by the medical men. It appears to me to be a mere reversal of the process by which pantheism was conceived.

The Chinese philosophers, in endeavoring to form a scheme of the universe, regarded man as a microcosm, his constitution and nature formed their model. This model they conceived to consist of a body which had *hing* 形 form, and of a *hwan*, 魂 animus, and a *peh*, 魄 anima, which were invisible, and were regarded as the depositories of human life, intelligence, powers of locomotion, &c., &c. As we have seen (see p. 370), when discoursing of their cosmogony, the Confucian system of philosophy assumes the existence of two eternally-existing principles, *li* and *ki*. Of these, the philosophers of this sect affirm that *li* neither “wills nor wishes, plans nor makes;” but that “*ki* can collect together, make and do,” “can ferment and settle, and generate things.” The *k'i*, primordial substance, is viewed under the two

aspects of *yin* and *yáng*; i. e. as passive or active. Of the *yin k'i*, or primordial substance which has vis inertia, they say *kwei* 鬼 is the *ling* 靈 spirit; and of the *yáng k'i*, or primordial substance which moves, or is active, *shin* 神 is the *ling* 靈 spirit. They also say that the *shin* is the *huan* 魂 soul of the *yáng*, active principle; and that the *kwei* is the *pek* 魄 anima, of the *yin*, the passive principle. These last explanations of the *shin* and *kwei* throw much light upon the subject, and seem to point very clearly to the source from whence these philosophers borrowed the ideas on which their scheme of cosmogony was founded, viz., the *compound being man*.

Having thus conceived of a primordial substance possessed of a spirit or soul, and of an anima, like unto the microcosm man, they fancied they had now an agent suited to the work to be performed; and accordingly, to this compound primordial substance, so informed by *shin* and *kwei*,—this *yin yang chi k'i* 陰陽之氣—, is ascribed the making of the heavens and the earth and all things. *E. g.* “Heaven and earth are only a thing or creature of the *Yin* and *Yáng*; they are what the *yin*-ed and *yang*-ed *k'i* 陰陽之氣 (i. e. the primordial substance of which they predicate *Yin* and *Yáng*, passivity and activity) generated of old.” See July No., p. 378, also pp. 368-370. Man's distinction above all other things arises not from his having an intelligent, moral, accountable, immortal spirit, unlike to that of the beasts which perish, and wholly different from anything possessed by the inanimate beings around him, but from his having been made from the finest parts or particles of this primordial substance. 惟人也得其秀而最靈, “but man, having obtained its most subtle or finest part, is most noble.” All things being made from this one compound, primordial substance *k'i*, according to this system, it follows that Heaven, earth and man, and all things, are composed of the finer or grosser parts of this *k'i*, as to the material part of them; and that they also share one common *shin* and one common *kwei*, viz. the *kwei* and *shin* which are inherent parts of the eternally-existing, compound, primordial principle *k'i*. Hence we read, “The spirit of the great one above 太上 is the informing divinity or spirit (*Shin*) of the wide expanse; the spirit of Heaven and earth is the informing divinity or spirit (*Shin*) of the *Yin* and *Yáng*, the active and passive principles of the primordial substance; the spirit of men and beasts is the informing divinity or spirit (*Shin*) of flesh and blood: that in which they are the *same* is the possession of the same *Shin* divinity or spirit, (其同者神) but that in which they differ is (observe,

not *k'i* 氣 substance, but merely) *hing* 形 form." Quoted in the *Pei Wan Yun-fu* under the character *Shin*.

Chú fū-tsz' affirms that "the *human heart* is the same as the heart of birds and beasts, grass and trees." A commentator on the 16th Sect. of the *Chung Yung* says, "The *kwei* and *shin* of my own person (*wú shin chí kwei shin* 吾身之鬼神) are the *kwei* and *shin* who are the objects of sacrifice (*tsi sz' chí kwei shin* 祭祀之鬼神); and the *kwei* and *shin* who are the objects of sacrifice, are the *kwei* and *shin* of the mechanism of nature;" i. e. the *kwei* and *shin* who preside over the mechanism of nature.

Of this *Kwei* and *Shin*, Confucius, in the 16th Sect. of the *Chung Yung* affirms that, though invisible and inaudible, yet "they pervade, or are consubstantiated with (體物) all things, without a single exception. The critical commentator explains the phrase "pervade all things" as follows:—" *ti wuh* 體物 means *ti hú wuh* 體乎物 consubstantiated with things; but not that the things first existed and afterwards the *kwei* and *shin*; but that the *kwei* and *shin* first existed, and afterwards the things; and after the things had their existence, none of them could be divested of the *kwei* and *shin*. The *kwei* and *shin* are in the midst of things, and constitute (as it were) the bones of things. The *kwei* and *shin* are the hosts, and things are the guests. Between heaven and earth (i. e. in the universe) there only is this one *k'i* (compound, primordial substance); that which enters into every atom and fibre (in the universe) is this *yin*-ed and *yáng*-ed *k'i*; and which envelopes heaven and earth as in a net, is this same *yin*-ed and *yáng*-ed *k'i*."

In the Commentary called the *Wúng Ta-chuen*, we have the following explanation:—"The *kwei* and *shin* are without form; therefore if you look at them, you can not see them: they are without sound; therefore, if you listen you can not hear them; but the production of things is never without [the presence of] the *k'i* 氣, the primordial substance; and this *k'i* (the *yáng*-ed *k'i*, or active principle is here meant) is the 盛 fulness of the *shin*, or is pervaded all through with *shin* (i. e. an inherent *ling* 靈 spirit or *huan* 魂 soul). There is nothing [produced] without *peh* 魄; and this *peh* (the *yin*-ed *k'i*, or passive principle is here meant) is the fulness of the *kwei*, or is pervaded all through with *kwei* (i. e. an inherent *ling*, or *peh*), hence man is said to be a congregation of *kwei* and *shin* 鬼神之會."

These *kwei* and *shin* are made the authors of physical and moral effects: and also of the intellectual phenomena of the human mind.



Physical:—"all the *production* and *changes* of heaven and earth (*i. e.* that take place in the world), such as the flourishing and decaying of the blood and spirits of human life, the blooming and withering of plants and trees, with the *living and dying of all kinds of things*, are never without the *kwei* and *shin*, *i. e.* are invariably to be ascribed to the *kwei* and *shin*." Critical Commentary on 16th Sect. of Chung Yung. Moral:—"They (the *kwei* and *shin*) cause all the men in the Empire with evenly adjusted [minds] and pure clean [hearts], and arrayed in suitable apparel, to offer to them sacrifices." Confucius, Chung Yung, Sect. 16. The "all men," who are the subjects of this moral influence, and whose minds are here said to be influenced by this *kwei* and *shin* to bring their sacrifices, are explained to mean "all men, from the son of Heaven to the common people."

The intellectual phenomena of the human mind are ascribed to *k'i*, the primordial substance, and not to 理, the other eternally-existing first principle. *E. g.* "所謂精神魂魄有知有覺者皆氣之所爲也" that which we call the discerning faculty and the power of consciousness of the animal spirits and of the human mind, are both derived from (*k'i*) the compound primordial substance."

What account do the men who teach this scheme of cosmogony give of the *hwan* 魂 or human soul? Chü fütz' says, "*hwan ché, k'i chí shin* 魂者氣之神 the human soul is the *shin* of the primordial substance." We have seen above that men, birds, beasts, &c., have the same *shin* with heaven and earth, the *yin* and *yáng*, &c., &c., and that the only difference among them is in form; and that the *kwei* and *shin* of the human body are the same as the *kwei* and *shin* who preside over the mechanism of nature. In their letter of the 30th of January, Dr. Medhurst and his friends urge it as their second objection to *shin* that, "It is applicable as well to the spirit of man, and the *living principle in irrational animals and plants* as it is to the highest being of whom the Chinese have any conception." According to the view of the Chinese pantheists, every pulse that throbs through universal nature is owing to the influence or energy of the *shin*; and this *shin* being inherent in every particle of matter, is expressly declared to be omnipresent, 無往不住. To contend whether this eternally-existing, universal agent, that lies at the foundation of all life, vegetable and animal, and that set the primordial mass in motion, is to be called Spirit or Divinity, would be a mere logomachy, if we could not show that *shin* is used by the Chinese

polytheists as the name of their gods. By the phrase "a spirit," as I have said above, we understand a created, immaterial intelligent being. The human soul is such a spirit; but the *shin* of Chinese cosmogony is no such being as this: it exists before things, and it is an inherent part of the eternally-existing primordial substance, of which heaven and earth, men and all things, are made, and which therefore all things share by their very constitution. To show therefore that the Chinese call the human mind *shin*, as well as *hwan*, by no means proves this word means merely *spirit*, and never god or divinity. How the Chinese came to give the names *kwei* and *shin* to these innate vital energies of the primordial substance, we have no account; but we may suppose that they regarded the words *hwan* soul, and *pek* anima, as not sufficiently dignified to serve as the names of this universal soul and anima, and so they borrowed the names of the objects of worship of their polytheistic countrymen, and called them *kwei* and *shin*.\*

This opinion is confirmed by the fact that pantheists have always strongly objected to being classed with atheists, and that to prevent this, they have everywhere used the appellative name of the objects of worship of their theistic countrymen, as the name of the spirit, soul, divinity, or whatever you may choose to call it, which pervades their  $\tau\omicron\ \kappa\alpha\upsilon$ . The Greek pantheists all did this: all the German and French idealistic pantheists of the present day do the same, and Spinoza calls his universal substance God. It is only on this principle, I think, that we can account for the assertion quoted above, that the *kwei* and *shin* of the human body are the very same as the *kwei* and *shin* who are worshipped; and that these again are the same as the *kwei* and *shin* who preside over the mechanism of nature; i. e. the *kwei* and *shin* of the pantheistic cosmogonists.

If we compare the views of Deity held by these Chinese cosmogonists with the views of the Greek philosophers, we shall find them very similar to those of the predecessors of Anaxagoras, who believed that the world was  $\psi\mu\upsilon\tau\omicron\chi\omicron\nu\omicron$ , en-souled, or animated with a living soul; and who all "confounded the Infinite Mind or Deity with matter, making them one universe."

I will not pursue this subject any farther, but will only say, I am fully persuaded, that all the instances that have been quoted, in which the word *shin* is used for the human mind, or in a sense analogous to

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\* I am strongly under the impression that I saw this very reason assigned for calling the universal *hwan* and *pek*, *shin* and *kwei*, in *Chü Ht's Yü Lui* or his *Hwoh-hwan*; but I made no note of it at the time, and can not now lay my hand on the passage.

our word *spirit*, have grown up out of this pantheism of the *yin* and *yáng*; and I can not think, when all the circumstances of the case are considered, that the use of *shin* by these writers as the name of the universal informing spirit or divinity wherever found—in heaven, earth, man, birds or beasts,—is a good argument against the use of this word to render *Elohim* and  $\Theta\sigma\zeta$ . It is a circumstance which rather serves to show that *shin* is the name of the *subject* on which we wish to set the Chinese right; for all these uses of the word that have grown out of pantheism, are, to my mind, only so many evidences of the groping of the human mind in China after the truth on the great subject of Divinity. The polytheistic uses of the word afford evidences of the same thing; and the fact that both pantheists and polytheists have called the name of their highest agent or agents *shin*, is, I contend, the highest kind of evidence that *shin* is, in the Chinese language, the general name of the *subject* on which we want to enlighten the Chinese, and is therefore the very word we are in quest of.

Having now considered the principal arguments which have been adduced by the several parties who have discussed this question, still though very inadequately, at a length, which I fear has been tedious to the Reader, I shall conclude by testing the fitness of each of the three terms that have been proposed, to effect the great object we have in view, which is to remove from the minds of the Chinese all the errors and superstitions on the *subject* of Deity into which *they have fallen*, and to build them up in the knowledge and love of the true God. It is very important for us to remember that the *subject* is not a new one to the Chinese, it has been before their minds and occupied their thoughts for generations; the thousands of temples that have been erected to their objects of worship are monuments of the errors into which they have fallen, and it is upon the ruins of these that the temple of Christian truth must be built.

The first proposition we shall bring to this test is that of rendering the word  $\Theta\sigma\zeta$ , by the Hebrew word *Eloah*, transferred by the three Chinese characters *A-lo-ho* 阿羅訶.

This proposition first claims our attention, as embodying the deliberate conclusion to which three of the Committee of Delegates have been led after a three years' careful examination of this controverted subject. It challenges our attention, too, from the circumstances under which they adopted this foreign term. According to their published letter it was after full consultation with "the most intelligent Chinese to whom they had access" that this step was taken. The parties had had a long experience of *Shángtí*, that of many, many

years, and both *Tien-ti* and *ti* had been tried for many months; and that too at a time when all the powers of their minds were given to the consideration of this subject. These circumstances invest the opinion of such men (one of them the oldest Protestant missionary in China), given at such a period of the controversy, with great weight. The terms in which they speak of this transferred word, and the arguments with which they urge its adoption on their fellow-missionaries laboring at the Five Ports, show that all doubts, with respect to the course to be pursued, have been removed from their minds, and that they have attained a situation, which they think warrants them to resort to both intimidation and encouragement in addressing their brethren. Their proposed term is one, "against which no *believer* in Divine Revelation *dare raise his voice*."!!! Speaking of their plan of transferring the Hebrew word, they say, "We can not go wrong in so doing. It is *sanctioned by the Scriptures*: we are therefore *right* in employing it, *unmistakably* and *incontrovertibly* right. We free ourselves hereby from all mixture with *Chinese superstition*."

The missionaries who "have but recently come to the country" are dissuaded from forming an opinion of their own upon the subject, until "a *thorough knowledge of the Chinese classics*, and extensive intercourse with the people," put them in a fit position to do so; *ad interim*, these three Delegates, together with the three friends who join them in their Letter of 30th January, offer the persuasive influence of their own example. "Those who have enjoyed (say they) the most of *these advantages* (*i. e.* who have the *most thorough knowledge* of the Classics, and who have had the most extensive intercourse with the Chinese) are *the first* to abandon native terms."

I do not think these expressions at all in good taste from any of the parties who signed this letter, and most especially not from those who had but recently come to China, and I have not quoted them for the purpose of exciting the reader's admiration, but to show how determinately the minds of the signers of this Letter are made up to adhere to the course they have adopted. Being "*unmistakably right*" they are resolved to adhere to Aloh through evil report and good report, and stand pledged to this term, as firmly as solemn convictions, published in strong unhesitating language, can pledge men to any course.

It is however, I believe, now well ascertained that notwithstanding this proposition came before them so highly recommended, and that too in such confident language, there has been no single missionary in China induced to follow the lead of the six signers of this Letter.

The transfer of a word having been suggested both in London and New York, the unanimity with which all the missionaries in China, the six abovementioned excepted, have joined in protesting against this course, will no doubt excite much surprise in Europe and America. The missionaries who propose this transfer are clever men; they have made abundant trial, as I said before, of *Shàngti*, *T'ien-ti* and *ti*; why then do all the missionaries refuse to follow them? These missionaries are *practical* men, who are guided by sound common sense in conducting their work, and these six signers, disgusted with "the Chinese superstition" mixed up with the native terms they had been using, forgot to take counsel of a friend so plain and unpretending, when they sat down to write their Letter.

The case seems to be a plain one to those who are familiar with the *facts* as we see them here in China, and who are willing to be guided by common sense. Demetrius complained of St. Paul, "That not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, he had persuaded and turned away much people, saying that they be no  $\Theta\sigma\iota$ , which are made with hands," &c. Can we suppose that such an effect would have followed from the Apostle's preaching, if St. Paul had contented himself with telling the Ephesians that the Alohos made with hands were false Alohos?

If in preaching against the false gods worshiped by the Ephesians, St. Paul had used the word *Aloho* instead of  $\Theta\sigma\iota$ , and Demetrius and his friends had seen the people standing aloof from their  $\Theta\sigma\iota$  on this account, they would, as a matter of course, have denied that the  $\Theta\sigma\iota$  they made were Alohos, or that the Apostle was preaching against them; if St. Paul in answer to this denial asserted that *they were* Alohos, then it would have been surely pertinent to ask, Why in speaking to Greeks, he did not call them by their Greek name  $\Theta\sigma\iota$ ?

Now here in China it is notorious that there are a multitude of beings who are worshiped by the whole nation from the Emperor down to the meanest peasant. To these beings they have built thousands of temples, and like the Greeks have made images of them that are met with at every corner of their streets. No one will deny that in the Chinese language there is a name common to all these objects. We ask then, Why, in the name of common sense, should the Christian teacher, when preaching in Chinese against these objects, lay aside their common Chinese name, and call them Alohos? Will this word effect more in his mouth in China, than Aloho would have done from the lips of St. Paul at Ephesus?

*(To be concluded in next number.)*

**ART. II. *Journal of Occurrences: defeat and dispersion of the insurgents, and memorial respecting them; sailing directions for entering the port of Shánghái; visit of H. M. Str. Reynard to Leowcheo; death of Rev. C. Fast near Fuhchau fú; the death of Lin Tsehsü.***

THE *insurgents*, which have caused so much remark, and not a little fear among the citizens of Canton during the past half year, are now reported as having been completely dispersed, and the leaders fled, leaving their deluded abettors to shift for themselves. If we could get credible accounts of the proceedings of these insurgents, it is probable that we should have most harrowing details of their cruelties and exactions upon the people, and learn to our surprise how savage and merciless such raids and risings are among the Chinese.

Governor Yeh left the provincial capital early last month, with a body of troops, amounting in all to over two thousand. He was afraid to approach the enemy too near, but sent out detachments, one of which was inveigled into some mountain defiles and defeated, as mentioned on page 508. It was in reference to this untoward event, and to the general conduct of the war, that the high provincial authorities forwarded the following memorial to Court, for the translation of which we are indebted to the China Mail.

Memorial of So, Governor-general of the Two Kwáng, and of Yeh, Governor of Kwangtung, detailing the capture of certain of the roving banditti:

After the slaughter of two hundred and thirty-two during their flight through the district of Tsing-yuen, the rest had passed into the minor district of Fah-káng, where thirty had been taken alive; subsequently to this, as an action with them was commencing, the regulars were thrown into disorder by the precipitate flight of the country people (volunteers), who not being disciplined had broken into their ranks; the banditti opposed to them had availed themselves of this, and, in the melee, several officers civil and military were surrounded; these having now rejoined the force in the field are denounced by the memorialists, who had deprived them all, for the time being of their insignia of rank, as in duty bound; reinforcements of regulars and militia were still being moved up by separate routes, to check the further advance of the banditti, and to exterminate them;—upon their respectful representation of all which particulars, looking upward, they implore the sacred glance.

Upon the 24th of the 7th moon (31st August), your servants had the honor to report that upwards of three hundred banditti had been taken by the authorities of the different districts and cantonments in which they had been giving trouble; and that on hearing of their offering resistance to the law in the neighborhood of the Lokia cantonment in Yingteh hien, an express had been sent to the ti-tuh, and the Judge had been directed to move forward a force of regulars and militia to cooperate with him.

The Judge Ki Suh-tsáu has since reported, that the banditti, after no very long stay at Lo-kia, had gone on to the southward, and made directly for the market-town of Kwán-tsien in the Tsingyuen district. The acting district magistrate, Ma Ying-kiái, had issued a proclamation to the country people to excite them to zeal in the good cause; and these, combined with the regulars and militia, on the 27th, 28th, and 29th of the 7th moon (3d, 4th, 5th September), killed at Kwán-tsien, thirty-two, amongst whom were two chiefs, Hwang Kwan-lien-shih, and Liu Pih-lien; at Sháng-yoh village, twenty-three, including the chief Lú Ta-tsh-pei (Broadback); at the town of Sz'kiu, forty-one, including the two chiefs Liú'Aling and Hwang Hsió-tsün; on the hills of Hoh-tien, thirty-eight, including the two chiefs Ho Atu and Hwa Mei-sán; at the town of Kwan-chwáng, thirty-nine; at Kí-shán, and Yang-t'áng, fifty-nine, amongst whom were the two chiefs Lui Fi-tsz' (the Fat) and Chú Hung-yuen,—making a total of two hundred and thirty-two killed, and amongst them nine chiefs. The banditti having fled as far as the town of Shih-kioh in Fah-káng, Hia Ching-yuh, the acting magistrate of that district, together with Li Ming-yung, the jailer, led on some regulars and militia, who killed a large number that showed fight, and took thirty prisoners. The banditti dismayed at this, broke into different bodies, and fled and hid themselves in various places, some higher up, some lower down, the Luh-bu hills, on the confines of Yingteh and Fah-káng.

About this time the expectant prefect, Shi-poh had brought up three hundred militia, and Su Sung-ah, commanding the advanced brigade of the force under the Tituh, three hundred regulars; and these joining two hundred regulars of the San-kiang brigade, which were already in the field, stationed themselves within the walls of the town of Fah-kang district. Information here reached them that the party of banditti which had been lying in Sin-ché for some ten days, were preparing once more to issue from their lurking-place and recommence their disturbances; upon which the Judge in concurrence with the tituh, detached the *tsun-tsiang*, Tsi Ching-agh, acting adjutant-general to the tituh, and K'ang Ki-siu, ex-commandant of the Tsingyuen brigade, with five hundred regulars, to make a circuit and take the enemy in rear. As they were making these arrangements on the 12th of the 8th moon (17th September), a thousand, or more of the country people of the vicinity of Hwang-tien in Fah-kang, volunteered to form their advanced guard, and aid in the attack. The civil and military authorities and their subordinates accordingly put themselves at their head, and led them on with the troops to give battle to the banditti; but just as they reached the neighborhood of the town of Shui-t'an, the latter opened a fire of musketry and artillery, which so alarmed the villagers that they fell back in great confusion, and from their want of discipline broke into, and disordered the ranks of the regulars: these and the militia had killed some ten of the banditti with their fire, but the paths in which they were moving were so narrow, that they could not extend their front with sufficient rapidity; the subaltern Wu Kia-yu was killed on the spot, dying in the ranks, and Hsiung Ying-yung, another subordinate to him, was severely wounded. Shi-poh and the rest did all in their power to bring their troops up to fight; but the banditti swarmed on in numbers so great, that the expectant prefect, Shi-poh, the police inspector Ka Han, and the subalterns Tsiang Chau-mang, Hang Ta-tsiuen, Hwang Shun-tsiuen, the sergeants Yau Lien-fah, Wang Ting-siang, Hwang Hsiung-tai, and the sergeant-elect Sin Mau-fang, were all surrounded. Some few of the troops and militia at the same time fell upon the field and some were wounded. Shi-poh loudly reviled the banditti, and plunging into a deep torrent, was severely injured in the head, face, hands, and feet. The banditti were awe-struck and did not venture to kill him, and on the 15th (20th September) he and [the officers who had fallen into their hands] all returned into camp.—At the time they (the Judge, &c.) were writing, the different parties of banditti were dispersing one moment and uniting the next; they had not however any particular station, but were appearing and disappearing on the confines of contiguous districts, roaming here and there and hiding in the numerous defiles of the ten thousand hills of the country. It would therefore be necessary so to reinforce the troops and militia that they might be ready to take steps, as opportunities should occur, to check the advance of the different bands and exterminate them.

