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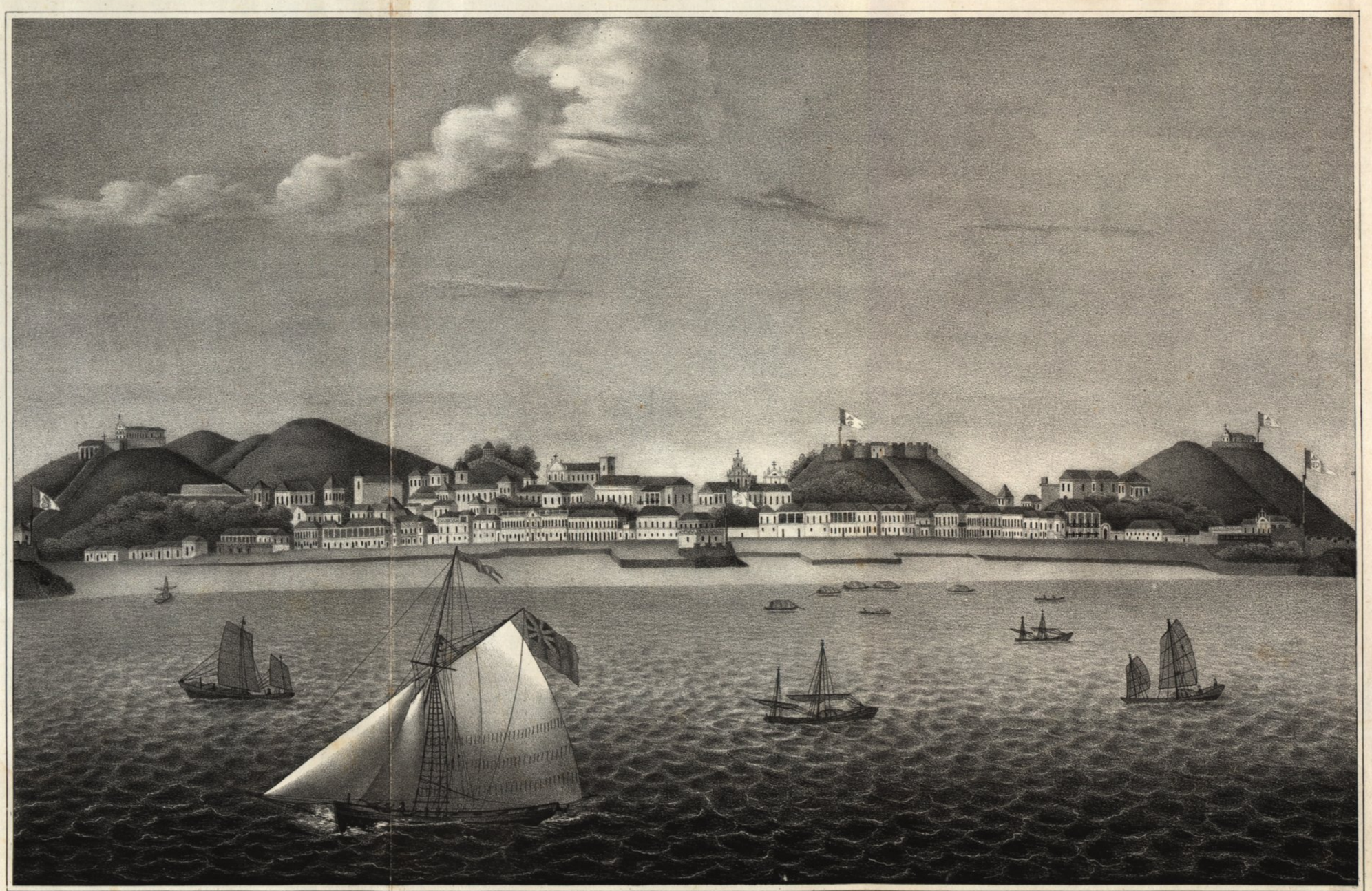

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VIEW OF THE GREAT LANDING BEACH "PRAYA GRANDE" AT MACAO.

AN

HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS

IN

CHINA;

AND OF THE

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND MISSION IN CHINA.

BY SIR ANDREW LJUNGSTEDT,
Knight of the Swedish Royal Order Waza.

A SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER,

DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY OF CANTON,

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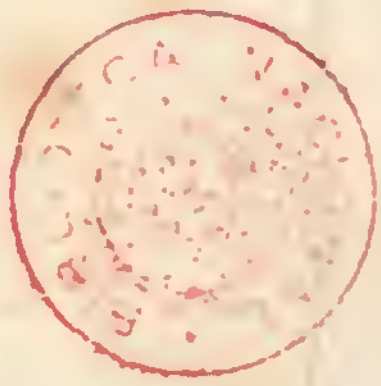

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PREFACE.

Placing an implicit confidence in the judgment of enlightened friends, who were pleased to think, that the two Historical contributions, concerning the Portuguese settlements in China, and principally of Macao, distributed in 1832, and 1834, among them for the purpose of gratifying general inquisitiveness, might be of some public utility, I resolved to revise my Essays, correct mistakes, enlarge the view, and connect occurrences in a natural series of chronology. That the size of the little work may not swell by extraneous digressions, nor by my own individual reflections, all my exertions have been confined within the limits of a simple and faithful narration of facts, leaving to the reader his right to exercise, at discretion, the faculties of his own intellect on the subjects under consideration. They are examined under distinct heads, and in chapters, that any inquirer may satisfy his curiosity by referring to the place alluded to, and decide on their relative merit.

In perusing the annexed copy of the preface which preceded the first contribution, it will be evident, that chance determined the author to seek for information about Macao in books and archives. From among the many various and detached hints, the most authentic have been recorded with an intention that the selection may prove a useful auxiliary to a future historian. It embraces for near three centuries, a succint description of the most memorable changes of Macao, and closes at an epoch, in which his imperial majesty, Dm. Pedro, Duke of Bragança, by his heroic and glorious exploits, and by his comprehensive genius, is laying, on the sound principle of respect for mutual rights of individuals and nations, a solid foundation for the everlasting (I most sincerely wish,) prosperity, happiness, and grandeur of the Portuguese monarchy.

PREFACE.*

Thirty years ago but few persons doubted that the Kings of Portugal exercised at Macao their sovereign authority, in virtue of an imperial grant of the place to vassals of Portugal for eminent services rendered by them to the Chinese empire. The author of this Essay entertained the same opinion, when in 1802, a British auxiliary detachment arrived and offered to defend, in conjunction with the Portuguese, the settlement against an apprehended attack from the French; a friendly proposal, which the government of Macao could not accept, because the Chinese authorities interfered. On their part, the same resistance was, in 1808, experienced, when a British force for a similar purpose, with the consent of the Macao government, had disembarked and garrisoned three forts; the auxiliaries at last evacuated the place and re-embarked. These results prove, that the Portuguese never had acquired the right of sovereignty over Macao, though they have been in possession of it nearly three centuries.

* To the Contribution, published 1832.

To trace the beginning of this settlement and its progress, and to examine on what ground Macao is numbered among the ultra-marine dominions of Portugal was of consequence. Historians who detailed the earliest achievements of their countrymen in Asia, and records of the first missionary labours in China, gave the clue and exhibited to us the origin. National and foreign authors of later dates describe the advancement, prosperity and decline of Macao, the inhabitants of which, being principally by birth from Portugal, claimed in virtue of their allegiance, the protection of their sovereign: it was granted and a government instituted. By this concession, the court of Lisbon fancied that it had acquired an inherent right to the dominion of Macao, though the members of the Senate in 1593, assured his majesty, Philip I. that "they maintained themselves in the place by spending much with the Chinese." Portuguese annalists, travellers and foreigners, ignorant of this confidential declaration, echoed, that the Kings of Portugal possessed in China, as absolute masters, a spot, denominated Macao.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans who pushed their navigation to the southern confines of China, where they succeeded in forming an important settlement; an event, which the Kings of Portugal meant to improve by diplomatic missions, in order to obtain for their vassals at Macao, by the

sanction of the sovereign of China, an extension of liberty and commercial advantages. Little, however, or rather no acknowledged benefit was ever conferred: the long voyages and costly visits all ended—it seems—in mutual exchange of presents and civilities.