Such was their report; and seeing that these gangs, which had moved flankwise across the western border of the province, would now have difficulty in returning by the way they came, from the increased strictness with which all the passes by land or water were guarded; and that they were hemmed in on every side, and all driven into the depths of the hills; it appeared to your Majesty's servants, that, unless the troops and militia were well reinforced, the banditti might work their way into impracticable positions, where their destruction would be still harder to achieve; and it therefore became their duty to intercept their supplies, and by cutting off their communications, so that they could not force people to act under them, to keep them in a state of blockade, until the troops could penetrate [into their fastnesses] and attack them. Your servants have accordingly detached from the city three hundred of the Governor-general's division, four hundred of the Governor's, and one hundred of the brigade of the prefecture of Kwang-chau, while the Tituh Siang-lin, has sent on four hundred more of the brigade of the department of Hwui-chau, and one hundred of that of the cantonment of Yung-ngha (a district therein); and being still apprehensive lest the above force should not be adequate to the occupation of all the approaches, your servants have called out two thousand tried and able-bodied men to serve as militia. The above forces will proceed (or are proceeding), one body after another, [to a point where] they will receive their orders from the Tituh, who, in concert with the Judge, will adopt, according to the nature of the ground, measures for the defense of the country, or advance to destroy. They are on no account to adhere to any preconceived notions which might induce them to shun danger or to be oversparing of expense; nor are they to be misled by idle rumors, nor are they to color, be it ever so little, the facts which they may witness, and so leave unradicated the root of future evil. If such of the civil and military officers, and of the troops and militia employed, as are zealous and exert themselves, be immediately recommended for promotion, to encourage others; and those who show themselves afraid of risk, suspended, denounced, and punished; rewards being distributed with good faith, and punishments inflicted with certainty,—this matter will soon be brought to a conclusion.

With reference to the expectant prefect Shi-poh, his determination to sacrifice himself, not yielding though surrounded, is an extenuating circumstance; still he sustained a defeat by his want of caution in advancing, and it would not be expedient that his rash

mismangement should be punished one whit the less severely on account of his high reputation earned by the many meritorious acts of his past life; it is our duty, notwithstanding these, therefore, to denounce him in severe terms, and to request that his insignia of rank be taken from him for the time being.

The petty magistrate Ku Hân, the subalterns Tsiang Cháu-kang, Hwang Ta-tsiuen, and Hwang Shun-tsiuen, sergeants Yau Ting-fah, Wang Ting-siang, and Hwang Hiung-tai, and the sergeant-elect Sin Yung-fang, who were surrounded at the same time as Shi-poh, have all been temporarily deprived of their insignia, but it is not expedient that they should be allowed to withdraw themselves from this troublesome business, and they are therefore charged to continue at their posts and endeavor to redeem their character; and as they shall be found to show a sense of shame and exert themselves or the reverse, a report will be presented, when the whole affair shall have been settled, for your Majesty's further decision concerning them: but as regards the tsan-tsiang Tsi-ching-eh, the acting adjutant-general to the T'itah, and the ex-commandant of the Tsing-yuen brigade, Kiang Ki-siu, who were detached with troops by circuitous routes to attack the enemy on both flanks, it is not yet apparent whether the engagement of one of these corps with the enemy, before they had joined company, took place in consequence of an unacquaintance with the roads through which they had to march, or whether there was an intentional delay [on the part of the rearmost corps]; the truth will be, with permission, shortly ascertained, and each of the parties disposed of according to his merits.

The above are the particulars of the movements of the troops and of the defeat sustained by the civilians and military denounced; this joint statement of the same embodied in a respectful memorial, your Majesty's servants dispatch by an express courier. Prostrate they implore your Majesty's sacred glance thereon, and instructions as to whether their conduct has or has not been that which it should. A respectful memorial.

The wary and cowardly füyuen contented himself with guarding all his defenses, and running no more hazards of defeat, until the outrages and levies of the insurgents had so exasperated the inhabitants of the districts into which they had come that the gentry gathered their braves, and on the 24th of this month attacked the "thieves" in conjunction with the imperialists. A slip issued in Canton soon after, thus noticed the result:—"Letters have come to the provincial capital from Yingteh and Tsingyuen, saying, that from the 24th to the 30th of Nov. the government troops had daily entered the hills, seizing and pursuing the insurgents to the Black Stone country. For two or three days they fought together with thundering clamor. The insurgents were defeated, more than a thousand taken prisoners, 13 large guns and over 500 small arms captured, with spears, swords, and other warlike implements without number." The accounts of their defeat, of the people running together to pursue them, and the rancor exhibited in destroying them, according to the most credible accounts, are proofs of the hatred they have aroused. Of course, Gov. Yeh took the whole glory of the victory to himself, though he is notorious among the citizens of Canton for his cowardice, and has throughout shown the most dastardly fear.

The following directions for entering the port of *Shanghai* are taken from No. 3 of the North China Herald. They will form a good addition to the surveys given in Vol. X. page 383 by Capt. Bethune of the "Conway," and in Vol. XII, page 427 by Capt. Wellesley of the "Childers," both which they explain, and render more satisfactory. They are given in a communication addressed to the editor:—

The directions given by the surveying officers are, I think, too vague to be of much use in practice to strangers; particularly, in giving courses and distances to be made good, when there are no marks available, and the strength and direction of the tide are constantly varying. The Admiralty Chart of 1843, drawn from Collinson's survey, is very correct; and every vessel bound to Shanghai should be provided with it. The following remarks, I think may prove of service, as the result of several years' acquaintance with the place, in all weathers.

Vessels bound to Shanghai should make the Barren Islands or Saddle Group in the northerly monsoon, as being the most weatherly land fall; but in the southwest monsoon, it is more advisable to steer for Monte Video, a bold precipitous island, about forty miles more southward. If late in the day, anchorage should be caught under the Saddle Islands, which afford shelter in both monsoons,



Leaving the Saddle Islands, keep the North Saddle bearing about S.E. by E. to pass Gutzlaff I., at a distance of about fifteen or sixteen miles; and no stranger ought to enter the river without seeing Gutzlaff, until some mark be erected for the North Sandhead. Thus far, the tide sets N.W. by W. and S.E. by E., from one and-a-half to three and-a-half knots; but it is affected greatly, both in direction and velocity, by the prevailing wind.

Steering on to the north-westward, bring Gutzlaff to bear S.S.E., and sink it on that bearing, which will be at a distance of about twenty-two or twenty-three miles; after which steer N.W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., and if the low land is not soon seen on the port bow from the mast head, keep more westerly by the lead, which is here a safe guide. The deepest water is near the north bank, which should always be approached with caution, as it shoals very suddenly. When the first point bears W. by N. or W., the water deepens to six fathoms; this point should be passed about two miles off, as the bank extends a long way out, and there are several knolls off it, on which ships have touched. Having passed the point, gradually close with the shore to a mile, and keep it about that distance, until the beacon at Wúsung is seen. If working up from the Saddle Islands, do not bring Gutzlaff to the eastward of south, until fifteen or sixteen miles to the northward of it, when it may be brought to bear S.S.E., and you will then be on the edge of the South bank. You may now stand to the westward, nearly into the vessel's draught, bearing in mind that the flood sets W.S.W. round the S.E. edge of it, and the ebb contrary. All vessels should keep as near as possible to this bank, and not wait for a shoal cast to tack when standing to the north-eastward.

I think the defect in the directions hitherto given, is chiefly, that vessels are not advised to get hold of the South bank as soon as possible.

From the Saddle Islands to Wúsung, the tide generally sets N.W. by W. and S.E. by E. when fully made, if no cause, such as N.E. gales or heavy rains interfere; but the flood makes *first* to the southward, then S.W., and N.W. at the entrance of the river; the ebb making North, passing by N.E. to S.E., and it is at turn of tide that most caution is necessary, to avoid being set out of the channel. I have found the set of the ship pretty correctly by the deep sea lead, and have, on several occasions, gone up the river at night by its guidance. Having passed the first point, which the "Conway's" surveyors mention to be distinguishable by a large tree (although I could never make out any tree there sufficiently remarkable),—work up from three-quarters of a mile to two miles off shore, and do not wait for a second shoal cast on the North side. The narrowest part of the channel is where the house on Blockhouse Island bears N.E. by E. It is here about a mile and-a-quarter wide.

When the ships at Wúsung are open, a peaked tower near the town of Páushan will be seen to the westward; and on the embankment in front of it, a beacon, which must be kept a little open to the southward of the tower, until another large beacon at the entrance of the Shanghai river is on, between two joss-poles behind it, painted red, and bearing W.S.W. This last is an excellent mark for the channel, which is very contracted. The beacon may be brought a little open on each side of the poles, and the water shoals gradually on each side; but the tide does not set exactly fair through.

Chinese pilots are in attendance here in sampans, although with a fair wind they are not required, as Collinson's Chart of the Shanghai river is very good.

The foregoing remarks apply to vessels of a heavy draught; say eighteen feet. Small craft may use much more freedom, closing with the South bank when Gutzlaff is twelve or fifteen miles off to the southward, and working up with the lead for a guide, never coming over half three fathoms to the north-eastward. The southern shore is to be depended on all the way; but when within ten miles of Wúsung, the bank is very steep, and should not be approached under three-quarters of a mile.

I offer the following suggestions for rendering the navigation of the Yang-tsz' kíang comparatively safe and simple, which may be effected at a trifling cost, considering the valuable trade of Shanghai.

There is, off the southern end of the North Sand, a spit or patch, having four and five fathoms close to on each side, which is the principal danger on enter-

ing the river; and every vessel wrecked hitherto, with one exception, has been on this spit. I would therefore recommend that a *Light vessel* should be placed in the bight, between this spit and the main bank, where, with good heavy ground tackle, she would ride out any weather. A vessel of one hundred and twenty tons strongly built, on the principle of the *Light vessels* at the Sandheads of the Hoongly, would be large enough. She should be fitted with a light, to be distinguishable from a ship's light or those that the fishermen often show; and visible at least seven miles distant. She should be supplied with two good coir cables, as well as with chains, in order to enable her to ride to the high sea that sometimes occurs; and she should also be provided with a life boat, and a European should continually be on board, sufficiently acquainted with the river, and with the indications of the weather, to warn vessels by signal or otherwise, of approaching danger.

In addition to the light, 4 would place a buoy off the N.W. end of the spit, and another off the South end, which, I think, are all that would be necessary in any ordinary weather: but in standing in from sea, I am decidedly of opinion that a stranger should not attempt to run in, unless certain of getting within the bar, if there are indications of bad weather; but rather, he should seek anchorage among the islands, or else put to sea for the night; the former would be preferable in heavy weather, for unless a good sailer, a vessel would not fetch up again in the N. E. monsoon. The tides are so strong, and at times so uncertain in direction, that the best acquainted persons can not hope to keep a correct reckoning at night; and it would prove very rough riding, should a ship attempt to anchor between Gutzlaff I. and the North Sands in a gale.

I think it quite useless attempting to erect a beacon on the Sand, with the means that would be available here; as the tide runs with great velocity, and I am not aware that any part of the patch has less than nine feet water on it. The flood often comes in with a heavy bore or roller, when a southerly wind is blowing; and I do not think that a sufficient foundation could be formed to justify the expectation of a beacon standing the combined action of the wind and tide.

No doubt a beacon might be placed on the North Sand itself, where it dries, in many ways; for instance, by sinking a foundation in iron tanks; but it would be at a greater distance from the channel;—it would cost more to keep a light on it, and altogether it would be less useful than a floating light.

#### A YOUNG SALT.

*A visit to Lewchew* was made Oct. 3d, in H. B. M. screw sloop Reynard, Capt. Cracroft, by the Bishop of Victoria, in order to ascertain the position and prospects of Dr. Bettelheim, and for the captain to intimate to the authorities of the island that the British Government regarded him as a British subject, "and would be displeased at any attempt to expel him from the island by a system of persecution or annoyance." Several interviews were held between the native officials and Capt. Cracroft, and each party gave an entertainment. The Reynard is the first steamer which has visited countries under Japanese rule, and an account of her and her visit has probably ere this reached Yedo. It is to be hoped that the personal situation of Dr. Bettelheim will be improved by this movement on the part of the British authorities, and his family allowed to supply themselves with the necessaries of life. It is remarked by the *China Mail* as a singular circumstance that the Japanese authorities at Lewchew have cooperated with the Chinese government in reference to Dr. B., so as to induce Gov. Sti, the imperial commissioner, to urge H. M.'s Plenipotentiary to remove him (Dr. B.) from Napa by force.

*The death of the Rev. C. Fast*, a missionary of the Swedish Missionary Society at Upsal is mentioned in letters received from Fuhchau, and the circumstances attending it detailed. We understand that the authorities at Fuhchau have taken energetic measures to apprehend the miscreants, and have sent the police to the village near Kinpai pass to arrest the guilty parties. By means of the servant mentioned in the notice below, who identified

some of the piratical crew, they convicted the guilty parties and beheaded five of them, and burned the houses of those implicated. The villagers are reported to have for the most part fled from the place after the visit of the police. The acting British consul, Mr. Sinclair, reported the event to the authorities, but it appears they had already taken their measures. We think that it was unwise for these two gentlemen to use fire-arms as they did, and it is not so certain that the dacoits had the intention to take life, as this notice intimates. The notice of the attack on Messrs. Fast and Elgquist is thus given by our correspondent:—

“ On the evening of the 12th of this month, Rev. Messrs. Fast and Elgquist, in a small boat with three rowers, went down the river to the receiving ships for the purpose of exchanging their bills. The latter took with him a servant boy, of perhaps fifteen or sixteen years. After visiting one of the vessels the next morning, and passing to the second, their boatmen inquired, “ Have you got your money yet ? ” This was deemed a strange question, but replied to in the negative. On leaving the second vessel on the morning of the 13th, the inquiry was repeated and answered in the affirmative. During the stay of the brethren at the vessels, the boatmen went ashore, and when they were questioned as to the reason, replied that they went to buy some small articles they needed. The gentlemen however proceeded in the boat to return home. On nearing the Kinpai pass, not more than two or three miles from the vessels, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the boatmen were observed to be inactive, and were urged in vain to row faster. Soon after a sail boat came in sight a short distance ahead, apparently bound up the river. The wind being light, the row-boat soon came up with the sail boat (it seems right alongside), when those on the latter instantly hooked on and commenced a fierce assault with stones and spears. Messrs. E. and F. both seemed to feel that the pirates intended to put them to death, and that they themselves must fight for life. Mr. F. put his head out from under cover and fired a pistol. Mr. E. rushed out to resist the attack, and fired twice upon the pirates. He soon called on Mr. F. to fire a pistol lying by his side, but the latter replied that he was unable. Soon after he either fell or was thrown overboard ; unable to swim, he sank and was seen no more. Mr. E. finding resistance useless, dropped overboard, dove deep, and swam some distance down ; then swam ashore. For a time he waited, hoping to see something of Mr. Fast ; then wounded and weary, wandered about to find the vessels he had left. His fear of being discovered by those on shore, protracted his wanderings, and it was not till near evening he reached the shore opposite, and was received on board.

“ In the meantime, the pirates, numbering it is said some 30 or 40, took the boat, boatmen, and booty to a village just below the Pass on the south side. They threatened the life of the servant boy on account of a severe injury one of their number had received, but finally released him and the boatmen. On their return all were taken into the custody of the government either on suspicion of being accessory to the piracy, or to furnish evidence in the case.

“ Mr. Fast's body has not been seen since. The wounds received by Mr. Elgquist have not proved serious. Mr. Fast had greatly endeared himself to his fellow-laborers by his kind and social disposition, and by the simplicity and fervor of his Christian character. Eminently exhibiting Christian love out of a warm and sincere heart, he has left a precious memory behind in the hearts of his associates.”

*The death of Lin Tschü,* whose appointment was noticed last month, died on his way to Canton on the 22d inst. at Páuning hien in the department of Chánchau in the eastern part of this province. He was 67 years old at the time of his death, and had taken a conspicuous part in the foreign politics of his country during the last ten years of his life. In the death of Lin, his majesty Hienfung has lost one of his most faithful servants.

## CHINESE REPOSITORY.

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VOL. XIX.—DECEMBER, 1850.—No. 12.

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ART. I. *Defense of an Essay on the proper rendering of the words Elohim and Θεός into the Chinese language.* By W. J. BOONE.  
(Concluded from page 618.)

IF, however, the adoption of this proposition is urged on the ground that the Chinese have no word answering to the word *God* when used propriè; I answer, the transfer of *the appellative name of God* does not do away with, but only removes the difficulty one step. Who is this *Aloho*? the Chinese must immediately ask: Is he a man, or a *shin*, or a *Fuh* (Budha); or to what class of beings does he belong? If you answer, He is the only true and living *Shin*, or that he is the *Shingti* who has been for thousands of years worshiped in the national rites, of what use is the clumsy intervention of this foreign word? These two considerations seem to settle the claims of *Aloho*: it offers us no advantages for teaching the Chinese the knowledge of the true God, and it is wholly useless in attacking their polytheism. Nevertheless, when this word was proposed by Dr. Medhurst and Messrs. Stronach and Milne, Dr. Bridgman and I immediately withdrew all opposition to their obtaining funds from the Bible Societies to make the experiment, which they are now so confident is the true solution of all our difficulties. We did this that we might put an end, if possible, to our sad controversy, and leave the case to a fair experiment of this new expedient. We felt constrained, however, at the time we communicated to the Bible Society the fact of our withdrawal of all opposition to Dr. M. and his friends having funds to print our common version with the transferred term, to suggest our firm conviction that it would never do any good, and that it would be ultimately abandoned. Our

opinions remain unchanged. The determination of the great majority of the missionaries not to accept of a transferred term is already put beyond all doubt; and Dr. Medhurst and Messrs. Stronach and Milne, and the three other signers of the Letter of January, to judge *from their letter*, are just as determined that they *will use* their "unmistakably, incontrovertibly right" term *Aloho*. *Their language* leaves us no room to hope *they* will ever abandon this term, and it is nothing more than due to these three Delegates to say that their's has been the chief labor of making this version of the N. T. It would seem therefore right that they should have funds to print it in a form in which they can use it, unless principle forbid, or it can be shown that the allowing them to do so would injure the Savior's cause. I am far from pleading their cause against the great majority of their brother missionaries who are opposed to a transferred term; but I am satisfied principle does not forbid the patronizing of *two non-antagonistic versions*; and under all the circumstances of the case I should hope that less evil would result from following this course than any other.

The second term we shall bring to our proposed test is *Shángtí*. This term comes forward under the disadvantage of having been abandoned, not only by the three members of the Committee of Delegates abovementioned, but also by the majority of the missionaries who were in the habit of using it previous to the commencement of this controversy. To compensate for this disadvantage, it has gained the able advocacy of Dr. Legge.

Dr. L. is as resolute in favor of *Shángtí* as Dr. M. and his friends are in favor of *Aloho*. Before he reached his present position, he tells us he was led to see "that God was not a generic, but a relative term." That which induced others to abandon *Shángtí*, viz., its not being the generic term for *god* in the Chinese language, has attracted him. *Shángtí*, he confesses is not the absolute appellative name for God in Chinese, and he urges its claims on the ground that it is a mere relative term, and therefore answers to the word *God* which is also a mere relative term. Let us then inquire how the use of this *compound, relative term* will answer in teaching the monotheism of the Bible, and in combating the Chinese polytheism. Dr. Legge asserts "There is only one *Sháng Tí*, Supreme Ruler;" but we may safely say, There is no monotheism taught in this assertion. It is an assertion that might have been made in Greece and Rome, without endangering the existence of a single one of their thirty thousand gods, as it would have only asserted the supremacy of *Zeus* and *Jupiter* respectively.

This phrase is compounded of an adjective and an *appellative noun*, and therefore will not convey the idea that the being so called is *wholly sui generis*; but will, on the contrary, only affirm that he is the supreme one, or greatest of the species called by this common appellative, and thus it will not exclude the existence of the others of the species implied by the use of the *appellative noun*, but only the existence of two "supreme ones" of said species. Now the monotheism taught in the Bible is, that there is but one God, *i. e.* there is absolutely (if I may so speak) but one of this species: the assertion, therefore, that "There is but one supreme Ruler" will never answer to convey this meaning. It will not prevent the Chinese from recognizing the existence of any number of other *tí*, for it only declares that there is but one "supreme *tí*," and on the subject of their gods, it says not a word.

This phrase *shángtí* labors under the double disadvantage of not answering to the word *god*, whether understood *proprie* or *improprie*; for the being called by the Chinese *Shángtí*, differs in *essential characteristics*, from the being we Christians call God; on the other hand, it is not the appellative name of the Chinese gods, and can not, therefore, be used as the word *Elohim* in the O. T. is, to forbid the reigning polytheism.

But apart from the objections to the phrase *Shángtí*, on the score of its past uses, it is a most unsuitable phrase to be chosen as the basis for making, by our *usus loquendi*, a word in all respects like to our word *God*. Being a compound phrase, the qualifying force of its adjective will resist its conversion into a simple word like the word *God*; being a relative term, it is unfit for many of the uses to which Christians apply the word *God*—*e. g.* to speak of His eternal, necessary, existence &c. Implying office merely, and not nature, it is wholly unsuitable to *express* the doctrine of the Trinity, or that of the *divine nature* of our blessed Savior. And lastly, we insist upon the fact that *Sháng-tí* is the distinctive title of a definite Chinese god, and this god is a false god.\* Dr. Legge may affirm that "the *Sháng-tí* of the Chinese people is God over all blessed for ever;" but unless he proves that this *Shángtí* existed from eternity, and that he *made the heavens and the earth*, we must on the contrary declare with the prophet that "the gods that have not made the heavens and the earth,

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[\* On page 281, we asserted "that *Shángtí* is a proper name;" and also on page 286, remarked that *Shángtí* became a proper name for God as used in the preceding article. This last is called by Dr. Legge in his Letters, the "*proton pseudos* which has led many missionaries astray;" and the first assertion a mere dictum, for which no proof is given. We think the proof for both these remarks is amply given by Dr. Boone in these paragraphs —*Ed. Chi. Rep.*]

even *they* shall perish from *the earth*, and from under these heavens :” also with the Psalmist, that “*All the Elohim of the nations are elelim* (vanities, nothings), but Jehovah made the heavens :” and, as it is clear that Shángtí is one of the Elohim of the Chinese, we must insist he is here called by the Psalmist an *elem*, unless Dr. Legge proves he is the very Being who made the heavens. We can not, we dare not, use Shángtí. We can not exhort men to worship him, and we shall only encounter the ridicule of the people, if we call their (*shin*) gods *kiá shángtí*, i. e. false supreme rulers.

The third term to be brought to our proposed test is *Shin*. This word being the absolute appellative name of all the Chinese gods, and also the name by which the Chinese pantheists call the life-giving principle that pervades their *lo xav*, brings up the whole subject on which we desire to enlighten the Chinese ; all we want therefore is to teach them the true and proper ideas they should connect with this word *Shin*.

To prove that this term will be efficient in condemning the Chinese polytheism, we need only say that all the missionaries, who have attacked this many-headed hydra in China, have used this term for that purpose. On this point, therefore, we need not dwell, but will proceed at once to test the suitability of the word *Shin* for teaching the Chinese the monotheism of the Bible, and we shall endeavor to do this by showing how we can, using *Shin*, remove from the minds of the various errorists we here meet with, the errors into which they have fallen on the subject of Divinity.

Let us first take the Polytheist (or polypneumatist, as it now pleases Dr. Medhurst to call him), and see what the effect would be of setting his views right with respect to the word *shin*. Suppose him a common plebeian or a merchant, and that we were to meet him making offerings to the *Tsái shin*, the god of Wealth ; and that upon asking him why he worshiped this being, he were to answer, “That I may prevail upon him to assist me in getting wealth :” should we not do well to say to him, What you are doing is entirely right, viewed in one respect. You can not, by any exertions of your own, insure the success of your trading ; you do well to rely upon the protection and blessing of a superior being to help you to get wealth ; but you Chinese make a mistake, when you go to seek help from the *shin*. You suppose that there is a *shin* who presides merely over money getting, and you call upon this *Tsái shin*, god of Wealth, that he may help you to grow rich ; for protection from fire, you make offerings to the *Ho shin*, the god of Fire ; for protection at sea, you call on the *Hái shin* ;

and so too, you put every town, every district, under some tutelary *shin*, and to every occupation you give a patron *shin*: the idea running through all this (we might say to him) is right; man is a weak, dependent being; he must look up to, and depend upon a superior; but you are in great error as to the proper *object* to whom you should apply for aid. There is but one Being who can really aid you; in our holy book, He is called Jehovah. He it is who presides over all human affairs: the administration of them is not divided out as you suppose among a number of *shin*; He himself is the alone SHIN. He is the *Shin* of wealth; pray to him to aid you in your business: He is the *Shin* of the sea; call upon him in time of danger: He is the *Shin* of fire; pray to him, &c., &c. In this way we shall avail ourselves of whatever knowledge of *divinity in general* exists in the mind of this individual, at the same time that we turn to good account whatever *devotional feeling* he may have connected with the word *shin*; which is a matter of great importance. The *feeling*, we tell him, is correct; the *object* he calls *shin*: we have no right to complain of his calling it by this or any other *name*; but his conception of the *object*—of this *shin*—is wrong; it must therefore be changed—elevated. Now to do this, to keep the *subject* on which we would enlighten him before his mind, it is surely wise to adhere to his word *shin*, and to predicate of this word the truths we would teach him. We should instruct him to put all his *shin* of wealth, fire, sea, &c., together, as the first process to help him to rise; and then tell him that Jehovah, the true *Shin*, can afford him ten thousand times more protection and blessing than all he ever fancied all his imaginary *shin* put together could afford; that He is in truth the ONLY SHIN, the Self-existent, the Almighty, the Holy Shin, &c., &c.

Let us next take the other great errorist, the Pantheist, and set him right with respect to the meaning of this word *shin*. He too, as we have seen, predicates his errors on the subject of divinity of this word. With him, *shin* is the informing divinity, spirit, or soul, of the primordial substance whose revolutions made the heavens and the earth. Heaven, earth, man, animals, and plants, all share this universal *shin*: it is the living principle of all things. This *shin* is evidently no created spirit, as we regard the human spirit, and all spirits (save God) to be; but a divine power that co-existed with the eternally-existing primary matter. How are we to set this pantheist right? Tell him that in some respects he is right, and has the advantage of his polytheistic countrymen in his views of the great subject, they in common call *Shin*. He has a great advantage of them in the unity with which he



invests his *Shin*. We therefore tell him he is right in conceiving there is but one *Shin*, in making *Shin* the principle of life, and in ascribing to the influence of this *Shin* every pulse that throbs through universal nature; but that he greatly errs in his conception of *Shin*. It is not the name of a mere principle of life—of the soul of the world; but of the Lord of life,—of the Creator of the world, of Jehovah—the only true and living SHIN.

If we teach the Chinese correct views of this single word *shin*, we seal the fate of polytheism, pantheism and *atheism*. One *shin* (call him Spirit or God) hearing prayer in every house in China, knowing all hearts and ruling over all things, causing the grass to grow and the clouds to rain, &c., &c., is one God, is monotheism—the fourth and only other theory on the subject of theism we can think of. *Shin* is the word the Chinese use when speaking of the first: it is the word by which we must teach them the last.

This term is a strong contrast to *Shángti*, the other native term proposed. It is simple; whereas *Shángti* is a compound phrase. It is the general name of the Chinese gods; whereas *Shángti* is the definite title of the chief of said gods. These characteristics—its being the Chinese name of the general subject—an absolute appellation—a simple, uncompounded term—render *shin* exactly the term from which to make, by our *usus loquendi*, a word exactly answering to the word God.

It has no qualifying adjective to *restrict* its meaning, and to withstand the formation of the *usus loquendi* we desire to establish. It is not like *Ti*, the name of a relationship, which is common to God and men; but is the absolute name of a being, or class of beings (according to its context), who are possessed of a nature superior to that of men. Being an *absolute appellative noun*, we shall in using it as the name of God, have no difficulties made by the term by which we designate Him, when we speak of his self-existence from eternity: meaning *nature* and not *office*, it will well *express* that wherein the Oneness of the Three Persons consists, and the Divine nature of the blessed Savior. It is the general name of the false gods here worshiped, and is therefore the term to be used for negating the existence of all these false gods—the first thing that is necessary to be done to clear the way for the truth.

*Shin*, we admit, is not by its previous *usus loquendi*, the name of the Being whom we adore: unhappily the Chinese have no knowledge of this Being; but they have some knowledge of the general subject of Divinity; they have thought and written much on this subject, and

with the gods (though not with God) they have had most extensive dealings; and there can be no doubt, we think, that they call this subject *Shin*, and that they have worshiped these gods under this name. If therefore we succeed in teaching the Chinese around us correct views of Divinity in connection with this word *Shin*, we may rest assured that monotheism will spread. This word is in every one's mouth. Thousands are constantly making clay *shin*, wooden *shin*, paper *shin*: tens of thousands of others are manufacturing incense, candles, imitation sycee, &c., &c., for the worship of these *shin*. Let it then go forth that we solemnly assert, what it now so shocks Dr. Medhurst that we "should stand up before God and man," and assert,\* what he himself has asserted thousands of times, that "there is in truth only one *Shin*;" and let a few thousand Chinese, in any given city, sincerely believe this, and then what a stir we shall have!

The word *Shin*—the native name of this subject—brings the doctrine taught by us home to every man's daily thoughts, practice, and occupation. The native Christian, as taught by us, asserts that "there is only one *Shin*;" his polytheistic fellow-countryman laughs him to scorn; he can show him thousands of *Shin* in the very city in which they both live. "Aye; but the holy apostle Paul says they be no *Shin* that are made with hands: I can show you the very place in the holy Book." How, if when he turns to Acts xix. 26, instead of *Shin*, he finds *Aloho* or *Shángtí*? And if with a view to bring the matter home to some Chinese Demetrius, our native Christian would be justified in telling him, "the *Alohos* St. Paul was there speaking of were just such *shin* as you are now making;" if, I say, he would be justified in making such an assertion, why can not *we* now so write it down in the Acts, that the Apostle may speak out plainly for himself to all who read the sacred Book?

May the great Author of all truth lead us all to see the truth of the matter that is now controverted among us, and enable us so to use the proper Chinese appellative of Himself, that his "NAME may speedily be known" to this great nation, and all their false gods and idols be put far away from them! And to HIM, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, we will ascribe all the glory, both now and for ever. Amen.

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\* See Proper mode of translating Ruach, page 20.

### Appendix.

(Note A. referred to on page 573.)

SINCE the part of my Defense in which I discuss the question whether God is a relative or absolute term was sent to press, Dr. Legge has published a series of letters, in which he has written at much length on this point. I trust the reader will therefore pardon my calling his attention to this subject again in a note. I shall only comment on three points in the Doctor's letters.

1st. "Some people seem to apprehend a lurking heresy in the opinion that *Elohim*, with the words by which it is rendered in Greek and English, is a relative term; whereas the difficulty is to find critics and scholars of any note, who have not in substance at least maintained the same thing." And on a lower part of the same page, "I do not believe that a single writer of eminence can be brought forward to controvert my position that *Elohim* is a relative term," &c.

2d. The Doctor's attempt to express the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, regarding the word *God* all the while as a mere relative term which does not express anything about essence or nature.

3d. "The view of *Elohim* as a relative term exhibits the doctrine of the Trinity in its *scriptural simplicity*, and establishes the Divinity of Christ on its *proper evidence*."

On the first of these points, we beg the reader to notice that the Westminster Divines and Melancthon (no mean names I should suppose in Dr. Legge's eyes), are so far from regarding the word with Dr. L. as a mere relative term that "does not indicate the essence," but expresses only the *relationship* that Jehovah sustains to his creatures, that neither of them take any notice of this relationship at all in their definitions of the word (quoted at p. 415 above); but on the contrary say, "God is a Spiritual Being, or essence, possessed of various essential and eternal attributes." Howe also, one of the most eminent of the Nonconformist divines, in his "Living Temple," in like manner gives a definition of the word *God*, to preface an elaborate argument to prove the existence of the Deity, without making any mention of the relationships which He sustains to his creatures. His words are so much to the point that I shall give them at some length:—

"And first for the existence of God; that we may regularly and with evidence make it out to ourselves, *that he is, or doth exist*, ..... It is requisite that we first settle a true *notion* of him in our minds; or be at agreement with ourselves, what it is that we mean, or would have to be signified by the *name* of God, otherwise we know not what we seek, nor when we have found him. And though we must beforehand professedly avow, that we take him to be such a one as we can never comprehend in our thoughts, that this knowledge is too excellent for us, or he is more excellent than that we can perfectly know him; yet it will be sufficient to guide us in our search after his existence, if we can give such a description, or assign such certain *characters* of his being, as will severally or together distinguish him from all things else. For then we shall be able to call him by his own *name*, and say, this is God: whatever his being may contain more, or whatsoever other properties may belong to it, beyond what we can yet compass in our present thoughts of him. And such an account we shall have of what we are inquiring after, if we have the conception in our

minds of an *eternal, uncaused, independent, necessary Being*, that hath active power, life, wisdom, goodness, and whatsoever other supposable excellency in highest perfection originally *in and of itself*. Such a being we would with common consent express by the *name God*."

Here we see Howe too, in this definition, takes no notice of the *various relationships* which Jehovah sustains to his creatures, and which the word *God*, being the absolute appellative name of Him is used in the sacred Scriptures to designate sometimes the one, and sometimes another. He makes no mention of these relations, because he justly regards them as not necessary to a proper definition of this word, it being the name of the eternal, uncaused, independent, necessary Being, who was God before any of these relations subsisted. These relations may or may not be mentioned in a definition of the word *God*, but I have never seen a definition of the word, in which the *nature* of the Being designated was not mentioned; and doubt if such a one can be quoted from any good writer.

Voltaire, in giving Newton's view as quoted by Dr. L. in his Letters, p. 27, is careful to state these essential attributes, and that before he makes mention of any of these relations; his words are, "Newton was deeply persuaded of the existence of a God, and he understood by that *word* not only a *Being, Infinite, Almighty, Eternal*, and the *Creator*, but a *Master*, who has established relations between Himself and his creatures;" (observe, not was constituted God by this relationship, but being God, himself established this relation;) "for," adds Newton, "without this relation, the knowledge of a God is nothing but a barren idea." Here I would again observe that Newton does not say that this infinite, eternal Being, without this relation would not be God, but rather clearly implies the contrary, stating only that a knowledge of this relation is necessary to our welfare.

According to the common consent of mankind, the word *God*, whether understood *proprie* or *improprie*, is an absolute term, and not the mere exponent of a relationship as Dr. Legge contends it is. St. Paul speaks of those who were "by nature no gods." Cicero wrote "De *NATURA* Deorum;" would he have used the word "*natura*," if writing De — Imperatorum? In every Christian work on theology we take up, we shall find something said "of the *nature* and attributes of God." Hesiod has given us a Theogony, or generation of the gods; and it is just as plain that he regards the gods throughout this poem, as a genus—a race of beings, as that he regards men in this light. He constantly couples the names of the two races together. Love is "Sire of gods and men." "They (the Fates) of men and gods the *crimes* pursue." They are expressly spoken of as a race.

"The Muses (he says) bade me praise  
The blessed *races* of ever living gods."

"They send forth  
Their undecaying voice, and in their songs,  
Proclaim before all thrones the *races* of gods,  
From the beginning."

" And the Earth  
And the huge Ocean, and the sable Night,  
And all the sacred *race* of deities  
Existing ever."

" The lovely *race*  
Of goddess Nereides, rose to light ;" &c.

*Elton's Remains of Hesiod.*

Dr. Legge's doctrine is that the words "*Elohim* and  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  of themselves tell us *nothing* of the *nature* of the Being, or Beings which they represent," and that Shángti, "Supreme Ruler," tallies exactly with these words.

How would it accord with the picture drawn of the Olympian deities by Homer and the other Greek poets, to regard them as a mere assembly of rulers? All rulers, or rather *all* Shángti, *Supreme Rulers!!!* If such was "the assembly of the gods," what becomes of the sovereignty of Ζεϋς? The Goddesses, what are we to make of them? Are they "Supreme Ruleresses?"

Dr. Legge lays much stress on the etymology of the word *Elohim*; but etymology is a very uncertain guide to the character and meaning of words. Every work on logic is full of warnings against our being misled by sophistries derived from this source. It is wholly conjectural, and there is no other field perhaps in which learned men have so indulged their fancies. If a serious doubt once arises, there is no means of setting it at rest; the most that can be contended for is that my *conjecture* is more *probable* than your's. And even where the etymology is manifest, it is of comparatively little service, as it is the subsequent *use* which determines the character and meaning of a word much more than its root. In this case, from Dr. L.'s own showing, there is so much diversity of opinion among the learned, the only safe inference to be derived from their conflicting opinions is, that no satisfactory conclusion on this point can ever be arrived at, none certainly which one can afford to make the basis of an argument.

But suppose Dr. L.'s view to be conceded—that the radical idea is power, I can not see how this will show that the word is a mere relative term; *power* being one of the *essential, eternal* attributes of God, as this word denotes an intrinsic perfection, not an *outward relation* like that expressed by the words *dominion, ruler, &c.* Fuerst's view of the word *El*, given by Dr. L. (*Letters*, p. 20), shows how compatible such a derivation is with our regarding the word *God* as an absolute term. He says, "*Robustus*, powerful, brave. It is used (*b*) for *God*, on account of his very powerful and excelling *nature*" (not because of his sustaining any *relationship*), "and with the article *ha-El*, the Omnipotent, who is over all things, as in the phrase *el-Elohim* (God of gods), that is, superior to all false and feigned gods in his *strength* and *power*," (not a being sustaining a superior relationship, or having a more exalted office, but of a more excelling nature, of "*strength* irresistible, and *power* infinite.")

The Omnipotent, the powerful One, the Almighty, the Omniscient, &c., are very different to the words *Ruler, King, &c.*; and if Dr. L. can succeed in establishing the etymologies for which he contends, it will afford him no aid

in proving that we must render *Elohim* by a term that is the mere exponent of a relationship. Power is an *essential* attribute of the Deity, possessed from eternity before the worlds were made; Shángti, "Supreme Ruler," can derive no aid from their etymology.

Dr. L. quotes Calvin as agreeing with him in the character of this word, and seems to have persuaded himself that even Athanasius uses the term *God* just as a relative term; and his conclusion is, that there are not three beings, *who sustain the relation of God*, but only one; not three spirits who are each a God, but one Spirit (observe not one God), Jehovah namely, in whose essence there yet exist, "by a natural and eternal necessity, three intelligent and active subjects, who are made known to us as the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit." I have not the works of Athanasius, and never read them; I can not therefore say whether Dr. Legge represents him correctly, when he thus speaks of him as regarding the word *God* as a relative term, and the Persons of the Blessed Trinity as sustaining "the *relation of God*." I content myself therefore with merely calling the attention of the learned in Europe and America, who are taking an interest in this controversy, to his statement, who no doubt can vindicate this noble defender of the orthodox faith from the views here erroneously ascribed to him by Dr. Legge.

Some of Calvin's works I have at hand, from which it is very plain that Dr. Legge is mistaken if he supposes that Calvin agrees with him in regarding the word *God* as a mere relative term. The proof of this I will present below.

I shall next offer a few remarks on Dr. Legge's attempt to *express* the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, using the Athanasian formula, and regarding the word *God* as a mere relative term, which does not express anything about essence or nature. According to Dr. L., that which constitutes the Supreme Being God, is not the possession of a Divine nature, but the sustaining of a given relationship.

I am most happy to find that Dr. Legge, however, makes the unity of the Godhead to consist in oneness of substance, and not in unity of office or dignity; as from his words, "the view of *Elohim* as a relative term exhibits the doctrine of the Trinity in its *scriptural simplicity*," his defining a relative term as the name "of a *dignity or office* common to many individuals," and his views generally on the character of the word *God*, I had feared he did, and as I believe, all have done, who have regarded this word as Dr. L. does, as a *mere relative* term. On this subject Dr. Legge is happily very explicit. He says, "the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God; does it not seem then that there are three Gods? It seems so, yet the Father, Son, and Spirit are 'one in substance;' so that there are not three Gods, but one God." Dr. Legge then gives a statement of his views which shows that one can regard the word *God* as a mere relative term that does not indicate essence, and yet believe that the three Persons of the sacred Trinity are of the same divine nature or substance; but he has not shown us how this orthodox doctrine is expressed in the formula he has quoted, if the word *God* tells us nothing of the nature of the Being represented.

When we say in the Athanasian Creed, "the Father is God," we mean by it, as Waterland says, that He is possessed of "all perfection," that He is possessed of the "Divine nature;" by which phrase we understand "the sum of the Divine perfections;" we mean that all the essential attributes, necessary existence, eternity, omnipresence, omniscience, &c., &c., are predicable of the Father. Next, when we say "the Son is God," we mean that he is possessed of "all perfection," possesses the same Divine nature, has the same essential attributes, &c.; and so of the Holy Spirit. And lastly, when we say, "they are not three Gods but one God," we affirm that there is only one Being possessed of this divine nature, having these essential attributes; that, to use the words of the Athanasian Creed, "the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one." \*

There can be no doubt the same thing is meant when we affirm in the words of this Creed, "they are not three Gods, but one God," as when it is said just above "the Godhead is all one." Godhead (from *God* and *habeo*, state) means simply the state or condition of being God: hence, this word is defined by Johnson and Webster as, "Godship; deity, divinity, divine nature or essence." If *God* meant *ruler*, the noun formed from it would mean the state or condition of being ruler; if no nature is indicated by the word *God*, but only a relationship, the words *Godhead*, *divinity*, &c., would only mean the state or condition of being or standing in that relationship to others: they would not "indicate essence or nature."

I can not here refrain from adverting to Dr. L.'s very remarkable views of the Divine nature, i. e. that in which it consists.

He says, Letters, p. 56, "Dr. Boone believes that the idea of a Divine nature lies in the word *God*. Now the nature of God is spiritual; 'God is a Spirit,' was the account given by God himself manifest in the flesh. *The peculiarity* by which God, as he is revealed to us in the Scriptures, is distinguished from all other spiritual Beings as to nature, is, that in his infinite and incomprehensible spiritual essence there exists a Trinity of hypostases, or, as we term them in English, Persons. *This is the only divine nature*. And the idea does not lie in the word *God*." Following up this very peculiar notion of what is meant by "the divine nature," his *reductio ad absurdum* is, that, if the word *God* indicates nature, then none but Trinitarians have any idea of God. When enumerating the peculiarities that distinguish God from all other spiri-

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\* To show that this method of viewing the word *God* as expressing "the Divine nature" is not peculiar to the Athanasian Creed, and to the writers of the Church of England, I will here append Knapp's statement of the doctrine of the Trinity: See Art. 4. §33, 2. "The doctrine of a Trinity in the Godhead includes the three following particulars (*vide Morus*, p. 69, § 13): viz., (a) There is only one God—one divine nature; § 16, (b) but in this divine nature, there is the distinction of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as three (called *subjects*, *persons*, and other names of similar import in the language of the schools); and (c) these three have equally and in common with one another, the nature and perfections of supreme Divinity.—This is the simple doctrine of the Trinity, when stripped of refined and learned distinctions. According to this doctrine, there are in the Divine nature THREE inseparably connected with one another, possessing equal glory, but making unitedly only ONE God."

tual beings, Dr. L. might have mentioned that He is necessarily existent; whereas the existence of all other spiritual beings is contingent and dependent upon Him: that He is almighty, while they are of a weak and feeble nature; that He is omniscient, omnipresent, &c., &c. Knapp explains this matter very clearly in his 3d Article "On the NATURE and Attributes of God." His words are, "The *nature* of God is the sum of all the Divine perfections; the *attributes* of God are the particular distinct perfections or realities, which are predicable of the Divine nature (*predicata Dei necessaria ob essentiali ei tribuenda*, *Morus*, p. 58, not. 1). The Divine attributes do not therefore differ *materialiter* from the Divine nature, but only *formaliter* (*i. e.* the difference between nature and attribute is not *objective*, or does not appertain to God himself; but is *subjective, formal*, or as the older theologians say, *secundum nostrum concipiendi modum*). The attributes of God are merely our notions of the particular distinctions, which taken together compose the Divine nature. We are unable to take in the whole object at a single glance, and are compelled, in order to accommodate the weakness of our understanding, to consider it in separate portions." *Art. 3d*, § 18.

We must here carefully distinguish between the sense of the word "attribute," as applied to the essential attributes of God, and the logical use of this word, as the opposite of "substance," *i. e.* "a predicate which may be present or absent, the essence of the species remaining the same." See this point illustrated by St. Augustin, *De Civ. Dei*, XI. 10. "Propter hoc itaque natura dicitur simplex, cui non sit aliquid habere, quod vel possit amittere, vel aliud sit habens, aliud quod habet," &c. This reasoning Hagenbach declares identical with the proposition of Schleiermacher, "that in that which is absolute the subject and the predicate are one and the same thing." Which agree exactly with the views of the Divine nature and attributes presented in the quotation from Knapp. But to return to our argument.