By the zeal of Portugal, christianity was transplanted from Europe to the East Indies and China. In our account of the Roman Catholic Mission in China, we have endeavored to delineate the difficulties the first missionaries had to contend with; their perseverance; their attention to arrive by unanimous proceedings, at their object—the conversion of China to christianity; then we have briefly described the lamentable schism, caused by presumptuous foreigners, who thought themselves better qualified than the emperor to fix the explanatory meaning of a couple of Chinese characters under dispute. In the mean time, many men of learning and influence embraced the foreign creed and favored it; its opponents more numerous, were enabled, now and then, by their remonstrances to put a check to its rapid progress, and by reiterated attacks they at last convinced Yung-ching of the necessity to prohibit the exercise of the christian religion in all his extensive dominions. Nevertheless, zealous and obedient Europeans are employed in their respective missions, though with little expectation to be inscribed on the catalogue of martyrs; for on those few, who may occasionally be

apprehended in their illicit pursuit, the sentence of death is seldom inflicted.

The rational and innocent ceremonies—except in the eyes of the intolerant—with which the Chinese are wont to honor Confucius and the manes of departed ancestors, a tribunal of Inquisitors reputed superstitious and idolatrous; as such, the court of Rome condemned them. This innovation aimed at introducing a schism in government, for to disobey the Holy See, the Chinese christians were taught to be a mortal sin; a venial one it was, not to submit to the laws of the country, whenever they were not in harmony with the supreme will of his holiness. That Kang-he might sanction this anti-social doctrine, Clement XI. employed legates. The emperor condescended to receive them, to listen to the propositions of the Pope, and even to discuss their merit, but he peremptorily refused to alienate the smallest portion of his legislative power, and dismissed the legates.

Considerable pains have been taken in collecting the materials which are arranged under the head, noted at the title-page; they are now submitted to the critical scrutiny of a few friends, and of those gentlemen, who, for the sake of research, may be disposed to excuse the absence of eloquent language in a performance, traced by the pen of a foreigner.

The following Works and Manuscripts were principally consulted by the author.

De Christianâ expeditione apud Sinas, by Nic. Trigauld.
Atlas Sinensis, by Martin Martini.
Legatio Batava, by J. Nieuhoff.
L. Ferraris Bibliotheca canonica.
Asia, by John de Barros—died 1570.
Asia, by Diogo de Couta—died 1616.
Asia Portuguesa, by Manöel de Souza e Faria—1639.
Peregrinaçaŏ, by Fernaŏ Mendes Pinto—1581.
Vergel de plantas e flores, by Fr. Jacinto de Deal—1681.
Historia dos descobrimentos dos Portugueses.
Commentarios de Afonso Dalboquerque.
Relatione della Cina, by Alvaro Semedo—1658.
Historia de las Islas Philipinas, by Joaq Mart de Zuñiga.
Historia general de las Islas Philipinas, by Fr. Juan de Conception.
Historia de la provincia del Smo. Rosario, by Vin de Salazar.
Historia de la provincia del Smo. Rosario, by Dom. Collantes.
Description de la Chine, by Duhalde.
Memoires conc. les Chinois, parles Missionaires de Peking.
Sketch of the history of the East India Company, by B. Grant.
Hist. Vèrhaal, v. d. Ned. O. I. Companie.
Gesants happen aan de Kejsaren Van Japan, by A. Montanus.
Resche Van Groot Djava, by J. Valentyn.
Chops, translation of, or authentic documents in China, stamped with the official seal of a Mandarin.
Authentic manuscript documents in Portuguese.
Private manuscript notices, in Portuguese.

Dom Joaquim Saraiva, Lord Bishop of Pèking, took, during his residence at Macao, where he drew in 1818, at the Royal College of St. Joseph, his last breath, incredible and unrelenting pains in saving from perdition a host of interesting accounts relative to Macao. They were recorded in an authentic manner, but on materials, which by the age of centuries had been defaced, mutilated, worm-eaten, and were mouldering into dust. With his excellency's friendly permission, I compared with his valuable manuscript extracts my accumulated collections: they were thereby improved so much, that this my humble Essay may, in many respects, be considered a repository of facts, of which the archives of the Senate can exhibit the originals no more.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER ON THE "DESCRIPTION OF CANTON."

The influence, which the commerce and the local government of Kwangtung province have always exercised, and are still exercising, on the Portuguese settlement of Macao, renders some account of the former necessary, to illustrate more clearly parts of which I have written concerning the latter. To supply this want, the Editor of the Chinese Repository has suggested to me, in a most friendly manner, that I add, as a Supplementary Chapter, *A Description of the City of Canton*, which was originally published in the second volume of the Repository, and re-published in 1834, at Canton. In gratefully accepting this disinterested proposal, an ample scope is afforded to reformers of foreign governments, to historians, a minute description of a famous city; and to merchants, valuable information for men of business.