There is another point which clearly manifests the sense in which the word *God* is used in the Athanasian Creed and other Christian formulæ, in connection with the Trinity: I refer to the two natures of Christ. To express the *divine nature*, the words *God* and *Godhead* are used indifferently, just as the words *man* and *manhood* are used to express the *human nature*: thus in the Second Art. of the Church of England, "the Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and *eternal God*, of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance: so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the *Godhead* and *manhood*, were joined together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very *God* and very *man*." The words are too clearly defined here to allow of mistake; "very God and very man" express the two natures called above the *Godhead* and *manhood*.

The Westminster Divines use language almost identical; they say, "so that two whole perfect and distinct natures, the *Godhead* and the *manhood*, were inseparably joined together in one person, without conversion, composition, or confusion. Which person is very *God* and very *man*, yet one Christ."



*Confession of Helvetia.* "And John saith, 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word.' Therefore the Son is co-equal and consubstantial with the Father, as touching his *divinity*; true God, not by name only, or by adoption, or by special favor, but in *substance* and *nature*." It would be tedious to quote the other Confessions drawn up by the Reformers in the 16th century. It will be sufficient to say they all agree in stating that Christ was possessed of two perfect natures, the Divine and the human, and that therefore he is very God and very man.

The words of all the Confessions on this subject are remarkably similar, being all derived from the decision of the Council of Chalcedon. The exposition of faith put forth by this Council was designed to guard against both Eutychian and Nestorian errors. After recognizing the Nicene and Constantinopolitan creeds, they say, "Following, therefore, these holy Fathers, we unitedly declare, that one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, is to be acknowledged as being perfect in his Godhead (*θεότητι*), and perfect in his humanity (*ανθρωποτητι*); truly God (*θεὸν ἀληθῶς*) and truly man (*ανθρώπων ἀληθῶς*)." The Athanasian Creed uses the word *God* in like manner to express the divine nature of the Person Christ; "the Son of God is God and man, *God* of the *substance* of the Father, begotten before the worlds; and *man* of the *substance* of his mother, born in the world; perfect God and perfect man; equal to the Father as touching his Godhead; and inferior to the Father as touching his manhood. Who although he be God and man; yet he is not two, but one Christ." Whatever Dr. Legge may persuade himself as to the agreement of his views with those of Athanasius, it seems to me that if he will give this Creed, that bears his name, only a cursory glance, he can not contend that "the term *God*" is used therein "just as a relative term, and that its conclusion is that there are not three beings who sustain the *relation of God*, but only one." On the contrary, he must acknowledge that it teaches that the three Persons sustain not a common relationship to their creatures, but are of the same nature—of one substance.

It is a favorite idea of Dr. L. that they who contend that God is an absolute term, "confound the being of Jehovah with the name God." His own view is, "He whom we call God, existed from everlasting, but not as God. It was in consequence of the act of creation, that He began to sustain the relation which is signified by that term?" And he thinks that no scholars or critics can be found who disagree with this view. In the Athanasian Creed above cited, we read that "the Son of God is God and man; God of the *substance* of his Father, begotten before the worlds." According to this, Christ is declared to be God, not because of his having a common *dominion* or *office* with the Father, but to be "God of the *substance* of the Father;" not to have begun to sustain "the relationship called God" when he created all things, but to have been God before the worlds were made. Dr. Legge may declare that the word *God* is used incorrectly in this Creed, and in all the other Creeds and Confessions from which I have quoted, but if he will carefully examine these documents, I am persuaded he will not contend that the word *God* is used in them as a mere relative term; or that he can express the doctrine which they

teach, with respect to *that wherein the oneness of the three Persons consist*; or the doctrine of the two natures of Christ, by the use of the word *God*, as they teach it, using this word, if the word *God* "of itself tells us nothing of the nature of the Being represented." This was my objection to the use of the word *Ť*, Ruler (and the objection holds good, no matter by what adjective it may be qualified), not that those, who use this term as the rendering of the word *God*, can not hold the orthodox doctrine on the subject of the Trinity; but that they can not express it by the use of the relative term *Ť*, Ruler. God and man, very God and very man, Godhead and manhood, can not be expressed by the words Ruler and man, very Ruler and very man, Rulership and manhood; and the addition of the adjective "supreme" will make no difference in the character of the noun. I will here mention that my Chinese teacher, when I was making a version of the Communion Service, and the sentence "our Savior Christ, both God and man," was under consideration; upon being asked How it would answer to render "both *Ť* and man?" without my ever having said one word to him on the subject, objected to it on the ground that the word *Ť* did not refer to nature; and there was no antithesis between the words *ti ruler*, and *jin, man*, for many men had been *ti*.

The character of the word *God* in the documents I have quoted is too clear to admit of any controversy, but Dr. Legge, seeing that their views can not be made to agree with his, may contend that this word was alike misunderstood by the early Councils and the Protestant Reformers; let us therefore turn to the inspired writers from whom the early Fathers and the Protestant Reformers derived their views. The first verse of the Gospel of John is a locus classicus for determining the character of the word  $\Theta\sigma\varsigma$ . "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God." The word *God* being here the predicate of the sentence "the Word was God," this sentence affords us an admirable opportunity of testing the point at issue between Dr. L. and myself.

If Dr. Legge is correct in his position, that the word  $\Theta\sigma\varsigma$  is a mere relative term, then the Evangelist here asserts that the Word "in the beginning" sustained a certain office, dignity, or relationship *because of which* he is called God; on the contrary, if I am correct, by the word *God* he here affirms that the Word, "in the beginning" was possessed of "the Divine nature," "of the sum of the Divine perfections."

The apostle asserts two facts: 1st, that "in the beginning" the Word "was with God;" 2d, that at that same time "the Word was God." If then, by the phrase "in the beginning," we understand from eternity, before the world was made, the whole question as between Dr. L. and myself is settled: for first, we have a Being called God, with whom the Word was "in the beginning," that is before there were any creatures: this Being therefore could not have been "constituted God by the act of creation;" second, we are told "the Word was God," existed "as God," "in the beginning," i. e. from eternity. Unless then Dr. L. denies that the phrase "in the beginning" has the meaning we have attached to it, he must admit the incorrectness of his theory that

"it was in consequence of the act of creation that He whom we call God, began to sustain the relation which is signified by that term."

With respect to the meaning of *sv αρχη*, Knapp says, "Ὁ λογος existed *sv αρχη*, viz. *καθ' αυτου* (*Beresith*, Gen. i. 1. i. e. *ab eterno*). Did he exist before the creation of the world he must be God; for before the creation nothing but God himself existed." Art. 4. § 37.

*Pearson*. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." Where 'in the beginning' must not be denied unto the third proposition, because it can not be denied unto the second. Therefore 'in the beginning, or ever the earth was, the Word was God,' (Prov. viii. 23.) the same God with whom he was. For we can not conceive that the Apostle should speak of one kind of God in the second, and of another in the third proposition; in the second of a God eternal and independent; in the third of a made and depending God."

*Waterland*. "The Word is here (John i. 1.) said to have been God in the beginning, that is *before the creation*; from whence it is further probable that he is God in the strict and proper sense. This circumstance may at least be sufficient to convince you that the relative sense which you contend for is not applicable. He could have no relation to the creatures before they were made; no *dominion* over them when they were not; and therefore could not be God in the sense of *dominion* or office." Vol. I. p. 316.

*Kuinoel*. "Initio rerum, ante mundum conditum extitit Logos. Ev αρχη scilicet του καθ' αυτου . . . . . respondit Heb. *Beresith*, Gen. i. 1. quem locum Johannes respexit;" &c.

*Tholuck*. Ev αρχη, the same as *beresith*, in the beginning, and means when the world commenced, and time with it—then, *already* the Word was."

I will pause longer on this point, as there will probably be no difference of opinion among those who take an interest in this controversy with respect to the meaning of *sv αρχη*, but will proceed to cite some authorities to show that the word *God*, in the sentence "the Word was God," predicates that the Word was possessed of the Divine nature; and this because Dr. L. expresses the belief "that not a *single* writer of eminence can be brought forward to controvert his position that *God* is a relative term." I will commence my quotations with Calvin, as Dr. L. has quoted him to sustain his views. Commenting on this sentence in the 1st verse of John's Gospel, he says, "That there may be no remaining doubt as to Christ's *Divine essence*, the Evangelist distinctly asserts that he *is God*. Arius showed prodigious wickedness when, to avoid being compelled to acknowledge the eternal Divinity of Christ, he prattled about I know not what imaginary Deity; but for our part, when we are informed that the Speech was God, what right have we any longer to call in question his *eternal essence*?"—*Calvin in loc.*

"For as the *names* of God, which have respect to external work, began to be ascribed to him from the existence of the work (as when he is called the Creator of heaven and earth), so piety does not recognize or admit any name which might indicate that a change had taken place in God himself. Nothing

therefore is more intolerable than to fancy a beginning to that Word, which was *always God*, and afterwards was the Creator of the world." *Christian Institutes*, Book I. Ch. 13. § 8.

"Theodoret disputeth with great earnestness that God can not be said to suffer. But he thereby meaneth Christ's *Divine nature* against Apollonarius, which held even Deity itself passible. Cyril on the other side against Nestorius as much contendeth, that whosoever will deny *very God* to have suffered death, doth forsake the faith. Which notwithstanding to hold were heresy, if the name of God in this assertion did not import as it doth the person of Christ, who being verily God suffered death, but in the flesh, and not in that *substance* for which the *name of God* is given him." *Hooker*, Book V. Ch. liii. § 4.

"In N. T. clarius adhuc Deus vocatur (Io. i. 1.) *Sermo erat Deus*, quod de Deo secundario et factitio, ratione *muneris* intelligi nequit ut vellent *Adversarii*, sed de vero Deo ratione *naturæ*; quia non dicit *ἵνυσ'λο*, ut v. 14. quando loquitur de incarnatione, quod prius notasset; sed *ἦν* erat ad ejus *existentiam æternam* designandam. Deinde *eo modo debet esse Deus, quo potuit esse in principio ante rerum omnium creationem*, v. 1. tanquam ejus author, v. 3, hic autem nemini nisi Deo summo competit." *Turretin*, Vol. I. p. 312.

"The Father is called God, so is the Son, John i. 1. *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.* With God as to his person, God himself as to his *essence*." *Bishop Beveridge's Works*," Vol. VII. p. 83.

"No epithet or attribute is more proper to God, than that *αἰώνιος Θεός*, *God eternal*. Hence is our Lord said by St. Paul, before he did assume the form of a servant, and became like unto men, to have *subsisted in the form of God, not deeming it robbery to be equal to God* (or to have a subsistence in duration and perfection equal to God); so that as he was after his incarnation truly man, partaker of human nature, affections, and properties; so before it he was *truly God, partaking the Divine essence and attributes*. Thence he is often in the Scriptures absolutely and directly named God; God in the most proper and most high sense: *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God*, saith St. John in the beginning of his Gospel (the place where he is most likely to speak with the least ambiguity or darkness); the same Word, which was in time *made flesh and dwelt among us*, did *before all time exist* with God, and was God." *Barrow's Works*, Vol. II. p. 281.

"Præterea vero et illud est in promptu, eandem notionem subesse vocabulo Θεοῦ in hac enunciatione, quam in proxime antecedente et sequente, atque adeo Servatorem eodem sensu, et dici et esse Θεόν, ac Θεός is dicitur, apud quem fuit, eique DIVINITATEM et tribui hoc loco et tribuendam esse, non aliam et diversam ab ea, quæ summi Dei est, sed plane eandem." *Tittman, Comment- in loc.*

Doddridge paraphrases the sentence as follows: "The Word was God himself, i. e. possessed a *nature* truly and properly Divine."

*Whitby*, "And the Word was God. He was, so say the Socinians, by *office*, not by *nature*, as being the Legate and Ambassador of God;" and then contests this point at much length.

*Scott.* "And what can we understand by this testimony, 'the Word was God,' but that he was possessed of the same *Divine nature* and *perfections* with the Father?"

*Henry.* "The Word was with God. (1) In respect of essence and substance; for the Word was God, a distinct Person or substance (subsistence?), for he was with God; and yet the same in substance, for he *was* God."

*Poole.* "The Word was God; this speaks of the oneness and sameness of his *essence* with that of the Father. The term *God*, which in the foregoing words is to be taken Personally for God the Father, is here to be taken *essentially*, as it signifieth the Divine Being."

*Burkitt.* "Learn hence, 3d, his *Divine essence*. The Word was God. Here St. John declares the *Divinity*, as he did before the eternity of our blessed Savior. The Word was God, say the Socinians, that is a god by *office*, not by *nature*, as being God's ambassador."

*Tholuck.* "By  $\Theta\sigma\epsilon$ ; the Evangelist wished to designate that *Divine essence* in which the Son was equal to the Father."

*Erasmus,* "— dicere vult; Verbum particeps erat *Divinae essentia*."

In the former part of this pamphlet, I have shown that the ancient Councils and the Protestant Reformers of the 16th century agree in regarding the word *God* as the absolute name of Jehovah, indicating his essence. In addition to this I show that Tertullian, Pearson, Waterland, Usher, Stillingleet, Bloomfield, Stuart, Hodge, and Tholuck, agree in this view; to these I have now added the name of almost every Commentator whose works are within my reach. I can not fancy in what quarter Dr. L. has pushed his inquiries to assert, as he has done, his firm conviction, that not "a single writer of eminence can be brought forward to controvert his position that *Elohim* is a relative term."

But to all this, Dr. Legge replies, "I have carefully counted the number of times in which *Elohim* is used in the O. T. The word is used in all 2,555 times. . . . With relative force apparent, 1,476 times; with the definite article, 357 times; and simply (i. e. standing absolutely), as in the first verse of Genesis, 722 times."

Before Dr. Legge expects us to lay any stress upon these numbers, he should have shown that the absolute name of a Being, or the absolute appellative name of a class of beings, can not be used "with relative force apparent," as the word *Elohim* is in the O. T.; or else his numbers all go for nothing. In some languages, the phrases "*my man*" and "*my woman*" are used to designate the relationship of husband and wife (or, as it is commonly said in English, man and wife), and yet no one would question the fact that the word *man* in these languages was an absolute, appellative noun. If the question was raised, to what class of beings does this individual belong, it would bring out an answer that would at once settle the point. *Ans.* "He is a man." Here the word *man*, being the predicate of the sentence, tells us of what nature the being in question is; as we saw above the word *God* declares in the 1st verse of St. John's Gospel, and in the sentences, "Very God and very man," &c.

Take another instance: Suppose a lady called her husband, or her son, "my Charles;" and that upon reading a memoir of her, we should find that the phrase, "*my Charles*," occurred 1476 times, whereas the word *Charles* stood absolutely only 722 times: what would be thought of the inference that this word "Charles" was a mere relative term, which signified husband or son, the reader being left in doubt which was the definite relation indicated, as Dr. L. is with respect to the relation designated by the word *God*. Those who consider the word *God* as an absolute appellative noun, find no difficulty at all in accounting for the use of the word *God* in these 1476 cases, where Dr. L. says it "is used with relative force apparent;" for the Being whose absolute name it is, stands in many relationships to us, *several* of which relationships (it is worthy of remark) and not *one* only, this word is used to designate.

In a preceding part of this paper, I endeavored to show from this fact that the word *God* can not be a mere relative term:—e. g. we can say "God is the Creator; God is the Supreme Ruler; God is our Preserver; &c., predicating every relationship which the Supreme Being sustains to us, of the word *God*, without any sense of tautology or impropriety. Could we do this if the word *God* were not the absolute name of the Being designated, but a mere title expressing any *one* of these relationships. If this was the character of the word, should we not have tautology when we predicated that relationship of the word: e. g. of the relationship designated by that of Creator to creatures, as Dr. L. says it is on p. 5 of his Argument, to say that God is our Creator is equivalent to saying "the Creator is our Creator:" the same if the relationship designated is that of "Supreme Ruler," or any other whatsoever, there would be a tautology if we predicated *this* relationship of the word *God*. Now as we have no such difficulty in predicating each and every of the relationships, in which we stand to the Supreme Being, of the word *God*, this word can not be a mere relative term—the mere exponent of any given one of these relationships.

But that which Dr. L. fancies will reduce the advocates of the absolute character of the word *God* to a complete dilemma, is the 245 instances in which the word "is applied away from him," e. i. Jehovah. He says, if "Elohim and Elohim express *ANYTHING* of the *Divine nature*, how is it that they are applied, away from Jehovah, to angels, judges, and to Moses? When Jehovah says to Moses, 'I will make thee a God to Pharaoh,' he promised what he actually did. But did he make Moses from being a man to become actually of the nature of God? Did he convert the unity of his human existence into a trinity of Divine existences? I dare not pursue the subject farther to his impious consequences."

It is to be hoped that Dr. L. succeeded in filling his own mind with due horror at the impious consequences that must follow from regarding the word *God* as an absolute term, but I very much doubt if a single reader has shared these feelings with him. If, when Dr. L. declares, that, "when Jehovah says to Moses, 'I will make thee a God to Pharaoh,' he promised what he did," he means to assert that the word *God* is used *proprie*, and not metaphorically,

and that we are to understand from the sentence above quoted, that God promised to make Moses really and truly a God, the consequences are quite as serious on Dr. L.'s theory as on my own. He says the correlatives are "God and creatures;" the Supreme Being is "constituted God by the act of creation;" "God is a relative term expressing a relation of which the *one party* could only be the Supreme Being." Now then, did Jehovah make Moses and Pharaoh to stand to each other in the relation of Creator and creature? By what act of creation was Moses constituted God? If *the party* sustaining the relationship called God "could only be the Supreme Being," was Moses changed into this Being? These absurdities are inevitable if the word *God* is here to be understood *proprie*; but if we admit that it is used metaphorically, then the fact that Moses is called a God presents no difficulty to our regarding this word as an absolute term; for I have above given instances of the absolute nouns "*man*" and "*woman*," to express the relation of husband and wife; and these words are also used by way of metaphor to express the qualities which distinguish men and women: e. g. when we exhort a boy to "be a man," or call a man "an old woman;" and yet no one would contend that because of this usage the words "*man*" and "*woman*" have ceased to be absolute appellative nouns.

If Dr. L. had paused a moment to reflect upon the character of the absurdity with which he wished to press his adversaries, he must, it seems to me, have seen that, if the word was to be understood *proprie*, the difficulty was equally great on either supposition; and that, if used metaphorically, the difficulty was at an end for both.

This point, viz. that the name *God* is a mere relative term, on which Dr. L. relies, and which he admits is essential to the success of Shàngti, was much relied on, to sustain their views, by Dr. Clarke and his fellow Arians, who, in the early part of the 18th century disturbed the peace of the English Church, and brought on the most able discussion with respect to our Lord's Divinity that has been held in the English language. To show the similarity of Dr. Legge's views to those of these writers, and at the same time to give a conclusive answer to them from one of our most sound and learned Divines, I will quote a few paragraphs from Waterland's Works.

"Dr. Clarke would indeed persuade us, that the proper Scripture notion of *God* is *dominion*; and that therefore any person having dominion, is, according to the Scripture notion, truly and properly God. This shall be examined; but it will be convenient here to set down the Doctor's own words. 'The word *God*, has in Scripture, and in all books of morality and religion, a relative signification; and not, as in metaphysical books, an absolute one: as is evident from the relative terms, which in moral writings may always be joined with it. For instance, in the same inanner as we say, *my Father*, *my King*, and the like; so it is proper also to say *my God*, the *God of Israel*, the *God of the universe*, and the like: which words are expressive of dominion and government. But in the metaphysical way, it can not be said, 'my infinite substance,' the 'infinite substance of *Israel*,' or the like. He repeats the observation (p. 290); and is very positive that the word *God* in Scripture is always a relative word of office, giving the same pretty reason for it as before. This shall be carefully considered, and the manner of speaking accounted for in the sequel.

"I shall only observe here, by the way, that the word *star* is a relative word, for the same reason with that which the Doctor gives for the other. For, the

'star of your God Remphan' (Acts vii, 43.) is a proper expression: but in the metaphysical way, it can not be said, the 'luminous substance of your God Remphan.' So again, *water* is a relative word; for it is proper to say, the *water of Israel*: but, in the metaphysical way, it can not be said, the *fluid substance of Israel*; the expression is improper.\* By parity of reason, we may make relative words almost as many as we please. But to proceed: I maintain that *dominion* is not the full import of the word *God* in Scripture; that it is but a part of the idea, and a small part too; and that if any person be called *God*, merely on account of *dominion*, he is called so by way of figure and resemblance only; and is not properly *God*, according to the Scripture notion of it. We may call any one a *king*, who lives free and independent, subject to no man's will. He is a king so far, or in some respects: though in many other respects nothing like one; and therefore not properly a king. If by the same figure of speech, by way of allusion or resemblance, anything be called *God*, because resembling *God* in one or more particulars, we are not to conclude that it is properly and truly *God*.

"To enlarge somewhat further upon this head, and to illustrate the case by a few instances. Part of the idea that goes along with the word *God* is, that his habitation is sublime, and 'his dwelling not with flesh.' Dan. ii. 11. This part of the idea is applicable to angels or to saints, and therefore they may thus far be reputed *God*: and are sometimes so styled in Scripture, or ecclesiastical writings. Another part of the *complete idea* of *God* is giving orders from above, and publishing commands from Heaven. This was in some sense applicable to *Moses*; who is therefore called 'a *God* unto *Pharaoh*:' not as being properly *God*, but instead of *God* in that instance, or that resembling circumstance. In the same respect, every prophet or apostle, or even minister of a parish, might be figuratively called *God*. *Dominion* goes along with the idea of *God*, or is part of it; and therefore kings, princes and magistrates, resembling *God* in that respect, may, by a like figure of speech, be styled *Gods*: not properly; for then we might as properly say, *God* *David*, *God* *Solomon*, or *God* *Jeroboam*, as *King* *David*, &c.; but by way of allusion, and in regard to some imperfect resemblance which they bear to *God* in some particular respects; and that is all. It belongs to *God* to receive worship, and sacrifice, and homage. Now, because the heathen idols so far resembled *God*, as to be made objects of worship, &c., therefore they also, by the same figure of speech, are by the Scripture denominated *Gods*, though at the same time they are declared, in a proper sense, to be no *Gods*. The belly is called the *God* of the luxurious (*Phil. iii. 19.*), because some are as much devoted to the service of their bellies, as others are to the service of *God*; and because their lusts have got the *dominion* over them. This way of speaking is in like manner grounded on some imperfect resemblance, and is easily understood. The prince of the devils is supposed, by most interpreters, to be called the '*God* of this world,' *2 Cor. iv. 4.* If so, the reason may be, either because the men of this world are entirely devoted to his service, or that he has got power and dominion over them.

"Thus we see how the word *God*, according to the popular way of speaking, has been applied to angels, or to men, or to things inanimate and insensible; because some part of the idea belonging to *God* has been conceived to belong to them also. To argue from hence that any of them is properly *God*, is making the whole of a part; reasoning fallaciously, *a dicto secundum quid*, as the schools speak, *ad dictum simpliciter*. If we inquire carefully into the Scripture notion of the word, we shall find, that neither *dominion* singly, nor all the other instances of resemblance, make up the idea, or are sufficient to denominate anything properly *God*. When the prince of Tyre pretended to be *God* (*Ezek. xxviii. 2.*), he thought of something more than mere *dominion* to make him

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\* It is very obvious to perceive where the impropriety of such expressions lies. The word *substance*, according to the common use of language, when used in the singular number, is supposed to be intrinsic to the thing spoken of, whose substance it is; and indeed to be the thing itself. *My substance is myself*: and the *substance of Israel is Israel*. And hence it comes to be improper to join *substance* with the relative terms, understanding of it something extrinsic.



so; he thought of strength invincible, and power irresistible: and God was pleased to convince him of his folly and vanity, not by telling him how scanty his *dominion* was, or how low his *office*; but how weak, frail, and perishing his *nature* was; that he was man only, and 'not God,' ver 2, 9, and should surely find so by the event. When the Lyconians, upon the sight of a miracle wrought by St. Paul (Acts xiv, 11), took him and Barnabas for gods, they did not think so much of *dominion*, as of power and ability beyond human: and when the apostles answered them, they did not tell them that their *dominion* was only human, or that their office was not Divine, but that they had not a Divine nature; they were weak, frail, and feeble men, of like infirmities with the rest of their species, and therefore no *Gods*.

If we trace the Scripture notion of one who is truly and properly God, we shall find it made up of these several ideas; infinite wisdom, power invincible, all-sufficiency, and the like. These are the *ground* and *foundation* of *dominion*, which is but a secondary notion, a consequence of the power: and it must be supreme dominion, and none else, which will suit with the Scripture notion of God. It is not that of a governor, a ruler, a protector, a lord, or the like; but a sovereign Ruler, an almighty Protector, an omniscient and omnipresent Governor, an eternal, immutable, all sufficient Creator, Preserver, and Protector. Whatever falls short of this is not properly, in the Scripture notion, *God*; but is only called so by way of figure; as has before been explained. Now, if you ask me why the relative terms may properly be applied to the word *God*, the reason is plain; because there is something relative in the whole idea of God; namely, the notion of Governor, Protector, &c. If you ask why they can not be so properly applied to the word *God* in the metaphysical sense, beside the reason before given, there is another as plain; because metaphysics take in only part of the idea, consider the *nature* abstracted from the *relation*, leaving the relative part out." Waterland's Works, Vol. I. p. 33—35.

The word *God*, as I intimated in the first part of this Essay, does not stand for a single idea, but for an assemblage of ideas, some of which relate to the nature of the Being so called, and some to the relations he sustains. When used metaphorically, any one of these may form the basis of the metaphor; if, however, we desire to give a full definition of the word when used *proprie*, we should mention both classes; those which refer to nature (such as necessary existence, wisdom, power, &c., &c.), being however "the ground or foundation" of the relative, the mention of them is indispensable in all definitions of the word, as I have observed above; the mention of the relative is not indispensable as we have seen, because we may contemplate God as existing from eternity, before there were any beings to stand in any relation to him.

Dr. Legge, when he insists that *God* is a mere relative term, which tells us nothing of the nature of the Being indicated, discards the whole class of fundamental ideas, and gives us a word which can not be used to *express* the doctrine of the Trinity as the word *God* is used in the Creeds of the Catholic Church; which can not be used as the word *God* is in the documents I have quoted, to teach the Divine nature of Christ; in short, a word which differs from the Θεός used in St. John's Gospel, and by orthodox Christian writers from the beginning. He must therefore be wrong in his view of the word.

This note has already extended to great length, but I must say a word to Dr. L.'s statement that we can not with the word *Shin* express the doctrine of the Trinity. He asks, "Does the word *God* standing absolutely, without definitive of any kind, denote a Being who is possessed of a Divine nature; or the Being who sustains the relation of supreme dominion? If the former

be taken, the Athanasian formula is equivalent to 'The Father is A Being who possesses a Divine nature, the Son is A Being who possesses a Divine nature, &c.'"

It is difficult to persuade oneself that Dr. L. is serious in all this. To his question, however, I will answer that the word *God* denotes the Being who is possessed of the only true Divine nature that exists, which Being sustains to his creatures the relationship of Supreme Ruler, and many others also.

If the word *God*, as used in this formula, is an absolute term denoting nature; then, as Dr. L. admits that *shin* denotes nature and *ti* does not, the inference is that the word *shin* is a suitable one to express the Trinity, and that *ti* and its compounds are not. But Dr. L. insists that if we attempt to state the doctrine of the Trinity in Chinese, by the use of this word, it will be "the Father is a Shin," &c., &c. In answer to this, we have only to inform the English reader that the Chinese has no article, and that the phrase 父乃神, may without any violation of Chinese grammar be explained to mean the Father is the one only true and living *Shin*, to remove all apprehension from his mind on this score; and as we, who advocate the use of *Shin*, are monotheists, the reader may rest assured that we will tell the Chinese that although they have heretofore supposed "that there were *shin* (gods) many, and *chú* (lords) many, that to us there is but one *Shin*;"—"that the Father is this *Shin*, the Son is this *Shin*, and the Holy Ghost is this *Shin*," and that there is yet, as we said above, "to us, but one *Shin*."

Dr. Legge must know that there is nothing easier than for us to say this in Chinese, and if he believes that the unity of the Godhead consists in a oneness of nature, I should be glad to know why the fact that the word *Shin* is an *absolute appellative* noun, unfits it to express the "Scriptural doctrine" of the Trinity. If he regards the Divinity of the Savior as "a mere relative divinity," and is prepared to stand to his position that "the view of Elohim as a *relative term*, exhibits the doctrine of the Trinity in *its Scriptural simplicity*, and establishes the Divinity of Christ upon its *proper evidence*," then I can easily understand why he should maintain that we can not with *Shin* (an absolute term) express the doctrine of the Trinity in its *Scriptural simplicity*;" but if he regards the Divinity of the Savior as absolute, if he regards him as "the very and *eternal* God," as "very God and very man;" if he believes, as he tells us on p. 57 of his Letters, "that the Father, Son, and Spirit are 'one in substance,' SO that there are not three Gods but *one God*;" then I can not understand what difficulty he can possibly see in the way of his expressing the doctrine of the Trinity in its *Scriptural simplicity* by the use of an *absolute appellative noun*.

I should be glad to see Dr. L. reconcile his views above quoted, viz., that "the Father, Son and Spirit are 'one in *substance*,' SO that there are not three Gods, but *one God*," with the opinion that we must use a mere relative term which does not indicate *essence* or *nature* to express the doctrine of the Trinity in its *Scriptural simplicity*. I should like him also to point out what difficulty there can be in expressing that wherein the oneness of the Trinity consists by the use of a term signifying *nature*, if that oneness consists in *nature*. If

his answer is that the difficulty consists not in the absolute character of the word *shin*, but in the fact of its being an *appellative* noun, this militates directly against his position that a relative term alone can express this doctrine in its *Scriptural simplicity*; besides he has told us that relative nouns, as well as absolute, are appellative; which being the case, we should be glad to know why an *absolute appellative* must give place to a *relative appellative* in our teaching the scriptural doctrine of the Trinity?

If to this Dr. L. replies, "Some relative terms are similarly construed," i. e. either with or without the article; that is the reason why we must have a relative appellative: our answer is, In Chinese there is no article; in this respect there is no difference between *Shangti* and *Shin*; and in English, his favorite phrase and the word *God*, tried by this test, can not be reconciled: he can not with "grammatical propriety" say, "Supreme Ruler made the world." *Argument*, p. 4.

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(Note B., referred to on page 600.)

While we are engaged with this author, I will call attention to some very remarkable temples mentioned by him. He says, "In China, at the time of the former Fived yasties (A.D. 907—959), there was a temple to 'Hien Shin,' and another to 'the Fire, Hien or Yau Shin.' During the Táng dynasty (A.D. 620—904), there were religious books from Persia. The fourth year of *Tien-pau* (A.D. 745), the Emperor commanded the two Persian monasteries to be changed into *Ta-tsin* (Romish) monasteries (Nestorian?). We have also a Tablet giving an account of the spread of the *King kiáu* (Illustrious religion) in China, written by *King Tsing* in the second year of *Kien-chung* (A.D. 781). Now to explain the character *Hien*, or *Yau* 祆, it is from *shi* 示 and from *t'ien* 天 and is the god (*Shin*) of Heaven, whose religion arose in Palestine;\* which originally was on the eastern borders of the Roman empire (*Tá-tsin*).† That which is called the "Foreign *Yau*," is the "*Yau Shin*," which is the same as the *Shin* of heaven,‡ and belongs to the Roman empire as I suppose,§ and is the origin of the religion of Jesus. With respect to the religion of the God of Fire (*Ho Shin* 火神) it came from Persia, and has no connection with the Roman Empire (*Tá-tsin*); should we

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\* *Fuh-lín*, i. e. Judea. Moses first established this country: Jesus was a descendant of his.

† *Tá-tsin* is the country of Rome in Italy or Roman empire. The Chinese observing that the men thereof in height and size were very like themselves, called it *Tá-tsin*, but the natives themselves did not call it by this name.

‡ "The character *Yau* 祆 (or *Hien*, as others read) was originally made by the Chinese men; the people of the west have not a common mode of writing with Chinese men; how then came they by this character?" His astonishment seems to arise from this Chinese character's being given on the Temple as the name of the foreign God.

§ Palestine, from the time of the *Hán* dynasty, began to serve Rome; but from the time of the *Táng* dynasty it was captured by the Arabians.

say that it (the religion of the god of Fire) was the same with the 'Ho Yáu,' this would be to confound the god of Fire with the God of Heaven: to say that the religion of the Persians comes from the Roman Empire (*Ta-tsin*) is like the erroneous derivation of my family from one of another surname. The Tablet about "the (*King kiáu*) Illustrious Religion" (i. e. that described on the Syrian Monument) is still more erroneous. The *King kiáu* is the religion of the fire worshippers: in the Tablet it is said, 'a bright star proclaimed the happy event;' 'he suspended the bright sun in order to break open the abodes of darkness; at mid-day he ascended to heaven:' all which refers to the sun's fire. It being also said in the Tablet, 'he determined in the form of the cross to establish the four quarters;' and, 'once in seven days they have service,' implicates it with the *Tien-chú kiáu* (Romish religion). When it speaks of the three-one, mysterious bodied, uncreated, true Lord *Aloho*, I do not know what man (𠄎 人) is referred to. And the composition of the whole piece is in the exaggerated style of the dregs of the Budhists: it (*the King kiáu*) is not the religion of Fire; it is not that of Heaven (i. e. the Nestorian); it is not that of Budhia: we are entirely at a loss to know by what name to call this religion; for the Persians sacrificing to the god of Fire was an ancient custom that originated among themselves, and the religion of Budha prevailed in India, its (Persia's) eastern neighbor. The religion of the God of Heaven prevailed in the Roman empire (*Ta-tsin*) its western neighbor. From the time of the Táng dynasty, the *Tien-chú kiáu* of the Roman empire (*Ta-tsin*) flourished more extensively, and a clever foreign priest (*King Tsing*, the writer of the Tablet it is to be supposed) united the three religions, and made out of them one, to which he gave the name of *King kiáu*, "Illustrious religion" (or he may mean to insinuate that the priest meant it should be understood as the religion of *King 景*, this being his own name), in order to exalt himself. In China the origin was not known, the people therefore followed his story and honored and believed in it, exactly according to what Chung Lí says, 'You only like to hear what is strange.'

It is also said in the Tablet, that in the twelfth year of Ching-kwán (A.D. 639), Olopun, a man of great virtue, of the Roman Empire (*Ta-tsin*), has brought sacred books and images from afar, and presented them at our capital. This *Olotuk* (misprint, I presume for *Olopun*) coming from the Roman empire (*Ta-tsin*) was no doubt of the *Tien-chú kiáu* (Romish religion); and his sacred books were the Holy Books and Gospels that have been transmitted to us from Europe: the images were those of Jesus on the cross; but we do not hear that, at that time, they had those images. With respect to that which is called *King kiáu*, its depending upon (being derived from?) the religion of the Persian god of Fire, and having its images, dresses, decorations, &c., from the Budhists—this is what I can not explain.

"From the time of the Táng dynasty, the Buddhist religion has flourished: the temples of the Foreign Yáu and of the Fire Yáu, and the religion of Persia and of *Ta-tsin*, have all not been again seen. According to western writers, in the northern country of Africa, called Abyssinia, the *Ta-tsin* "Ro-

man," (perhaps Nestorian) religion still exists; it still is also the name of the religion of the Persian fire-god."

The three temples abovementioned are objects of great interest to us, and I trust we shall be able to learn from what source His Excellency obtained his information, and thus get access to a fuller account of them.

The character 祇 is explained as the name of a foreign god, sc. 胡神 in the following Dictionaries:—

說文通釋。篆字彙。正字通。韻府萃音。韻府約編。

It is read by all *Hien*: the 正字通 alone reading it also *Yau*. If our author is correct in saying that this *Shin* was the same as the *Shin* who gave the law at Mount Sinai, then I think there can be but little doubt the character should be read *Yau*, as the Being designated by the builders must in that case have been ΙΑΩ, i. e. Jehovah; for the Nestorians could not have built a temple to any false god.

I have translated *Tu-tsin* throughout "Roman empire," as the author so explains it himself. It may mean (though I doubt it) Judea, in the Syrian Monument, but this author does not so understand it. He can make nothing of the Monument at all, as the reader will perceive. Because in the Tablet it is said, "a bright star proclaimed the happy event," and that, "Persians, seeing its brightness, came with presents," he concludes the people mentioned were Parsees, or worshipers of fire.

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ART. II. *Souvenirs d'un Voyage dans la Tartarie, le Thibet, et la Chine, pendant les Années 1844, 1845, et 1846. Par M. Huc, prêtre missionnaire de la Congrégation de St.-Lazare. 2 tomes. Paris, 1850.*

[THE arrival of MM. Huc and Gabet in Canton, in Sep. 1846, from Tibet is noticed in Vol. XV, page 526 (though the former is there called Evariste), and the hope is expressed that the public may be favored with some account of their journey. This has at length been done, in two volumes, under the title given above. An account of the commencement and course of M. Huc's journey is given on pp. 617-624 of the last volume of the Repository, in an extract from a letter written by himself in the "Annals de la Foi;" in the absence of a fuller notice, and not having the volumes themselves, we have inserted the following article from the number of Colburn's New Monthly Magazine, for September, 1850. In doing so, we have inserted the Chinese characters for some of the towns on the route, and added a few topographical notes, which are put in brackets.—*Ed. Ch. Rep.*]

THE French mission at Peking, which flourished under the first emperors of the Tartar-Manchú dynasty, was broken up and almost totally dispersed, by the frequent persecutions of Kiáking, who ascended the throne in 1799. The missionaries themselves were either put to death or driven out of the empire, while the converts hastened beyond the Great Wall, to search for peace and tranquillity in the deserts of Mongolia, where the Mongols permitted them to cultivate, here and there, small tracts of land.

After the lapse of some time, the missionaries succeeded in gathering together the scattered members of their flock, and took up their abode with them in the "Grass-lands" (*tsáu-tí* 草地); and in 1842, the Pope nominated an apostolic vicar to all Mongolia, whose residence was at Si-wan,\* a Chinese village north of the Great Wall, and one day's journey from Siuen-hwá fú 宣化府. In the year 1844, two missionaries, Messrs. Huc and Gabet, were commissioned by the said vicar of Mongolia to explore, and, if possible, to determine the extent and limits of the vicariat! And it is to a journey undertaken with such strange objects in view, that we are indebted for one of the most remarkable narratives of travel in "Tartary, Tibet, and China," that has appeared since of the days the "Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses," or of more modern and authentic narratives. But while we have, in the pages of Huc, the merits of a Du Halde, a Barrow, a De Guignes, and a Turner, with, in some respects, advantages over all his predecessors; whether it is that so much is really marvelous in those remote and central lands, or that such isolation and remoteness beget a superstitious love of the strange and the wonderful, it is impossible to peruse the narrative of this last wanderer in Tartary and Tibet, and not be reminded of those incredible statements which were so much criticised in Renaudot's translation from the Arabic, till confirmed by Marco Polo; or to see revived before us that which has been deemed romance and exaggeration in Mendez Pinto, Juan Gonzales de Mendoza, and Athanasius Kircher, and for recording which even Du Halde has been taxed with credulity. It is, however, extremely difficult to separate the true from the exaggerated, and the romantic from the hyperbolic, in what relates to China. A knowledge of Eastern manners and habits—of the subserviency and pliability of the missionary character, not in all, but in the generality of cases—and

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[\* Siuenhwá fú is the chief town of the department of the same name, lying within the Wall Siwan is in the inferior department, or circuit of Kaupeh táu, which includes a vast region inhabited by Mongolian shepherds, who settle on the *tsáu-tí*, or grass-lands found in the Desert.]

of the ready duplicity and presumptuous vanity of Orientals, will best assist the reader in eliminating the real from the unreal, and the graphic from the too-highly colored.

The history of the Roman Catholic missions in China is, it may be here observed, a very remarkable one. The labors of the first members of the Society of Jesus in these countries were recorded in letters, written to the father-general of the Inquisition, published at Rome as early as in 1586, and again in 1591. In 1601, Luis Guzman published, at Alcalá, the "Historia de las Misiones," &c. In the same year a Dutch history of the missions was published at Dillingen; and a French account appeared at Lille in 1617, and at Paris the same year. This latter work, by Father Ricci, was one of the best of its time; but the Jesuit was true to his calling: when ordered to make a general geographical map of the world for the emperor, he contrived to place China in the centre.

Numerous works continued to make their appearance, recording the labors or special travels of the Jesuits during the seventeenth century. Among the most remarkable of these was the now rare and valuable work of Navarrete, "Tratado Historico, Politico, y Moral de la China," published at Madrid in 1676. The author being sent to Rome, to remonstrate for the Chinese missionaries against their customary mode of conversion, they induced the Inquisition to suppress the second volume, and to prohibit the third from going to the press. The works of Father Lecomte, "Nouveaux Mémoires sur l'Etat présent de la Chine," published in Paris in 1696; and that of Father Le Gobien, "Histoire de l'Edit de l'Empereur de la Chine en faveur de la Religion Chrétienne, et un Eclaircissement sur les Honneurs que les Chinois rendent à Confucius et aux Morts," published in Paris in 1698, were far too liberal and comprehensive for the age in which they appeared, and were burnt by order of the Parliament of Paris. It is quite evident, that in the latter part of the seventeenth century the Chinese were in advance in toleration over those who pretended to preach to them. The works of Fathers Gobien and Lecomte were reprinted in 1701-2, and were the foundation of Du Halde's great work. The most valuable work published by the Jesuits on China, "Mémoires concernant l'Histoire," &c., in sixteen volumes, did not appear till 1775, and following years.

Tibet and Central Asia are still almost *terra incognita*. Modern geographers and philologists, as De Guignes, D'Anville, Malte-Brun, Rémusat, and Klaproth, are all at variance as to where Karakorum, the capital of the vaunted but imaginary Prester John, and of his conqueror,

the mighty Ghengis Khan, is situated; and few have lived to tell the tale of their visit to H'lassa, "the Land of Spirits," the Mone-Duh, or "Eternal Sanctuary," of the Mongols. We have a so-called journey of an Englishman, in the suite of the Dalai or Tala Lama, printed in the *Minerva* for the year 1792; and an account of the beginning and present states of the mission to Tibet was published at Rome in 1742. Mr. Turner published his well-known account of his embassy to the court of the Grand Lama in 1800—without comparison the most valuable work that has yet appeared on Tibet; but still so little is known, that Bell, in his valuable "System of Geography," appeals to his readers upon the impossibility of giving anything beyond a very general account of a country so little known, and so inaccurately represented in the very best of modern maps.

The last journey of the Lazarist missionaries, who have in our times succeeded to the Jesuits, was more successful than any of its predecessor. Starting from a small Christian establishment, situate in a remote district beyond the Great Wall of China, it assumed to itself the extravagant and ambitious objects of determining the unexplored limits of a nominal Mongolian vicar-generalship; and it records in a style which, as before remarked, more than reminds one of the works of the Jesuits of old, the experience, the observations, and the occurrences of actual times. This is truly the romance of olden travel and olden pilgrimages, revived for the especial amusement of a generation greedy of novelty and adventure.

Far away as the Lazarist settlement may be, it does not appear to be altogether destitute; for previous to the departure of the mission, camels had to be sent for, the property of the mission, but at that time pasturing amidst the Mongol tribe (or kingdom, as M. Huc calls it, from the chief of the tribe being designated as *wáng*, or king) of Naiman 奈曼. The missionaries awaited the camels at the pass called Pia-lia Kau, in the territory of the tribe Ouniot 翁牛特. This is a country, according to M. Huc, once inhabited by the Coreans, and amidst which ruins of great cities, and of castles, resembling those of the middle ages, are still to be met with. It is a very stormy district; and the reverend father declares that he saw hailstones weighing twelve pounds! Such storms destroy a whole flock of sheep in a few moments. In 1843, a piece of ice is said to have fallen as large as a millstone. The first day's journey introduces us to a Tartar hostelry, which, to avoid repetition, had better be described at once:—

A Tartar inn comprises an immense square space, inclosed by long poles interlaced with wicker-work. In the midst of the square is a mud hut, never more than ten feet high. With the exception of one or two miserable chambers to the



right and left, the interior is one vast *appartement*, which serves at once as a kitchen, a refectory, and a dormitory. When travelers arrive, they repair at once to the *appartement*, essentially dirty, stinking, and full of smoke. A long and wide *kang* awaits them. A *kang* is a kind of oven, which occupies three-fourths of the room. It is only about four feet high, and the roof is flat and smooth; a reed matting covers the floor, and upon this rich people spread cloths of felt. Three immense coppers are buried in glazed earth in front of this oven, in which the travelers' food is prepared. The openings by which these coppers are heated are prolonged beneath the *kang*, so that even during the extreme cold of winter the latter is warm. As soon as a traveler arrives, the "intendant of the treasury" invites him to ascend into the *kang*, where he sits down, tailor-fashion, with his legs crosswise, around a great table, the feet of which are not more than five or six inches high. The lower part of the room is reserved for the attendants, who go to and fro, keep up the fire under the boilers, make tea, or oatmeal cakes. The *kang* of these Tartaro-Chinese inns is the most animated and picturesque theatre that can be imagined; it is there that people eat, drink, smoke, play, scream, and fight. When night comes on the *kang*, which during day-time has served as a restaurant, an estaminet, and a tap, is suddenly transformed into a dormitory. "The inspector of darkness" strikes a few blows on a tam-tam, and the travelers unfold their counterpanes, if they have any; if not, they cover themselves with their clothes, and lie down close to one another. When the hosts are numerous, they are arranged upon two lines, their feet touching one another. But though every one goes to bed, all do not go to sleep; while some snore away in the most conscientious manner, others smoke, drink tea, or indulge in noisy conversation. This fantastic picture, half lit up by the dull flame of a murky lamp, fills the mind with feelings of fear and horror.