A. L.

MACAO, January, 1835.

☞ An Index to the "Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements," will be found at the end of the volume.

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I. TEMPORARY SETTLEMENTS.

PRELIMINARIES.

The Portuguese being the first, who, towards the close of the fifteenth century, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, the assertions of annalists and travellers, that during the reign of Hong-che, an Emperor of China, who departed this life (1504,)* Europeans traded at Ning-po and Canton, must be gratuitous and devoid of foundation. The Portuguese, having possessed themselves (1510) of Goa on the western shore of Asia, the valiant but intolerant Afonso Dalboquerque† extended in 1511, by conquest, the authority of the crown of Portugal over Malacca, at that time a commercial depot of the first importance in Asia. From thence, with permission of George d' Albuquerque, captain of the place, Rafaël Perestello took (1516) his passage on board a Junk to China; of that country he brought back some scanty information, but made an immense profit on his adventure. His success gave rise to an undertaking on a greater scale. Four Portuguese ships —besides one belonging to George Mascarenhas—and four Malay vessels were fitted out under the command of Fernaõ Peres de Andrade, who in 1517, entered the gulph of China.

* We have carefully preserved the *dates* of every material event, but, for the most part, they are inserted within *parenthesis*, in order that they might not interrupt the narration of events, but be considered objects of *reference*.

† The author proposes to preserve the patronymic name, which men in their native country were known by: e. g. Dalboquerque is so called in his *Commentarios*, instead of D' Albuquerque. F. M. Pinto in his Peregrinations writes always Alf. Dalboquerque. In lieu of Roger, a missionary, we give him his name Ruggiero, &c.

The sight of large foreign ships and the countenances of the crew inspired awe ; confidence ensued from their mild behavior, and principally from the liberal presents the Commodore bestowed on the officers of the Imperial cruizers. The Mandarins on the station reported favorably of him ; six ships of his squadron were permitted to anchor at Tamao,* a port on the island designated by the name of San-chuen, San-chuen-shan and San-shan, the only one at which foreigners were then allowed to trade ; with two, Andrade got leave to come up to Canton.

I. HIAMPO—LYANGPO—NING-PO.

George Mascarenhas, who came with Andrade in his ship to Tamao, finding Junks from the Lew-kew† islands at anchor, determined to keep company with them, and to visit the eastern coast of China. He no doubt touched at some ports in the province of Fŭh-keen and Che-keano,‡ and paved the way for his countrymen to a profitable mercantile intercourse. It began, most likely, soon after the expulsion of the Portuguese from Tamáo in 1521, an occurrence, of which we intend to give a brief account in a subsequent paragraph. For several years, the Portuguese could not venture to shew themselves without great peril in the gulf of China ; their whole commercial activity must, therefore, have sought occupation in the eastern ports of the empire. There, as elsewhere, the Mandarins for the sake of emolument, connived, as long as they dared, at the transactions, which, at intervals, took place between Chinese and foreign merchants. At last a fixed emporium at Liampo or Ning-po was formed. To attempt assigning in an unexceptionable manner the locality of this mart would, with me, be temerity, but to record the few traces I have gathered in turning over the Perigrinations of

* Tamao, Taman, Tamou, Tamu, is promiscuously used to indicate the harbor or the whole island San-shan. The first Missionaries, who settled in China, being all Italians, wrote Sancian, which pronounced *italice*, sounds very much like San-shan. The Portuguese denominate it by Sancian, the English, by St. John.

† Loo-koo, Lekeyo, Lekyo, Lequios.

‡ In writing Chinese names we have copied the English spelling of Dr. Morrison, though later Sindlogs adopt a different one.

Fernaõ Mendes Pinto,* may perhaps, at a future period prove to be of some use. A daring and unprincipled cruizer, Anthony de Faria, having insulted and plundered a place on the eastern coast, prudence bade him winter at a desert island, *Pullo Hinhor*, distant fifteen leagues from the sea of Liampo, but, on consideration, he retires to the little island *Bancalou*, and, being invited by his countrymen to enter Liampo, he set sail, and arrived in six days at the *Forts of Liampo*, which are two islands, one just opposite the other, distant three leagues from the place. Between these two islands there is a channel, a gun shot over, and twenty five fathoms deep, where in certain places is very good anchorage, and also a pleasant river of fresh water, which takes its rise from the top of a mountain. This place on the north eastern coast of China, is 200 leagues from Macao. Faria departed on the 14th May, 1542. "He employed that day and the night following in getting out from amongst the islands of *Angitur*," I have looked in vain for those islands on the map of Chekeang, made 1714, by the Jesuits, but they may possibly be found on maps drawn two hundred years before that time and consigned to the archives at Lisbon. In my opinion Ning-po and Liampo, (in English Lyangpo) were never identical; I rather think that they stood in a similar ratio, in which Macao actually stands in respect to Kwang-chaw-foo; foreigners had got leave to take up their abode at some distance from the *foo*, a city of the first class; for else by what miracle could Ning-po-foo remain unhurt, when Liampo was reduced by the Chinese to a heap of ashes?