The missionaries adopted on their journey the secular dress of Tibetan lamas, or priests, a costume which, if rather theatrical, was certainly well adapted to insure them safety and respect. It consisted of a yellow gown, fastened on one side by five gilt buttons, and to the waist by a long red sash. Over this gown, a red waistcoat, with a little collar of violet-colored velvet, was worn, while a yellow cap, with a red top-knot, completed the fantastic garb. They were accompanied by only one native, a *dchiahour*, as M. Huc writes it; *giaour*, as it is ordinarily written; but more correctly *javour* (infidel). This nondescript bore the little euphonious name of Samdad-chiamba. He had run away when a mere boy from a lamazary, or monastery of lamas, and had been converted by the Lazarists to Christianity. They had tents, and also a faithful dog, yclept Arsalan, or the lion, whose duty it was to bark on the approach of strangers. When they encamped at night, after pitching the tent, the first duty was, as with the Arabs, to collect argols, or dry dung, for fuel, or shrub-wood if they could get it, to light a fire, and to prepare a soup of water, *hwa mien*, a kind of macaroni, and a lump of salt pork. In the morning, they made tea with oatmeal porridge.

On their way, next day, they met with an *obo*—a cairn, or pile of stones—dedicated by the Tartars to the spirit of the place. The latter make offerings of money, bits of rag tied to branches, &c. When the

Chinese go by, they also bow to the spirit, but take care to appropriate to themselves any offerings of value. These *obos* are to be met with at every mountain pass, and upon most uplands. Traversing the country of Gchekten, which is said to abound in gold and silver mines, M. Huc takes the opportunity to relate, that in these countries there are men who are endowed with the faculty of discovering mines, which will remind the reader of a superstition still existing in our own country; and he adds, that such men sometimes gather around them thousands of followers, who become addicted to all kinds of crimes and excesses.

The first town the mission arrived at was that of Tolon-nor, or, "of the Seven Lakes," called Lama Miâu, or Convent of Lamas, by the Chinese; Nadan Omo, by the Manchus; and Tsot Dun, by the Tibetans. This city of Tolon-nor is described as being immensely populous, and very commercial. Russian merchandise comes there from Kiakta. The Tartars are constantly bringing herds of oxen, camels, and horses; and take back with them tobacco, cloth, and brick tea. "This perpetual afflux of strangers imparts to it a most animated appearance. Pedlers run about the streets offering to passengers different minor objects for sale; merchants invite the passer-by with flattering speeches into their shops; while the lamas, with their gaudy dresses of red and yellow, seek to win admiration by their skill in galloping horses through the narrow streets." The magnificent statues in iron and brass, that come out of the founderies of Tolon-nor, are not only renowned throughout Tartary, but in the most remote districts of Tibet. The missionaries caused a Christ to be cast, after a magnificent bronze model from France, and it was so well done, that it was difficult to distinguish between the model and the copy. Notwithstanding all this prosperity, the streets are narrow and tortuous, and nothing is met with but mud and cloacæ. When the missionaries arrived at Tolon-nor, they were not long in discovering a triangular flag floating before a house. This was the sign of a restaurant:

We went in, and a long passage led us into a spacious room, in which numerous little tables were arranged with much order and symmetry. We sat down at one of these, and a tea-pot was instantly brought to us. Tea is the necessary prelude to every repast. While occupied in filling ourselves with tea, we received the visit of the "intendant of the table." He is generally a person of refined manners, endowed also with great volubility of speech; he knows every one, and everybody's affairs. He finished his speech, however, by asking the order of service, and he repeated the words in a chant to the "governor of the kitchen." Travelers are served with great promptitude; but before beginning to eat, etiquette demands that the traveler should rise and go and invite one after another every one of the guests who may happen to be in the room. "Come, come altogether!" is exclaimed, suiting the gesture to the word; "come and drink a little glass of wine, and eat a little rice." "Thank you, thank you!"

answer those present; "Come rather and sit at our table, it is we who invite you." After this ceremonious proceeding, one's honor has been shown, as they say in the country, and the traveler may take his repast as a man of quality.

Everything is done in the Flowery Land with similar manifestations of politeness. We learn elsewhere that when robbers accost the wayfarer, they do so in the most modest and civil manner possible. "My elder brother," they say, "I am tired of going on foot; do lend me your horse;" or, "I am without money, do be so kind as to lend me your purse. It is very cold to-day, lend me your cloak." If the elder brother is sufficiently charitable to lend all these things, they say to him, "Thank you, brother;" but if not, the humble request is backed by blows of a stick; and if that does not suffice, they have recourse to a sword.

Tolon-nor\* is situated in the midst of a pathless country of moving sands, across which the travelers had some trouble in finding their way, and it was with great difficulty that they succeeded in finding a station with water even the first night of their departure. At every station at which the missionaries encamped to make their Tartar tea, they planted a little wooden cross in token of the spiritual claim to the country given to them by the Pope. Tartar tea is made by breaking off a little bit of the bricklike masses in which coarse tea is pressed, pulverizing it, and boiling it till the water becomes red; a handful of salt is then thrown into the kettle, and boiling is carried on till it becomes black; a bowl of milk is then added, and the infusion, which is the delight of all Tartars, is decanted into an urn for use. The conversation between travelers, when they meet in the Desert, is characteristic:—

"Lamas," the Tartar addressed the missionaries, "where is your country?"

"We are from beneath the westward heaven."

"Over what countries have your happy shadows passed?"

"We come from the town of Tolon-nor."

"Has peace accompanied you in your journey?"

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\* [See Vol. XVIII., page 618. Tolon-nor 多倫諾爾 lies on the southern declivity of the In shán, and is probably the entrepôt of trade of the Sounites and other tribes which come in from the Desert, as well as of the numerous tribes of Inner Mongolia. The region has been erected into a *ting* district, subordinate to the circuit of Kaupéh, but the whole is under an officer living at Siuenhwá. The country around it is inhabited chiefly by Tsakhar Mongols, and the shepherds of the imperial flocks. The ruins of cities found east of this town, mentioned above, are probably those of Chinese towns and not the remains of Korean cities. It is quite erroneous to designate the tribes hereabouts as kingdoms, merely because their chiefs are styled *wáng*.]

"Hitherto we have traveled in peace: and you, are you in peace? Which is your country?"

"We are Khalkas from the kingdom of Murgevan."

"Have the rains been abundant; are your flocks and herds prosperous?"

"Everything is in peace in our pasturages."

"Whither is your caravan bound?"

"We are going to prostrate ourselves before the 'Five Towers.'"

A sudden storm discomfited our travelers at their next station, and but for a Tartar, who brought them a supply of dry argols, they must have gone supperless to bed. This Tartar had marched two years before against the "Rebels of the South," as the Chinese called the English, but, being a Tchakar, had not been in action. His account of the war was truly national. When the enemy appeared, he related, the *kitai*, or militia, was as usual summoned to disperse them; but the enemy were marine monsters, who lived in the water like fish, and when least expected they came to the surface, and threw out fiery pumpkins (*si-kwá*, so they called the shells). So the banners of Solon were put in motion, but they could not stand the heat of the south, and the emperor issued his orders that the Tchakar force should advance. A lama was attached to each troop to protect them from the marine monsters; but when the rebels saw the invincible Tchakars advancing, they became terrified, and sued for peace. The Holy Master, in his unmeasurable clemency, granted it to them, and we returned to our prairies to tend our flocks.

These Tchakars are all soldiers, and they are trooped under eight differently colored banners. They are strictly forbidden to cultivate the land, and they tend as well as their own flocks those of the emperor, which are said to be immensely numerous. The horses alone are said to compose 360 herds of 1200 horses in each. This is about as good a specimen of Tartaro-Chinese exaggeration as was the account of hail as large as millstones. These Tartars live in balloon-shaped huts, and like most pastoral people, are very hospitable. To approach them it requires a stick to keep off the ferocious dogs, but

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\* The Lamazury of Wútti, or of the Five Towers, in the province of Shán-si, is the most famous place of sepulture of the Mongols. Budha himself is said to dwell in an adjacent mountain. Our readers will remember the story told of the precaution taken by the Rosicrucians to preserve the secret of the perpetual flame; our travelers relate something similar of the tombs of Tartar princes, whose riches, buried with them, are defended from sacrilege by a number of bows which shoot arrows one after another at any one who ventures within the sepulchre.

this must be thrown aside on entering a tent or hut. The females shake hands as well as the men; they make the tea, and the children collect the argols. The men snuff inveterately. They also drink, but rarely, Mongolian wine, which is milk that has been first fermented, and then coarsely distilled. The stench in the interior of these Tartar tents is, however, insupportable, and will sometimes turn a stranger's stomach. It arises from the butter and grease with which their clothes and furniture are impregnated. It is on account of these filthy habits that the Tartars are called by the Chinese, who are not themselves inodorous, the *Tsáu Táh-tsz'*, or stinking Tartars.

On quitting the plains of the hospitable Tchakars, our travelers passed the small town of Chaborta, at the period of the festival called Yueh-ping.\* A tribe of Mongols were encamped here, and their cleanliness and hospitality are highly spoken of. But it is to be observed that the missionaries were here, as elsewhere, looked upon, from having adopted the costume of lamas, as learned and holy personages. They were constantly expected to cure diseases, draw horoscopes, tell fortunes, discover lost property, speak the words of wisdom, and shed felicity where their shadows fell. These good Mongols sent their children to the tents of the lamas of the West with continual presents of milk, butter, cheese, and loads of argols.

Three days' journey from Chaborta, our travelers stumbled upon the ruins of a walled city—"an imposing and majestic relic of antiquity," according to their statement, and a memorial of the domination of the Mongols in the thirteenth century. Beyond this, they crossed the great road from Peking to Kiakta. The missionaries tell us that the Russian manufactures purchased at this latter great emporium are paid for in brick tea, which is the reason why the Chinese can sell clothes in China itself at a price less than they would fetch in Europe, and which is the reason, also, why English manufactures find little sale at the newly-opened ports of the south. It would be necessary, according to this view of the case, to take tea in exchange for English goods, to enable England to compete with Russia in the Chinese markets.

Crossing the "kingdom" of Afa, our travelers came to the first hills, the acclivities of which were shaded with pines; but the pleasure derived from the change was materially diminished by meeting, at the same time, three very independent-looking wolves. They, however, soon found refuge in the lamazary of Tchortchi, a holy place,

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\* [This occurs in the first half of the 8th moon, or the latter end of August; the name *yueh-ping* means 'moon cakes,' and small round cakes, highly ornamented, are sent to friends.]

much favored by the emperor, and inhabited by two thousand lamas, or monks. These religious idlers live in good houses, and amidst every comfort. In the centre of the lamazary is the temple of Budha—as usual, an incongruous pile of peristyles, with contorted pillars, steps, and terraces, and a central building, where is throned a gigantic statue of a sitting Budha. Although the Mongolian lamazaries are not so great nor so wealthy as those of Tibet, still some are very considerable; none more so than that of Kurun, in the country of the Khalkas, near the Russian frontier. Thirty thousand lamas are supported at this great temple, around which pilgrims from far-off distances, including the *Yu-pi Tüh-tsz'*, or “Tartars with skins like fish,”\* pitch their tents. The Guison Tamba, or Lama-king of Kurun, is a person much distrusted, and looked upon, from his power, with a very jealous eye by the imperial court. As in the case of the Tala Lama of Tibet, the lama of Kurun is supposed, or rather believed, never to die. He only transmigrates to another country, to return younger and fresher than ever. This is also the case with other lamas, and the metempsychosis is always sought for at the great lamazary of H'lassa, in Tibet, nor sought long in vain. Among the more celebrated of these King-lamas, after those of H'lassa and Kurun, are those of Ninigan Lamana Kure, of the Blue City, of Tolon-nor, of Gé-ho Gul; and, within the Great Wall, of Peking and of Wútái lien in Shánsí.

The day after leaving Tchortchi, our travelers were relieved of a haunch of venison, which they had purchased in the morning, by a voracious eagle, which carried it off at the very moment they had taken their places to discuss the delicacy! Passing from the country of the nomadic Mongols to that of the agricultural tribe of Tümet, the missionaries experienced what most other travelers have under similar circumstances—annoyance at the change. “Without knowing it,” says M. Huc, “our tastes had undergone an insensible change, and the Desert of Mongolia had brought us to a temper friendly to peace and solitude. As a consequence, when we again found ourselves amidst cultivated lands, in the midst of the agitations, troubles, and struggles of civilized life, we felt ourselves, as it were, oppressed and suffocated by civilization; air seemed to be wanting, and we felt as if we were about to die asphyxiated.”

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\*[This designation would be more correct if it read, ‘Tartars with skins of fishes,’ for these nomads from the shores of the Pacific and wilds of Manchuria, dress in garments made from the skins of fishes, principally using, it is said, those of the sturgeon.]

Tumet\* is, however, described as a flourishing country, well watered, fertile, with good houses, fine trees, and no poor. In this country is the great city of Kuku-khotu, or Kwei-hwá ching 歸化城 "the Blue City," composed of two parts, at some distance from one another; one the commercial, the other the Manchu Tartar, or military city. In the latter, 10,000 soldiers are quartered under a *tsiángkium*, or general of a military division. These troops are all Manchus. The reception given to the missionaries by the Chinese of the commercial city, who mistook them for Tartar lamas, was truly characteristic—overstrained politeness, with no small spice of roguery. Luckily for them, they escaped all the traps laid out to ease them of their money, and succeeded, but not till after many droll adventures, in finding a home at the "Hotel of the Three Perfections, where travelers on horseback or camel are lodged, and all kinds of business transacted, without ever compromising success." Such was the inscription which decorated the gateway in large Chinese characters. As a specimen of Chinese civilization, even in this remote city, the missionaries laid in at this place a stock of furred winter clothing—unredeemed pledges from the *táng-pú*, or pawnbrokers, which abound in all Chinese towns. Before leaving the Blue City, we may mention, that it is chiefly celebrated for its lamazaries, which are five great ones, each supporting two thousand monks, and an infinite number of smaller ones, and its camel markets.

When the missionaries quitted the Blue City, they had been already a month on their way to the west. As at Tolon-nor, the streets were so tortuous and narrow, and so beset with carts and horses, pedestrians, and merchandise, that it was only with the greatest possible difficulty that they could extricate themselves from the place. The second day's journey they lost Arsalan. On their way they met with a caravan of Turk merchants, composed of ten thousand camels! They entered Tchagan Kurun, "the White City," by night. No hostelry would open its doors to their sorry caravan. The Chinese detest camels, which frighten their horses, and bear generally poverty-stricken Tartars, only fit to be deceived and robbed. Luckily, the bleating of sheep led them to a Tartar's dwelling, who received them (as lamas) most hospitably. This great and fine city does not find a place on existing maps.† It lies close to the Upper Hwáng Ho, or Yel-

\* [The tribe of Tumet occupies a large part of the circuit of Kweisú táu in Chihli. The city of Kuku-khotu has two Chinese names, those of Kwei-hwá ching and Sui-yuen ching; the latter is probably the Manchu city.]

† [This town, according to the position here given to it, is probably that call-

low River, which at this moment had overflowed its banks, and, according to the missionaries, was like a sea, exceeding in width the reach of vision. It need scarcely be added, that it was with extreme difficulty that the passage was effected.

Our missionaries had now been six weeks on their journey without change of dress, and the sufferings that resulted from the colonization of their garments by vermin was so great, that they set about purifying themselves with mercury. Vermin were, throughout, one of the greatest nuisances met with on their journey. It was impossible to sit down for a moment in a Chinese house or a Tartar hut without carrying away a number of these disgusting insects. The lamas do not kill them, but throw them away to a distance. What must be their numbers in the so-called lamazaries?

Beyond the Hwáng Ho our travelers entered upon the sandy steppes of the country of the Ortus. On these plains were many goat-like deer, hares, gray squirrels, and pheasants, all exceedingly tame. Our poor missionaries were saved from perishing, themselves and cattle, during a terrible storm that raged while they were crossing those plains, by the happy discovery of some artificial grottoes. Passing the lamazary of Rach T'churin, they arrived at the celebrated salt-lake of Dab-sun-nor, which at this season of the year was less a lake than a vast reservoir of effloresced salt. From this point they took a more southerly course, and passing a range of rocky mountains, they once more ferried the Yellow River, and rested for two days at Cha-tui-tse, having exchanged for a time the desert and nomadic life for such Chinese ease and comforts as were to be obtained at the "Hotel of Justice and Mercy" (*Ju-i Ting*). A few miles beyond this town they crossed the Great Wall once more. At their next station, Wang-ho Po, they were far from finding the crowd of itinerant cooks, who filled the streets of Cha-tui-tse, bearing ragouts of beef and mutton, vegetables and pastry. There is a difference in different towns in this respect. Here there were nothing but dealers in corn and hay. Here they also joined a Chinese caravan, bound to Ning-hiá. On their way, they passed through, without stopping, at the third-class town of Ping-lo hien 平羅縣. One of the guard-houses, common to the highways in China, and to which a room for strangers is always attached,

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ed Sararchi 薩拉齊 by the Chinese, a ting district in the circuit of Kweisai in Chihlí. It lies near the Turkn R., a tributary of the Yellow river, which empties in just where that stream returns south from its long course through the Desert. Du Halde's maps place the town of Chahan at this spot.]



offered them a place of repose. These guard-houses are decorated externally with rude paintings, representing the god of War, fabulous animals, grotesque shields, and all kinds of weapons. Towers used as fire-beacons, and a post recording roads and distances, are also attached to these guard-houses. The approach to Ning-hiá, 寧夏府 with its moss-and-lichen-clad ramparts and numerous pagodas, is described as very imposing; but the interior was poor, the streets, as usual, narrow, tortuous, and dirty.

Beyond, however, was a beautiful road, shaded by willow trees, with every here and there little shops, and this the length of a whole day's journey, where they sold to the numerous passers-by ready-made tea, boiled eggs, beans fried in oil, cakes, and an infinite variety of sweetmeats. At night they found lodgings in the "Hotel of the Five Felicities," in the large and unwalled village of Hia-ho Po. A mandarin tried to dislodge them from their comfortable quarters, but so sure were the missionaries of their disguise, and of their intimacy with the language, that they refused to inconvenience themselves for the petty tyrant, although, at the very time, had it been known that they were Europeans, they would have been summarily put to death for traveling in the interior.

After two days' journey they arrived at Chungwei 中衛, a prosperous, commercial, and clean city on the Hwáng Ho, the populous banks of which river they quitted at this point to once more cross the Great Wall, and enter into the Tartar province of Alashan, 阿拉善 which is crossed by a range of moving sand hills. The journey across these was one of exceeding difficulty; and it was with no small pleasure that they arrived at night at an oasis in the desert—the station of Cháng-lien-shwui, 長連水 or of the Everflowing Waters! The high charges at the hostelry here induced the reverend missionaries to record, that at this charming village, as elsewhere, there was always something that came to assist men in detaching themselves from (or rather disgusting them with) things here below. The village of the Everflowing Waters, its beautiful verdure and dear accommodations, was exchanged, next day, for Káu-tan-tse, described as a village "hideous and repulsive beyond expression." Every house was an inn, but accommodation was even dearer than at Cháng-lien shwui. Even water has to be fetched from a distance of sixty li (eighteen miles). But this was not all: the place was said to be infested with robbers, and the inns were of two classes; those where they undertook to fight the robbers, and those where they did not fight. To preserve their property, the men of peace were obliged to seek refuge

in a house where they undertook to defend the same, at a price quadruple what they would have had to pay elsewhere. The fact appears to be, that this was a village of banished malefactors, who were allowed to live there, upon condition of providing for officers on their journeys, and they made all who were not in authority pay, by robbery or extortion, for what was taken from them by their masters.

The missionaries re-entered China at the gate called that of *Sin-yu-tsin* 三遇進. They were asked for passports, but got over that difficulty by dint of assurance. Our travelers correct the commonly-received opinion as to the magnitude and strength of the Great Wall of China. In many places they say it is a mere earthen rampart, at others, a few stones loosely piled together. At "the Hotel of the Three Social Relations," to which they repaired at the next city, *Chwáng-láng* 莊浪, the missionaries were, for the first time, suspected to be Europeans, and worse than that, English spies. They got out of this scrape by asking how marine monsters could be expected to live on the earth and travel on horseback? At the next town, *Ho-kiau-fí*, called, in the maps, *Tai-hung fu*—a name no longer in use, for the Chinese are constantly changing the names of their towns—they stopped for some time at "the Hotel of Temperate Climates," while their *jawur* paid an eight days' visit to the *tá-sz*, 土司 his countrymen *jawurs*, who dwell in the province of *Kánsuh*.

On the return of the *jawur*, they crossed the mountain of *Ping-ku* to *Láu-yáh pú* 老鴨堡, Old Duck village, where most of the men were engaged in knitting stockings. From *Láu-yáh pú*, the missionaries traveled in five days to the great, but not well-populated city of *Sí-ning fú* 西寧府. The road thither was well kept, traversing a fertile cultivated country with trees, hills, and numerous rivulets. At *Sí-ning fú*, Tartars were not allowed to frequent the public inns. Houses of repose (*sié kiá*, as they were called), were provided for them, where they were supposed to be gratuitously entertained. After crossing the Great Wall upon two more different occasions, our travelers arrived at *Tung-kiú-enl*, a small, but populous and busy town, full of Tartars, Turks, Eluths, and other strangers, who walked about armed with swords, perpetually quarrelling with one another. Here they were received in a house of repose, it being the fourth mouth of their journey, and now mid-winter.

The missionaries had to wait at this station for the arrival of a caravan to cross the wild country of *Tangut*, or *Koko-nor*; and in the interval they busied themselves with studying the Tibetan language

and Buddhist works under a lama of the name of Sandara, a cousin to Samdad-chiemba. To facilitate still further these objects, and at the recommendation of Sandara, they shortly afterwards took up their quarters at the great lamazary of Kunbun. Hence they removed, after the lapse of three months, to the smaller lamazary of Tchogortan, more particularly devoted to the study of medicine, whence they finally started for the Blue Sea, where they were to await the caravan of a Chinese ambassador going to H'lassa.

The Blue Lake, called by the Mongols Koko-nor, by the Tibetans Tsot-ugon Po, is called by the Chinese Tsing H'ai, or "Blue Sea." Such an immense reservoir of salt-water, being upwards of 300 miles in circumference, would appear almost to merit the title of an inland sea. There are no boats on the lake, but there is a lamazary on an island which, it is said, can only be reached in winter when the waters are frozen. The environs of the lake are fertile in pasturage; the grass grows up to the height of a camel's back. M. Huc says he could hear nothing of the Kalmucks, so much spoken of by geographers—the name was only to be found in that of a tribe of Koko-nor, called Kolo-Kalmuki. These Kolos have a bad reputation for predatory habits.\*

The Chinese embassy arrived towards the end of October, and was increased in numbers by Mongolian caravans, which took advantage of the same opportunity of going to H'lassa. The caravan was protected by 300 Chinese soldiers on foot, and 200 mounted Tartars. The first days of the journey, says M. Huc, were all poetry—weather magnificent, the road open and good, waters limpid, pasturages rich and abundant. The nights were cold, but they had good skins to wrap themselves up in. After six days' journeying, they crossed the river Puhain Gul, which, being divided into many branches, occupied a territory of a league in width. The waters were frozen over, but not in sufficient strength to bear. Immersion in these icy waters effectually dispelled the poetry of the journey. Five days further on, they came to the river Tulain Gul, where the Chinese escort, who robbed the caravan in reality, while the Kolo bandits appear to have existed only in imagination, quitted them. The 15th of November they passed from the magnificent plains of Koko-nor to the Mongolian district of T'saidam, which was arid and stony, and affords salt and borax by merely digging wells a few feet in depth. In this region is the moun-

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\* [The Chinese maps place no Kalmuks around the Blue Sea; the tribes of Hoshuits, Turbeths, and Chorus are the principal divisions of the Mongols found in this vast depression.]

tain of Burham-bota,\* concerning which the missionaries record the most incredible stories of its being enveloped in noxious gases, especially carbonic acid, so that horses and men can only advance over it a few steps at a time, and are constantly falling down asphyxiated. It is possible that the elevation rising, as the mountain does, out of the high upland of Koko-nor, is sufficiently great to affect the brain and stomach. Mount Juga, which followed, presented equally formidable difficulties in a passage effected amid wind and snow. Our missionaries adopted the more comfortable than dignified alternative of sitting on their horses with their faces to the tail, thus literally backing through the storm. Mount Juga divided Tartary from Tibet, so the Tartar escort left them here, but there were still 2000 armed men belonging to the caravan itself.

Early in December they crossed the Bayan kara, a spur which separates the headwaters of the Hwáng Ho from those flowing to the Kin-sha Kiang. Beyond this they came to a valley where argols were abundant, and water was to be obtained beneath the ice—the two great luxuries of Tibetan and Tartar travel. Approaching the next day the Muru-ussu 木魯烏蘇, or “Tortuous Water,” one of the head-streams of the Kin-sha Kiang 金沙江, or “Golden Sand R.” they saw a herd of more than fifty wild buffaloes that had got caught in the ice, and could not extricate themselves. Eagles and crows had torn out their eyes!† This is another heavy demand upon the reader’s good faith. Wild horses were also now seen frequently on the uplands. As they proceeded on their journey the cold kept increasing. It certainly was a trying time of the year to be journeying in the uplands of Tibet. Camels, horses, oxen, and men, all suffered alike. Many animals fell victims to the severity of the weather. One young lama died by the wayside, looking like a figure of wax in the icy air. The caravan began to break up. The oxen could not keep up with the camels and horses, and there were not argols enough at the night stations to support life in the whole caravan. More than forty men were

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\* [Klaproth (in Timkowski) speaks of some of these mountains as being infected with thick fogs, and producing poisonous herbs; and M. Huc may here refer to this peculiarity. Mt. Burham-bota 巴爾布哈 lies northwest of the sources of the Yellow R.]

† [This incident will not appear incredible (though it is probably unusual even in Koko-nor) to those acquainted with northern regions; on the rivers in North America, ice forms so rapidly at times that small steamboats are unable to force their way through it, and have been known to be frozen in midstream till a thaw liberated them. But M. Huc was now traveling on the parallel of Alexandria in Egypt!]

abandoned in the desert while still alive. This may appear exaggerated, but it is not necessarily so. Life is less regarded in the East than in civilized countries; and in far less severe climates than that of Tibet, a winter journey is often accompanied with a great loss of life.

At the foot of the Tant-la mountains, the fragment of the caravan, consisting in all of eighteen persons, to which the missionaries had attached themselves, on the breaking up of the main body, was visited by the redoubtable Kolos, who, however, committed no depredations. M. Gabet was at this time very ill, and, according to M. Hu, half frozen! The passage of the mountains, which lasted twelve days, and was cheered by a warm sun shining on snow and rock, proved beneficial to him.

Beyond the Tant-la chain the soil gradually lowered to H'lassa, and the snows gave way to a fresh and abundant verdure. The Kolos were also succeeded by hospitable pastoral races. At length they arrived at a large Tibetan village on the Kara-ussu 喀喇烏蘇 or "black water river," of the Mongols.\* At this station the missionaries sold their camels, which had suffered severely from the long journey—one having also been accidentally burnt—for six oxen, animals better adapted for the stony districts which still lay between them and H'lassa.

They also changed their company for that of a party of Kartchin Mongols, who were conducting a Chaberon, that is to say, a living Budha, to the "Eternal Sanctuary." This Chaberon was barely eighteen years of age, of a happy, lively disposition, and he seemed to view the character forced upon him as one of extreme unpleasantness. He would much rather have laughed and galloped about at his ease, than have rode in stiff dignity between two grave attendants, who never quitted his side.

As the traveler approaches to within a few days' journey of H'lassa, houses begin to take the place of black tents, and agriculture succeeds to pastoral life. At a place called Pampu, written incorrectly in the maps Panctou, the oxen were exchanged for asses, for there was still a very rugged mountain to cross before arriving at H'lassa; and at length descending on the other side of this rocky chain, they came in sight of the metropolis of the Buddhist world. Great white houses, terminating in platforms, surmounted by towers, numberless temples with golden roofs, and, rising above all, the vast palace of the

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\* [The R. Kara-ussu is the head stream of the Salween R., which disembogues at Maulmein. Its entire length is probably over 1600 miles.]

Tala lama, imparted to H'lassa a majestic and imposing appearance. The missionaries arrived at this Tibetan city on the 29th of January, 1846, having been eighteen months on the journey we have briefly, but succinctly recorded; and they were received in a miserable lodging, a single room, with a hole for a chimney, a vessel for burning argols in the centre, a window-frame without glass, and two deer-skins for beds. But our missionaries were poor and uncomplaining; they had greater miseries awaiting them in their attempt to preach the doctrines of Christ in the very heart of the Buddhist superstitions.

H'lassa is not a great town, being barely two leagues in circumference; nor is it inclosed with ramparts. The houses are large, well whitewashed, and the framework painted red or yellow. Inside they are filthily dirty. The suburbs are extensive, and embosomed in beautiful, shady gardens. The houses are constructed of stone or brick, but in the suburbs there are some built of the horns of sheep and oxen. The palace of the Tala-lama (from *tala*, "sea;"—M. Huc says Dalai Lama is a thoroughly incorrect epithet) is built on a conical mountain, called Budha-lha 布達拉. The palace is made up of a number of Buddhist temples, the central one of which rises up to a height of four stories, and is surmounted by a dome, covered with gold, and surrounded by a peristyle, the columns of which are also gilt. A double avenue of trees leads from H'lassa to Budha-lha, and is at all times crowded with pilgrims.

The population of H'lassa is composed of Tibetans, Pabuns, Katchis, and Chinese. The Tibetans are Mongols, of short stature, who unite the agility of the Chinese to the strength of Tartars. The so called Pabuns are Hindus, from beyond the Himalaya; they are workers in metal. The Katchi are Cashmerian Mussulmen. They have a governor of their own at H'lassa, where they are the richest merchants and shopkeepers. They keep up a constant intercourse between H'lassa and Calcutta. The Chinese at H'lassa are few in number, and are either soldiers or government *employés*.

Unfortunately, our missionaries resembled none of these, and they were consequently subjected to so much annoying curiosity, that they took the fatal measure of reporting themselves to the Chinese police as "Frenchmen who had come to Tibet to preach there the Christian religion." They were not long, in consequence, in being summoned before a regent, who at that time ruled in the place of the usual Chaberon, or incarnation of lama, who was a minor; as also before the Chinese plenipotentiary, Kishen, the same who signed the treaty of peace with Elliot in 1841. The Tibetan regent was liberal and

kind towards the missionaries, and disposed to favor them; and Kí-shen was passingly forbearing to the intruders in the "Eternal Sanctuary;" but their departure was not the less mildly but resolutely insisted upon. Everything was done to render their return less irksome than their journey thither. A guard of Chinese soldiers was appointed to protect them, and they had even charge of some of the plenipotentiary's effects.

M. Huc collected in H'lassa some hearsays with regard to Moorcroft, which differ from what has hitherto been received. The sum of these reports was, that that celebrated traveler had dwelt for twelve years in the capital of Tibet without being discovered; that at the expiration of that period he started on his way back by Ladak, but that he was attacked by robbers in the province of Ngari, and put to death.

The theological information collected by the missionaries was, from the peculiar position they were placed in, of small import. It is not, however, without interest to find them ingeniously advocating the cosmopolitanism of the religious dogmas of the extreme East. The learned, they say, worship only one and sole Sovereign, who created all things, who is without beginning and end. In India he is called Budha; in Tibet, Samtse Mitchaba; in China, Fuh; and among the Tartars, Borhan. The incarnation of the Godhead in the Tala-lama of H'lassa, the Bantchen of Teshu-h'lumbu, the Tsong-kaba of Sifan, the Kaldan of Tolon-nor, the Guison Tamba of the Grand Kurun, the Hobilgan of the Blue City, the Hototan of Peking, and the innumerable other Chabérons, or incarnations, to be met with in different lamazaries, or monasteries, in China and Tibet, no more affect the dogma of one Godhead than the other numerous superstitions which corrupt the popular mind do the fundamental truths of a purely spiritual religion. Our worthy missionaries went even further than this; they on several occasions assert their belief that in many of the cheats practiced by the lamas, as, for example, cutting open the abdomen of a living lama, and depositing the contents on the altar, that the devil himself plays a part. "*Nous ne pensons nullement qu'on puisse toujours mettre sur le compte de la supercherie les faits de ce genre; car d'après tout ce que nous avons vu et entendu, parmi les nations idolâtres, nous sommes persuadés que le démon y joue un grand rôle.*" It is not very complimentary to the founder of the apostolic vicarage of all Mongolia, that they also devote many pages of research to what they call *les nombreuses et frappantes analogies qui existent entre les rites lamaresques et le culte Catholique.* Rome and H'lassa, the Pope and

the Tala-lama, have, they tell us, affinities that are replete with interest. Strange matter for philosophical reflection, affinities between forms of priestcraft so geographically removed from one another!

The missionaries were ultimately expelled from H'lassa on the 15th of March, 1846, and they traveled for several days along a fertile valley, dotted with Tibetan farms. The chain called Lumma Ri, having a pass of easy ascent, separated this valley from the town of Jiamba; it was, however, still enveloped in snow. Jiamba, 江達 where they were detained two days, is a commercial and populous city, with two Buddhist temples of colossal proportions. The missionaries, it is to be observed, were now traveling under the protection of a Chinese mandarin of the first class, Lí Kwoh-ngan 李國安, "Pacifcator of Kingdoms," and of the lama Jiamchang, or "the Musician," besides an escort; and although, at almost every town and every village, some excuses for delay and loitering were easily found, more especially in the uncertain supply of horses and oxen for the caravan, still, a comfortable room, a large fire of argols, and abundance of provision, made a very different thing of the return to what the journey to H'lassa had been. The only drawbacks were, the severe climate of Tibet, the rude mountains and rapid torrents, and the variable weather. Many an impetuous torrent had to be passed by a frail bridge of unhewn pine-trees, not even lashed together. The fourth day from Jiamba, they passed a great lake on the ice, concerning which, a Chinese "Itinerary," which was originally translated by the Russian missionary, Father Hyacinthe, and published, with notes by Klaproth, in the "Nouveau Journal Asiatique," I<sup>me</sup> serie, tomes 4 and 6, says that the unicorn is met with in the neighborhood. The animal here alluded to appears to be a species of antelope. analogous to the animal obtained by Mr. Hodgson from Nípál, and called by Dr. Abel, *Antelope Hodgsonii*. Beyond this, a rugged and rocky chain, with rude glaciers and vast accumulations of snow, had to be crossed. This was the H'la-ri, or "Mountain of Spirits." The ascent was effected on foot, holding hard by the horses' tails; the descent, by slipping down a glacier, which the oxen and horses did on their four feet, rolling over and over as they reached the snowy basis; the men, lamas, mandarins, and missionaries effected the descent in a far less dignified posture. Such a pass necessitated a day's rest at the post of H'larí where they were entertained in a Chinese temple called Kwán-tí Miáu, dedicated to the God of War.

The arrival at H'larí 拉里 furnished materials for a sketch of Chinese life, such as, considering the intimacy of the missionaries



with the language and manners of the people, are but scantily carried through this voluminous work :—

The day after our arrival at H'lari, the liáng-tái, or provisioner-general, instead of coming to salute officially the staff of the caravan, contented himself with sending us, as a visit card, a sheet of red paper, upon which were inscribed the characters of his name; and he had intimidated by his messenger that a serious sickness detained him in his *appartement*. Lí Kwob-ngan said to us, in a low voice, and with a meaning smile, "The liáng-tái will be quite well when we are gone." As soon as we were alone, he exclaimed, "Ah! I expected this; whenever a caravan passes the liáng-tái Sz' (the name of the mandarin) is very ill; it is a fact known to every one. According to custom, he should have prepared for us a first-class repast, and it is to avoid doing this that he pretends to be ill. The liáng-tái Sz' is the most miserly man known; he is always dressed like a palanquin-bearer; he eats tsamba like a barbarian of Tibet; he never smokes, he never plays, he never drinks wine; in the evening his house is not lit up; he goes to bed feeling his way there, and rises late in the morning for fear that he should be hungry too early. Oh! a man like that is not a man, he is mere turtle's egg. The ambassador, Kíshen, wishes to displace him, and he will do well. Have you in your country liáng-tái of that kind?" "What a question! the liáng-tái of the kingdom of France never go to bed without a candle; and when great men present themselves, they never fail to make ready a good dinner." "Ah! that is it; such is the right proceeding! but this Sz' mu-chu"—at these words we could not help bursting out into a laugh. "Ah!" said the mandarin, "that name appears to you ridiculous. You do not know why the liáng-tái Sz' is called Sz'-mu-chu; it is in reference to a curious anecdote. The liáng-tái Sz', before he was sent to H'lari, exercised the duties of a small mandarin in a little district of the province of Kiáng-sí. One day two men of the people presented themselves before him and begged that he would sit in judgment in regard to a trout, to which they each laid claim. The judge, Sz' thus pronounced his verdict—'Having separated the truth from falsehood, I see clearly that this trout is neither thine nor thine; I declare then that it belongs to me. Let my verdict be respected.' The satellites of the tribunal went and took possession of the trout, and the judge had it sold at the neighboring market. Ever since then the mandarin, Sz', is called everywhere Sz'-mu-chu, that is to say, Sz', the trout."

Crossing another lake on the ice, they lodged at the thermal waters of Tsa-tchu-ka, and next day passed the Chor-ku-la, 昂古里 almost as difficult as the H'lari, and beyond which was an extensive upland, cut up here and there by ravines and gullies, which looked like so many dark and frightful abysses. Some of these had to be crossed by the usual pine-tree bridges. The caravan arrived, however, at Alanlo with the loss of only three oxen. Hence they descended by a pine-forest to Lank-ki Tsung, a village of wooden houses, the situation of which, after a long mountain journey, appeared extremely beautiful. A pass—that of Tanda, more difficult than any they had yet met with—still lay before them. Detained at the forest village for some days, they fed heartily on venison, pheasants, fresh butter, and a sweet tuberculous root—a kind of truffle—dug out of the mountain sides. The fare was not bad, but possibly monotonous. The rest of the time was spent in prayer, and playing at chess, which the Tartars play as is done in Europe, but the Chinese differently. They say *chik* for *check*, and *mat* for *mate*. The mountain of Tanda was passed, after

three days' repose, with the loss of only a donkey. Beyond was the plain called Pian-pa, and then another mountain-chain called Jak-la, and beyond this again the little town of Chobando 碩般多, the houses and temples of which, being painted with red ochre, gave to it an agreeable aspect. Two days from Chobando, the Suk-chu was ferried across, the bridge of pines having given way a few days before, and caused the death of two men and three oxen. Beyond this was the lake and upland of Wa Ho, the former guarded by an enormous toad, that no one has seen but many heard, and which imaginary reptile is venerated as the spirit of the place. The bright sun shining upon the snows of the elevated upland, affected almost the whole of the party with violent inflammation of the eyes, which was for some time the cause of much suffering. Three fatiguing journeys remained to be traveled over, and many of the detestable wooden bridges to be crossed, ere they reached Tsiando, 250 leagues from H'lassa, a distance which they had taken thirty-six days to travel.

Tsiando 察木多, capital of the province of Kham 康, is a Chinese military station, situated at the junction of two rivers, and surrounded by mountains. The town is composed of large houses irregularly built and falling into ruins; the population look poor and dirty, but, as usual, there is a "magnificent" lamazary attached to the town, in which two thousand idlers live upon the superstitions of their more industrious fellow-creatures.

After three days' repose, the party once more started across mountain and along river, and over Tibetan bridges—the horror of all Tibetan travelers—being often, in the hyperbolic language of the East, suspended in the clouds. As they approached Bagung, the granitic districts of Upper Tibet were succeeded by a limestone country, in the midst of which a mountain, abounding with large caves, particularly attracted their attention. Bagung is described as a mere village with a Chinese guard-house. The people of the village, were, however, the first who refused to supply the caravan gratuitously. The authority of the "Pacifcator of Kingdoms" was totally disregarded by these independent mountaineers. They were further abetted in this contumacious disposition by Prul-tamba, the chief of the province, who was at that time in open rebellion with the Chinese. The party paid a visit to this mountain-chieftain, whose abode is described as resembling a feudal castle of the middle ages, with ditch and pont-levis.

At the next station, Gaya, the Chinese officials were equally refused food and transport without payment. At the station beyond this, Ang-ti by name, they were detained five days by the illness of the manda-

rin, whose legs had swollen from the fatigues of the journey, and were daily getting worse. The governor of Angti is described as being three feet in height, and carrying a sword twice as long as himself! Bomba, as this Tibet mountain-chief was called, was, however, a man of rare eloquence, great courage, and both powerful and respected. Like most Tibetan mountaineers in this part of the country, he at once detested and despised the Chinese.

Beyond Angti was another rude mountain, with its usual *obo*, or cairn, and local genius or spirit, which, when not a gigantic reptile, is a red horse or a white horseman, or some other fantastic goblin, only to be seen by the privileged few. Beyond this mountain was the town and district of Jaya, 乍丫 inhabited by bold mountaineers, who despise the yoke of the Chinese, and are perpetually rebelling against it. On their way beyond this, they overtook a caravan, the conductors of which—two mandarins, father and son—had perished on the way, and according to custom, the bodies had to be conveyed to the ancestral tomb; to facilitate progress, the body of the son was cut into four parts. The district of Sha-pan-ku 石板溝 is so called from its slate quarries, and its woods of pine, cedar, and cypress are said to be more frequented than any part of Tibet by musk-deer. At length, at Kiang-tsa, 江卡 they came into countries where the Chinese rule was better established, and the sick, yet avaricious mandarin was not mulcted of his money at every stage. The soil now, also, kept always lowering, the mountain chains were less lofty, the valleys widened, and became either more woody or cultivated. The magnificent Kinsha Kiang, or river of Golden Sands, occupied the central valley of all. It had here, however, to force its way through frequent narrow passes, and to roll over lofty precipices, carrying with it large masses of ice. At one station, by the banks of this great river, they had exquisite fish for supper, a room impervious to wind, and skins of musk-deer for beds—all luxuries for a long time unknown to our poor missionaries. Still more delighted were they when, crossing a range of hills, the splendid valley of Bathang 巴塘, "Plain of Cows," lay before them. This great plain, which is met with, as if by enchantment, amidst the Tibetan mountains, has a beautiful climate, and is wondrously fertile; giving two harvests of rice, maize, wheat, barley, peas, cabbages, turnips, onions, &c., &c., every year. The town itself is large and populous; lamas and Chinese are numerous, and there is also a Chinese garrison. The temporal power of the Tala-lama of H'lassa does not extend beyond this point. Beyond, the country is

governed by vassal chieftains, called *tú-sz'* 土司. The chief temple at Bathang is called B<sub>1</sub>, or Pa. The caravan was most hospitably received at this city, but the "Pacifier of Kingdoms" was getting daily worse, and the missionaries labored hard, upon his approaching decease, to convert him to the Christian faith, but without success.

The beautiful and warm plain of Bathang had, after a rest of three days, to be again exchanged for cold mountain districts, varied with forest scenery. In these forests, the common holly attained the size of a great tree. The mandarin Lí Kwoh-ngan expired on the third day's journey, at a picturesque little village called Samba. The missionaries deeply regretted the loss of their conductor. His body was wrapped up in a white cloth, covered with sentences and images of Budha, and duly coffined. Thus, the next day, the caravan took its departure with three corpses. The chief being dead, the monarchical form of government was succeeded by a democratic republic—a form of government so perfect, that the Chinese and Tibetans did not seem to be at all prepared for it, and everything went wrong, and all order was succeeded by a complete anarchy.

After three days' journey, they luckily arrived at Lí-t'áng 裏塘, or the "Place of Copper," where a new mandarin was appointed to the government of the caravan; and at T'á-t sien-lí 打箭爐, "the Place of Arrows," they at length reached the Chinese frontier, having been three months on the journey from H'lassa.\* They parted here with their guard of Tibetans with many tears. These good mountaineers had shown them every attention and kindness during a long and trying journey.

The next day, their legs being swollen and bruised by travel, they got into sedans, in which they were carried at the public expense to the capital of the province of Sz'chuen, where they were to be solemnly tried by the magistrates of the Celestial empire. The verdict of the mandarins is not recorded by M. Huc; but the result is manifest in the fact, that after a few months of unrecorded travel across

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\* [Bathang, or Pát'ing, is the post in the southwestern part of Sz'chuen, where the trade between China and Tibet centres; but why M. Huc calls it the "Plain of Cows" does not appear, for that is not the meaning of the characters employed by the Chinese to write the name of the town, any more than "Place of Copper" is the signification of Lí-t'ing, the next town the travelers came to. The power of the Chinese government over the mountaineers in this region is probably exercised only so far as they are willing, or whenever it is for their advantage in their feuds against other tribes. The imperial map extends the boundary of Sz'chuen as far west as Batang.]

China, the worthy missionaries arrived at Macao in the month of October, 1846. Their return to contact with Europeans was not rendered the less interesting by the report of their deaths, which had for some time previously been in circulation in the East, and in the geographical journals of this country. The missionaries appear to have traced the report originally to the *Bengal Catholic Herald*, published at Calcutta; and which, in an article purported to be derived from Canton, by date September 12, stated that two unfortunate French Lazarists, who had mastered the Mongol language by studying under the lamas of native monasteries, had ventured into the interior, but had been detected in the remote regions of Mongolian Tartary, and had been tied to horses' tails and dragged to death. Happily, the missionaries were spared to give to the world the very curious work of which we have given an epitome.