In its days of splendor and prosperity Liampo became a place of safety to people of China, Siam, Borneo, Lew-kew, &c. against pirates, who in great number overran all the sea. The place had long been flourishing, but grew from 1542 by the trade of Japan exceedingly rich. It had two churches, a town house, two hospitals, and above one thousand private buildings: though locally subject to China, it was ruled by a municipality, consisting of sheriffs, auditors, judges, aldermen.

*Pinto returned to Europe 1558; he died in 1581. His Voyages or Peregrinations were translated and published in 1653, by H. C. Gent, who in an apologetical defence, confutes the imputation of Pinto's being the prince of liars.

and six or seven kinds of officers. This noble and wealthy settlement owes its destruction to the provoking conduct of Lancerote Pereira, an auditor "*ouvidor.*" "This man having sold, it is said, for a few thousand Cruzades, goods to certain Chinese, of whom he never heard any thing afterwards, and desiring to make his loss good, and recover it from people who were not the cause of it, assembled eighteen or twenty idle fellows, with whom under the favor of the night, he fell upon a village about two leagues from Liampo, where he robbed eleven or twelve laboring families, seized on their wives and children, and killed, without any reason at all to do so, half a score of persons." This act of violence, in defiance of the protecting laws of the country, and in despite of the sacred rights of property, was duly resented. The inhabitants of the circuit joined the sufferers, and in a common petition to the Mandárin, complained of vexations these strangers had been, and were now again guilty of. The criminal case having been legally tried and the facts proved, the Tou-yuen, or Governor, of Che-keang, ordered, that the place should be destroyed. The command was obeyed, "for in less than five hours," an eye witness F. M. Pinto, says, "not any thing was left in Liampo, to which one could give a name." Twelve thousand Christians, among them 800 Portuguese, were put to death, 25 ships and 42 junks—others state 35 ships and 2 junks—but according to Manoel de Faria e Souza, 80 ships were burnt. This cruel punishment was inflicted, it is commonly thought, in 1545, and not in 1542, the very year Japan was discovered, and nine junks from Liampo, loaded with goods for Japan, were lost in a storm.

2. Chinchew—Chan-chow—Chan-chaw-foo.

We have mentioned that George Mascarenhas parted company with Fernaõ Peres de Andrade, and accompanied the Lew-kew junks, probably to the latitude of Fŭh-këen. Having very likely, acquired from the Chinese, who used to trade with the Portuguese at Malacca, knowledge of the celebrated Chang-chaw-foo, otherwise Chin-chew, in this province, we may presume that he paid his commercial friends a visit. His countrymen being forced to seek a new market on the east coast of China, touched, in their course to the northern

ports of the Empire, at that of Chin-chew in Fŭh-këen, laying southwardly of Lyangpo in Che-keang, for there is no doubt, that merchants had been suffered to settle somewhere about Chang-chow-foo at such a distance that the calamity which befel the Portuguese factory of Chin-chew, could do it no harm. At Chin-chew, public officers had winked, for the sake of self interest, at the permanent residence of strangers: some of them owned ships. It is recorded, that the pirate, Francis de Sá captured (1535) a junk, coming from the straits of Sunda, and belonging to a Portuguese merchant; in 1541, Anthony de Faria, stood for that port in search of Coia Aiem, from Guzerat, a very famous sea-rover; and reckoned in the harbor five Portuguese vessels. Lyangpo having been laid waste, Chinese and foreign merchants contrived by means of bribery, to get leave secretly to deal at Chin-chew, an advantage, which was soon forfeited by the perpetration of an act of foul covetousness.

"Ayrez Botelho or Coelho de Souza, provisor of the dead, seized not only on the estate of an Armenian, who had lived six or seven months among the Portuguese at Chin-chew, but also the value of 3000 Cruzades in silk, pieces of damask, musk, &c., belonging to the deceased Armenian; and under the pretext, that all the merchandise the two merchants had brought, belonged also to the Armenian, Botelho took 8,000 Cruzades from them. Returning home the two merchants, accompanied with their wives and children, presented in a detailing petition, the whole business to the Mandarin, who to do justice to them and many others, who had formerly complained against the Portuguese, caused it to be everywhere proclaimed, that no man on pain of death, should converse with the Portuguese; whereupon the scarcity of food constrained them to go to the hamlets, where ensued such disorders, that all the country rose up against them with much hatred and fury. Sixteen days after the Portuguese were set upon by an army and junks, who treated them in such a manner, that of thirteen ships, which they had in port, there was not one, which was not burned, and of five hundred Portuguese which were abiding in the country, thirty only escaped, having lost their property of every description." This happened, historians say, in the year 1549.

3. Tamao—San-shan—St. John.

Let us revert to Fernaõ Peres de Andrade, who was left at Canton, on our setting out from Tamáo towards the eastern boundaries of the empire. He solicited and obtained from the local government, permission to trade with China and Canton. Transactions had already begun, when the perplexing news, that pirates had attacked the vessels anchored at San-shan, reached the ears of the Commodore. To protect them was a sacred duty. Andrade lost no time, he settled his concerns in Canton, joined his friends and completed at Tamáo his mercantile operations. Anxious to take his departure at the commencement of the approaching monsoon, he, like a man of probity, proclaimed his readiness to do justice to every body, who might have reason to complain of any of his companions. This candid offer so enchanted their minds, that the Chinese began suspecting there was nothing but unmerited slander, in what they had heard of the acts of rapacity and violence the Portuguese had been guilty of in India.

This favorable opinion prevailed when Simaõ de Andrade, a brother to Fernaõ, entered 1518 the port with one ship and three junks. His character was marked by covetousness, partiality and despotism. With such a temper, he willingly countenanced robbers, kidnappers and all sorts of wickedness. He built a fort, and ended by arrogating to himself the perogatives of a sovereign, venturing to condemn a sailor to death, and to have the sentence executed. This act of open hostility, and the refusal to withdraw from the island, filled the measure of his iniquity. A Chinese squadron laid siege to the port. Simao would have perished of hunger had not a strong favorable gale most opportunely arisen: he took advantage of the accident and escaped (1521) with three of his vessels.

Next year Martin Alfonso de Mello Continho, the same as Alfonso Martins de Mello, bearer of a commission from Emanuel, king of Portugal, to propose friendship to the Emperor, arrived with six ships. Having compelled Simaõ de Andrade to relinquish his premeditated attack on San-shan, the provisional government would not permit the Chinese to meet the Portuguese; on the contrary, orders were issued,

that any sail under Portuguese colors the Chinese men of war could come up with, should be destroyed. Descrying a few vessels steering towards Tamáo, the Chinese squadron fell upon them (1522) and forced, after an obstinate contest, the Commander Martin Alfonso to yield the victory: the booty earned by this fortunate result was great. Many of the Portuguese were killed in the action, many were brought prisoners to Canton; of them, some perished of hunger; twenty-three were, by the sentence of Kea-tsing, condemned to be quartered like spies and pirates. Even Junks, coming from Malacca, were assailed; the vessels and cargoes confiscated, the men thrown in prison.

Tamáo on the north west coast of San-shan, was a renowned harbor, to which foreign and Chinese merchants resorted for the sake of disposing of their respective investments. John de Barros and other historians designate it often by the Malay word Beneagá or *Veneagá*, which signifies a mart or place for mercantile business. The ships lay moored at the foot of the hill in which Francis Xavier was [1552] interred. At the end of the monsoon all transactions were suspended, accounts settled, the port abandoned, and the island unoccupied, till the return of the merchants. How many years had elapsed from 1522 before the Portuguese came back, I have not been able to ascertain. That a reconciliation had taken place we may fairly presume from the call of a few Portuguese in 1542, who, finding none of their acquaintances in port, steered for Lampacáo,* where four Junks from Malacca, were at anchor. San-shan was still in 1552 uncultivated: on the 2d December this year, Francis Xavier expired, and was by his friends buried on that island in a hill, distant somewhat more than a stone cast from the sea shore. In the life of St. Francis Xavier, by J. Dryden, we are told that a cross was raised and the grave further signalized by two piles of stones, one at the head, the other at the feet of the departed apostle: the same description Father Francis de Souza, has given in his work.† After a lapse of nearly one hundred years, a few Jesuits, in their way to China, touched at San-shan. Devotion to a place where one of their celebrated members had

* Or Lampekao, Lampaco, Lampacau, Lampazau.