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ART. III. *Resumé of the principal occurrences in China during the year 1850.*

Oct. 23d, 1849. Mingteh, a member of the Imperial House is degraded and banished to Tsitsihar from Moukden, for forcibly stopping some saltpetre belonging to government, imprisoning the people in charge, and detaining the whole for a ransom.

The military resident of Tarbagatai in Ili sends in an estimate of 55,000 taels as the expenditures needed for the coming year.

Gov.-gen. Sli Kwángtsin and his colleague request his majesty's permission to appoint an intendent of circuit over the two departments of Luichau and K'ungchau in the southwest of this province, to keep a better oversight and defense of the coasts against pirates.

29th. His Majesty's son-in-law is deputed to sacrifice to certain cannon, and seven other offices are designated to sacrifice to some "red-coated" cannon.

Luh Kienying, the gov.-general of the Two Kiáng reports the collection and expenditure of 524,000 taels to relieve the distress in two departments in Kiángsú, caused mostly, it appears, by the overflow of the Yangtze' kiáng.

The sum of 72,974 taels is ordered to be forwarded to Oroumtsi from Kánsuh for the current expenses of the coming year.

A decree is issued promoting several officers in Chehkiáng for their success in destroying pirates; the memorial states their efforts "are not like those empty statements of innumerable pirates attacked and sunk, all which are stories colored and glossed over."

Nov. 2d. Teh-tang-ngeh, commissary-general for three years in H'ari in Anterior Tibet, is recommended for promotion.

Dec. 3d. MM. de Montigny and Klezkowski beat off a piratical junk in their passage across the bay of Hángchau, saving many lives and a large amount of property.

19th. All business is stopped in the market-town of Shih-lung, east of the Bogue, by the appearance of a body of vagabonds, two leaders of which were seized.

Jan. 1, 1850. The Government of Hongkong publish her Majesty's letters patent, dated May 1, 1849, ordaining the town of Victoria to be called the City of Victoria, and erecting the island of Hongkong and its dependencies into the Bishopric of Victoria.—See page 56.

8th. Mr. William F. Gray dies at Hongkong in consequence of a fall from his horse.

8th. An Ordinance passed by the government of Hongkong, defining and extending the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court over British subjects in and out of the colony.

15th. An ordinance passed in Hongkong for the better administration of justice in criminal proceedings before the Supreme Court.

15th. The gov.-general is requested to order some of the Fuhkien traders who have lingered at Macao, instead of moving their establishments to Whampoa, to leave that settlement. These traders were engrossing more of the traffic than their share, but the whole movement of 8th in ordering these merchants to remove has entailed considerable loss upon them.

Posthumous honors are bestowed upon the celebrated statesman Yuen Yuen, who died Nov. 26th, aged 88.

23d. The Empress-dowager departed this life, aged over 80 years. She was not the mother of Taikwang. See page 110.

Feb. 10th. The troop-ship Apollo with the headquarters of the 59th regiment arrived at Hongkong under the command of Lieut.-col. Trevor. Total landed, 560 persons.

13th. Eleventh annual meeting of the Morrison Education Society held at Hongkong.

*Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Members of the Morrison Education Society, held within the Library of the Club House, Hongkong, February 13, 1850.*—Present, Lieut.-colonel Phillpotts, A. Campbell, T. W. L. Mackean, C. B. Hillier, T. D. Neave, D. Jardine, P. Dudgeon, A. Shortrede, W. Davidson, D. Fletcher, A. H. Balfour, R. P. Dana, S. J. Hallam, and S. W. Williams.

Mr Campbell, the senior Vice-president, took the chair, and after stating the business to be brought before the meeting, called upon the Corresponding Secretary to read the annual report. The report was then read. The Treasurer's report was next presented, from which it appeared that there was a balance of \$2157.10 due the treasurer by the Society. A lengthened discussion having arisen among the members as to the present position of the fund, it was moved by Mr Dana, and seconded by Dr Balfour,—“That a Committee be appointed to confer with the chairman of the meeting of subscribers to the ‘Morrison Testimonial Fund’ held in Canton, July 18, 1849, in order to come to an amicable arrangement.” Mr Jardine moved the following as a substitute to the proposition, which was seconded by Mr Hillier,—“Resolved, with reference to the meeting of subscribers to the ‘Morrison Testimonial Fund’ held in Hongkong, January 10, 1846, investing the sum of \$12,000 with Messrs Dent & Co. at interest as a permanent fund for the benefit of the Morrison Education Society, for the period of three years, that period having now elapsed, this meeting request and authorize Messrs Dent & Co. to continue the possession of that fund, and to continue to pay the interest to the Trustees, to be employed by them for the purpose of the Society as heretofore, until the next annual meeting.”

On the Resolution being read, the previous one was withdrawn, and the following offered as an amendment by Mr Shortrede, seconded by Mr Neave,—“That it appears to this meeting highly expedient to ascertain if the fund, commonly called the ‘Morrison Testimonial Fund,’ or any part thereof, whether principal or interest, can be applied to the payment of the debt due to the Treasurer of the Morrison Education Society, or what authority the Trustees have over it; and with this view request Messrs Dent & Co., in concert with the Trustees of the said Society, to enter into an amicable suit before the Chief-Justice, in order to settle the question of property in the fund,—the expense of conducting the said suit not to exceed two hundred dollars, without the sanction of another general meeting.”

On taking the votes for the amendment, there appeared *Ayes* 4,—Shortrede, Neave, Hallam, Balfour. *Noes* 8,—Jardine, Mackean, Davidson, Williams, Hillier, Phillpotts, Dana, Fletcher. The original Resolution was then carried *Ayes* 8, *Noes* 4.

Moved by Lieut-colonel Phillpotts, seconded by Mr Williams, and carried unanimously,—“That the Trustees be empowered to take such measures in relation to the preservation and occupation of the Society’s house on Morrison Hill, as shall be compatible with the designs of this Society in promoting education among the Chinese, the necessary expense to be defrayed by the Society.”

The officers for the ensuing year were then elected by ballot, as follows:—

*President*—Rev. E. C. Bridgman, D.D.

*Vice-presidents*.—Archibald Campbell, Esq.; Lieut.-col. G. Phillpotts; and Walter Davidson, Esq.

*Treasurer*—David Jardine, Esq.

*Corresponding Secretary*.—S. W. Williams, Esq.

*Recording Secretary*.—C. B. Hillier, Esq.

*Auditors*.—Charles J. F. Stuart, Esq.; and Andrew H. Balfour, Esq. M.D.

The meeting then adjourned.

21st. At attack made on Mr. Reynvaan at Canton by one of his coolies.—*See page 112.*

23d. H. B. M. screw-sloop Reynard destroys two piratical boats near Hongkong, and captures 15 men.

25th. H. I. M. Tsiukwang departed this life, and was succeeded on the same day by his fourth son Yihchü.—*See p. 165.*

Yen Ingán, acting superintendent of the Yellow river is raised to the second rank and confirmed in his appointment, for his exertions in preventing an inundation by his careful oversight of the embankments and floodgates; he is also requested to recommend the more zealous and deserving of his subordinates, and “as the river has not overflowed its banks up to the end of October, he is to burn ten sticks of Tibetan incense, which will be issued to him, in the temple of the Spirit of the Stream.”

March 4th. H. M. Str. Medea attacks a fleet of pirates in Mir’s bay, and totally disperses them.—*See page 163.*

6th. The Court of the Imperial Guard advised the Crown that the chair of the late emperor was to be burned; a quantity of garments for the use of the departed in Hades had already been burned.

19th. Dedication of Seamen’s Bethel at Whampoa. *See page 168.*

20th. Ordinance passed in Hongkong for the more effective carrying out of the treaties between Great Britain and China in so far as relates to Chinese settlers in the colony.

20th. Ordinance passed in Hongkong to regulate the jurisdiction of magistrates and courts of session in Hongkong over offenses committed without the colony by British subjects.

26th. The Board of Rites, in a reply to the Throne, respecting the obsequies of the late emperor, state that his late Majesty’s will contained directions, “1st. that no stone tablet commemorating his merits and virtues should be erected; 2d, touching various matters to be considered; 3d, that he should not be sacrificed to with Heaven and Earth; 4th, that his ancestral tablet of wood should not be placed in the state temple of his predecessors.” His son wished to obey the first two, but hesitated respecting the last two, while the Board urge him not to obey the first direction.

29th. Rt. Rev. George Smith, D. D. Bishop of Victoria, arrives at Hongkong. *See page 232.*

April. During the month an epidemic of a fatal character prevailed in Canton and its vicinity. *See pages 288, 343.*

May. The following notice of a Chinese official recalls the manner in which officers in European armies rise by purchase:—

*Kiángsi*.—The law requires that persons purchasing the rank of intendant or prefect should be proved for one year in the public service, and their qualifications reported on by the chief provincial authority. A Chinese of the bordered yellow Banner, in the service of the Imperial Household, having purchased a degree, next a clerkship in one of the Boards, and then the rank of sub-prefect, was sent to serve first in the Imperial demesnes, and then in *Kiángsi* in 1836. He lost a step, and was removed to another post in 1845, on account of the non-arrival of certain grain junks of which he had charge, but repurchased his places by subscribing in aid of the public distress in *Kiáng-sú*; and from his deputy sub-prefectship rose by purchase to a sub-prefectship, and thence to a prefectship. His year of probation having expired since the day on which he had the good luck to be chosen for employment by lot out of those who arrived at the same time in the province, the said prefect, Yuen-shen by name, aged 54, is reported to be hale in body, and of great abilities, sure and experienced, diligent and clear-headed, and capable of taking charge of a difficult department. It is therefore proposed that he succeed to the first prefecture vacant by sickness, death, or discharge of the incumbent, at the disposal of the Board.—*China Mail*.

26th. H.E. P. A. da Cunha, governor of Macao, &c., arrives.—See page 344.

June 7th. The English ship "Elizabeth Ainslie" burnt at her anchors in Cuming moon anchorage; most of her cargo was consumed or spoiled. A lorchá left in charge of the wreck was the next night attacked by pirates, and a Mr. Richard Hopwood killed.

13th. The str. Keynard visits the Great Wall, and makes an examination of it at *Shán-hái-kwán*, as given in the following communication:—

This stupendous work of human labor has its eastern termination on the shore of the Gulf of *Liáutung*, about 120 miles north of the *Pei ho*, in lat. 40° 4' N., long. 120° 2' E. Viewed from the water, the terminus appears to consist of a fortress some 300 yards in length, having a large gateway in the southern face, close outside of which, and between it and the sea, is a permanent joss-house, or temple, while the northern end is surmounted by a modern two-storied guard-house; immediately beneath, the Wall projects seaward.

At 10 A.M., we landed a large party to the right of the joss-house on a steep sandy beach, and were civilly received by a white-buttined mandarin and a small party of soldiers, who informed us we were perfectly at liberty to inspect the Wall at our leisure. We therefore soon ascended to it by a broad inclined plane outside the fort, and found ourselves on a rectangular platform, about sixty feet in length, paved with dark blue-colored bricks. This portion of the structure, from its apparent age and condition, seems to have been the original terminus of the main wall; while, owing probably to the receding of the water, the beforementioned lower continuation projecting seaward—now a mass of ruins half buried in the sand—appears a less durable construction, of much later date.

The first objects that arrested our attention on the platform were three monumental slabs of black marble—two standing close to the wall, the third removed from its base: a curiously-carved altar-shaped pedestal lay extended on the ground. On one of the standing slabs is deeply inscribed the sentence, "Heaven created earth and sea;" and on the other, "Only a spoonful."\* The import of this latter sentence we were at a loss to conjecture: it may have had reference to the placid waters of the Gulf of *Liáutung*; or, perhaps is intended as an allusion to the nothingness of this vast structure when compared with the works of creation. The fallen monument, having a very long inscription, we left to be deciphered on our return from the survey of the wall, which we could no longer delay.

Ascending again by a broad flight of steps from the platform to the top of the fort, we walked past the guard-house (a dilapidated building) down another

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\*[The sentences 天開海岳 and 一勺之多 are given in the drawings accompanying this account; the latter is a quotation from the *Chung Yung*, and means that the sea is "only a handful," and taken in connection with the first, that "heaven created (or spread out) the sea and the mountains," may allude to the surrounding prospect of sea and land. The whole sentence is, "The waters, though they are (or appear like) only a handful, are yet unfathomable, and the turtle, the crocodile, the dragon, and other monsters dwell in them."—*Ed. Chi. Rep.*]



shorter inclined plane, and then along the Wall, which we found, for about eight hundred yards, in a very ruinous condition, the first part of it being little better than an embankment of sand, broken at intervals by projecting masses of ruined brickwork.

At half a mile's distance from the fort, however, the Wall commences to show a better state of preservation: here we found it measure 39 feet across; the platform was covered with mold, and variegated with flowers of every hue. The Wall on the Tartar side, at this point, shows a fine well-built foundation of hewn granite, surmounted by a slanting brick facing, measuring together 35 feet in height; above this is a brick parapet, 7 feet high and 18 inches thick, divided by small embrasures at irregular intervals, from 8 to 13 feet apart.

At intervals, varying in distance from 200 to 500 yards, the Wall is flanked, on the Tartar side, by towers of brick, 45 feet square and 52 feet high. The one we examined was entered from the Wall by an arched granite doorway,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  feet high by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  broad. The construction of this arch is most remarkable, for the Chinese have long ceased to use key-stones in their arches. A flight of steps to the right, within the doorway, leads up to the flat roof of the tower, which is surrounded by a parapet like that upon the Wall. The body of the tower is intersected at right angles by low arched vaults, each terminating in an embrasure, of which there are three on each outer face. From the construction of these vaults, they seem to have been built for archers and spearmen, and not for any kind of artillery; there was no vestige of a parapet on the Chinese side of the Wall, except on the low towers on this face, which intervene midway between those on the outer, but are not vaulted.

From this tower, which is the second inland, the wall continues apparently more or less in a ruined state for about three miles in a N. N. W. direction, over a fine undulating country. It then takes a sudden curve to the S. W., passing near a large town called Shan-hai-wei. Thence it ascends directly up a bleak rugged range of mountains, about 3000 feet in height, creeping up the side like a gigantic serpent, and disappearing over the summit of the ridge.

The general features of the country about the Wall are very pleasing; the land, rising slowly from the sea up to the foot of the mountain range, is well wooded, and apparently densely populated on the Chinese side. On the Tartar side it undulates gently away into the distance, and appears rich and well cultivated, and dotted here and there with villages, the houses of which have roofs exactly similar in shape to those of our omnibuses at home. The only gate through the wall in this district is about three miles inland, and is called the Shan-hai Kwán. This we intended visiting, had not the mandarins prevented us. We observed, while loitering about the Wall, troops of mounted Chinese galloping out from the interior in the direction of the fort; but, supposing they were only hastening to have a view of us before we left, we took no further notice of them. Before, however, we had proceeded more than one mile and a half inland, three mandarins overtook us, and informed us that the Tú-tung, or General in command at Shan-hai-wei, had come down to the fort, and that it was his wish we should proceed no further. We accordingly descended from the Wall, and returned through the fields to the terminus. Here we found the General and a numerous suite assembled, with a crowd of mandarins and soldiers; and the bustle and confusion occasioned by their presence unfortunately prevented our taking a copy of the inscription on the third tablet, which, there is little doubt, would have afforded much interesting information. But we were thankful to have seen as much as we did; for had the General arrived a couple of hours earlier, our landing at all would have been doubtful. We returned to our boats, therefore, satisfied with the result of the expedition, having, perhaps, seen more of this portion of the Wall than any European before us; and, as all this part of China is still by treaty a sealed country, it may be years before another Englishman enjoys the same privilege. At three P. M., the anchor was weighed; and before dark the Great Wall of China had faded from our view.—*Illustrated London News*, Oct. 5th.

An unsuccessful effort made by Howqua and others formerly belonging to the Co-hong to reëstablish the monopoly in the sale of teas.—*See page 406.*

*July 2d.* An imperial decree relating to the visit of the *Str. Reynard* to the *Pei ho* is issued:—

“ We have had the honor to receive the following Imperial decree. Officers of the establishment of this realm have each of them a particular sphere of duty; [on matters beyond it] they have no power to speak, as it is highly irregular; nor may they move therein, for it produces confusion. It was from the liberality of this Government, and from the extreme inclination of His Majesty the late Emperor to love his people and to foster the stranger, the permission to trade was accorded to these barbarians; and they should have shown the fervor of their tranquillity. In coming therefore as they have now done, to Tientsin, and openly transmitting letters to ministers of the Cabinet, they have been guilty of extreme disrespect and irregularity, and We command that no answer be returned to them, and that the whole occurrence be left unnoticed, as if it had never taken place. And seeing that if it be noised abroad, memorials will be sent up express from all the places passed by the barbarians, and [messengers from] Kwangtung, Fuhkien, Chehkiang, Kiangsu, Shantung, Tientsin, and all the coast line will be fainting on the road,—much against the dignity (of the state); and as it is moreover said in the Record of Observances, that public servants have no intercourse with foreigners, it would be for these reasons still less proper that the Cabinet ministers in question should open the way to disrespectful courses by acknowledging the letter. As *Sü Kwangtsin*, the Governor-general of the Two Kwang, manages matters satisfactorily, and is thoroughly acquainted with the devilish malice of the hearts of these barbarians, and as Kwangtung is withal the natural channel of their (communications), We command that all business of these barbarians be henceforward referred to *Sü Kwangtsin* for administration, and that none of the Governor-generals or Governors along the coast be so irregular as to speak of the same, or so disorderly as to meddle with it; and We command that this law be made public as one to be observed for ever. Respect this!”—*China Mail*.

*6th.* H. E. the governor of Macao dies of cholera. See page 404.

*8th.* The roof of Trinity church at Shánghái fell in during the night.— See page 464.

*17th.* H. E. Gov. Bonham and suite return from their visit to Shánghái in the “*Reynard*.” See page 403.

*30th.* A gale of some severity is felt along the coast at the embouchure of the Pearl river.

The *Nánhái hien* tells the people that only the gentry and literati are authorized to give information against robbers, and warns any who shall wreak their vengeance upon any, under pretense that they are in the exercise of such a duty, that they shall be most severely dealt with.

Their Excellencies, the gov.-general and *fuyuen*, issue an “affectionate” proclamation to all pirates who had not tendered their submission “to wash their hearts and flay their faces, to show respectful obedience to the laws, and pursue their avocations in peace.”

*August.* Bodies of banditti, which have been troublesome in Kwángsi, begin to make head against the authorities, and also to come into the western departments of Kwángtung.—See page 462.

Rewards offered by the two district magistrates of Canton for the apprehension of parties concerned in the desecration of graves, an outrage recently committed on the north of the city; these miscreants, or “hill dogs” as they are called, had also been in the habit of extorting money from funerals.

*Aug. 8th.* The prefect of *Kiáying* chau issues a remarkable document against Christianity.—See page 566.

*Rev. Mr. Le Turdu* seized by the prefect of *Kiáying* chau in this province, and imprisoned; he was soon after sent to Canton and liberated.

*Sept.* At the end of this month, the sickness in the British troops at Hongkong, which had carried off in all 120 soldiers during 5 months, had nearly disappeared.

*10th.* An ordinance passed by the government of Hongkong to enable the Trustees of the Church to raise a sum of money not exceeding \$2000.

*Sept. 29th.* The English brig *Good Success*, manned by Chinese sailors, while at anchor in the harbor of *Tai-ho* to the southwest of Macao, refitting and procuring water, was boarded by pirates and robbed to the extent of \$12,000; the local officer offered the supercargo, also a Chinese, \$70, if he

would report the piracy to have been committed at sea. Three Portuguese lorchas arrived there some ten days after, and took possession of the vessel against the wish of the supercargo, who wished to put her under British protection, and have her taken to Hongkong by the P. and O. Co.'s Str. Canton, which had also come into the harbor in search of the missing vessel Rustomjee Cowasjee.

Oct. 6th. The French ship Albert returns to Hongkong, the Chinese passengers having killed Capt. Page on the way to Lima, and robbed the ship. About 40 of them were apprehended.

20th. The Portuguese 32 gun frigate Dona Maria II<sup>a</sup> was blown up while lying at anchor in the Typa. The most probable cause assigned for this casualty is that the gunner did it, when he went to the magazine to procure some powder, in revenge for having been that day reprimanded by Capt. d'Assis e Silva, he having been heard to threaten revenge on some one. Over two hundred persons, including several Chinese workmen and boatmen were killed; of these 188 belonged to the ship. The body of the Captain was found, but scarcely any persons survived the explosion.

Si and Yeh issue a memorial respecting the attack on the insurgents in the western part of this province.—See page 619.

Nov. 15th. Rev. C. Fast, a Swedish missionary at Fuhchau, killed near the outer anchorage in an attack on his boat.—See page 624.

25th. Senor Tomas Fleetwood, mercantile assistant at Amoy, drowned in the harbor.

The southwestern parts of the province are infested with bands of armed robbers, collected principally in the department of Lienchau fú, adjoining Cochinchina. The prefect of Kin chau sent troops to disperse them, who instead of attacking, fraternized with them; whereupon fresh levies were sent from Háinan and Luichau fú to the aid of the Lienchau prefect, which were also beaten, killed, and dispersed. Cholera broke out in Háinan during this and the preceding month, and raged to such a degree that the dead were left unburied, and the people fled from the villages.

Dec. 6th. Died at Canton, Rev. JAMES G. BRIDGMAN, *et.* 30. a missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. in Canton. Mr. B. was a native of the town of Amherst, Mass., and a graduate of Amherst college. He reached China in Feb. 1844, and after pursuing his studies in Chinese and in divinity for a season, was ordained to the gospel ministry in Canton, May 31st, 1846. (See Vol. XV. page 328.) He had then completed a translation from Latin of Prémare's *Notitia*, which was published the year following, as stated in Vol. XVI. page 266. In May, 1847, Mr. Bridgman took charge of the office of the Repository, and continued to supervise the publication of the numbers until Sept. 1848. Since that date he resided in Canton, engaged in usual missionary labors, and in studying the language. He also read works in theology. For the last six months, he had gradually withdrawn much from general society, and confined himself chiefly to his house. Those who saw most of him during the last few months, observed many symptoms indicating a disordered or wandering mind but medical advice was not called in until Nov. 30th, when symptoms of cerebral affection were apparent. Measures were promptly adopted to relieve the congestion of the brain, yet the next morning, in a paroxysm of the disease, he attempted self-destruction. Reason was restored by the loss of blood, and he was conscious during the five days he survived. A post mortem examination showed a highly congested state of the brain. Mr. B. was highly respected by all who knew him for his consistent Christian character, kindness, and uniform gentleness of heart; and in his death the cause of missions has sustained no little loss.

17th. An ordinance published by the government of Hongkong to prevent the desertion of seamen belonging to foreign ships. Also one to regulate proceedings before justices of the peace.

















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