† *Oorinte conquistado á Jesu Christo.*—Lisbon, 1710.

spent some time, and lost his life, imparted the thought of commemorating the lamentable event, by raising a sepulchral monument, the materials of which, should defy for centuries the all devouring power of time. A stone of considerable height and breadth, performed this office.* One of the two flat sides was filled with an epitaph, written in the Portuguese language; the other bore, in the upper part, nearly the translation in Chinese, and beneath a repetition of the Portuguese inscription. Translated into English it runs thus: "*Here was interred St. Francis Xavier of the company of Jesus, apostle of the East. This monument was raised in the year* 1639." A lithographic sketch† exhibits the form of the stone pillar, and the manner in which the engraving was executed. About seventy years from this period, Premare, a Jesuit, wrote from Canton, that a chapel was to be raised on the spot, where Francis Xavier had expired, and consecrated to the manes of the Saint. It is doubtful whether it ever was built. For want of Christian carefulness this sacred building (if erected) crumbled, by the effects of the climate, to pieces; and its sepulchral monument bowed its lofty brow and was hid, like Francis Xavier, under a heap of earth. No wonder that in this prostrate condition, the bishop of Macao, Dm Fr. Francis de Na. Sra. da Luz Easchim and friends, whom he had invited to a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Francis Xavier, should meet with disappointment. It required a great deal of labor and unrelenting perseverence to discover some traces of a place, where a chapel or something like a building might have stood, and to dig out the stone tablets, clean it, and decypher its inscription. By the assistance of the inhabitants of an adjoining village—for the island is actually peopled—the work was done, and the monument again put on foot, because the job was liberally paid for. This act of Catholic charity was attended to in 1813. Devotees promised to build a new chapel on the old foundation, still it was, in 1834, not begun. To preserve in future these holy memorials from being defiled by infidels, the Bishop had agreed, as he

* It is six cubics, more or less, in height, four cubics broad, and thick four punts—Chinese measure.

† This sketch will be found in the Appendix, No. one and two.

himself told me, to allow a fixed yearly remuneration to the Chinese, who had undertaken to watch over their preservation.

4. Lampacao.

Having offered to the reader an apology for the epistle just finished, we shall resume the thread of our principal narrative. By the testimony of private chronological annotations, we are led to conclude, that the Mandarins shut the port of Tamáo, and concentrated, in 1554, the whole foreign trade at Lampacáo, an island so near Macao, that it can, when no thick vapor is ascending from the sea, and the atmosphere is transparent and bright, be seen by the naked eye from the top of the hill, on which the hermitage of Na. Sra. de Penha de França is seated. It requires, however, more powerful organs of vision than those I have been endowed with. This transfer is plausibly accounted for, by the following rational inference. In China the received opinion is, we are told, that relatives have a sort of claim upon the ground where any of their friends have been buried. Francis Xavier was interred on San-shan, an island at which the Portuguese ships sailing for Japan, used to touch. In them, came yearly many pilgrims to pray at the feet of the departed Saint, an incident which roused in the mind of the public officers, an apprehension that the Portuguese might possess themselves of San-shan. This surmise made the Mandarins assign Lampacáo as the only place at which merchants were to carry on their business. On this island landed (1549) the thirty Portuguese, who had the good luck to escape the slaughter of their countrymen at Chin-chew. That the Portuguese had on this island fixed habitations—though they never had any at San-shan—there are good reasons to suppose. Besides the hint F. M. Pinto gave 1556, the Jesuit Baltezar Gago, coming from Japan, being ship-wrecked (1560) on the coast of Haenan, sought refuge at Lampacáo: in a letter to the society of Jesus he mentions that 5 or 600 Portuguese merchants were constantly dwelling in that place.

II. FIXED SETTLEMENT AT MACAO.

CHAPTER I.

Historical Narrative.

A few years later, Europeans settled at Macao; by what right, is a topic of contention. At the arrival of the Portuguese, there issued from innumerable islands, rocks, and creeks, along the sea-coast of China, a daring set of adventurers, less intent on exercising lawful industry, than bent on plundering peaceful and industrious inhabitants. Merchants were peculiarly molested, because a successful attempt on them insures to the chief and his crew a valuable booty, to be shared among them. That the trade might be uninterrupted, the Portuguese determined to annoy and exterminate, if possible, this race, almost as vexatious to them as to the Chinese. Having cleared the gulph of China of free-booters, who had infested it, the Portuguese sought a quarrel, with a Regulo, or potentate of the island, Heang-shan. The grievances that provoked the war are not mentioned, nor is it known when the hostilities began, how long they continued, nor even the particulars of its termination. It is maintained, that, after a vigorous resistance, the Regulo was subdued, the island conquered, and the victors put in possession of their share. As no covenant or treaty of peace ever appeared in public, it remains an absolute impossibility to determine the ultimate limits of the conquest the Portuguese pretend to have made on that island. A rock towards southwest, constituting the boundary of Heang-shan, was of course comprehended in the conquest. On that, the Portuguese fixed their abode, being particularly well suited for the carrying

on of domestic and foreign trade. A town, called *Cidade do nome de Deos de Macao*, rose by degrees on the peninsula, not by the grace and concession of any of the emperors of China, for such is denied, but by the success of the chivalrous arms of Portugal. The above is copied from a ministerial *memorandum*, drawn up fifty years ago. It is contradicted by the subsequent assertion. Chinese chronologists have noted down, that in the 30th year of the reign of Kea-tsing, [1535] one foreign vessel appeared, and in [1537] another on the coast of the gulf of China. The merchants required and obtained permission to land and to raise a few huts for temporary shelter, and the drying of goods, which had been damaged on board the ships. That this accommodation was granted between 1522, when the Portuguese were driven from San-shan, and the time taken up for negociating a reconciliation, is by no means unlikely. During the lapse of eighteen or twenty years, [1537 1557] the Chinese and the Portuguese met again, it seems, for trade, either at Tamáo or Lampacáo. In 1557 the parties concurred at Macao, because the Mandarins permitted strangers to fix themselves on a *desert* island, then known by the denomination of *Amangao*. Such is the statement Fernaõ Mendes Pinto has given us in his peregrinations or voyages. This assertion is not contradicted by any of the contemporary authors, who wrote of the first exploits of their countrymen in China. The gentlemen to whom the terms could not be unknown were Jesuits, for a few of them came hither in 1562. With them, Mathew Ricci coming [1582] from India, spent some time, and must have been intimate; being a man of learning, of an enquiring spirit—a Jesuit—he naturally enough asked on what footing foreigners stood, in respect to China. Had they been settled by right of conquest, he would undoubtedly have recorded on the Italian Journal he kept, the cause of the war and the articles of pacification. Trigaulo, who gathered from it many interesting notices, contained in "Christiana expeditio apud Sinas," adverts merely to the impression the fleet under the command of Fernáõ Peres de Andrade left on the mind of the Mandarins, whose duty it was to protect the coast from foreign invasion. John de Barras, who never saw Asia, wrote three *Decades of Asia*, a work continued by Diego de Couto; both of these historians speak of the pro-

gress the Portuguese made in India and China. Alvaro Semedo, who governed [1621] a Roman Catholic Church at Nan-chang-foo, in his "Relatione della Cina," and Manöël de Faria e Souza, in his "Asia Portuguesa," allege, that the Portuguese obtained permission to inhabit Macao, because they had cleared the island of pirates. Diego de Couto came in 1556 to India; he served eight years in the army, visited Lisbon and came back to Goa. Philip I. proclaimed [1581] king of Portugal, commanded him to continue de Barros' Asia, making him royal chronicler of India. The silence of Diego, an accurate engineer, proves evidently the fallacy of the above allegation. According to De Gúignes, in his "Voyage to Pekin,," the pirates were vanquished 1563, an epoch at which the Portuguese had been six years in possession of Macao. The mighty sea-rover, denominated by him and others Chang-si-laō, kept the provincial capital, Canton, besieged, when Kea-tsing was on the throne, according to other writers, during the reign of Kang-he. May not Chang-si-laō be a corrupt and foreign pronunciation of Chin-chi-lung,* the father of Chin-chin-king or Hoxinga, by changing Chin to *Chang*, *chi* to *si*, lung to *laō*? For in the historical abridgment, by Duhalde, of these sovereigns, the man with whom either one or the other must have been cotemporary, is not mentioned. However, one of these two emperors rewarded, it is pretended, the Portuguese, by whose valor and victory the siege of Canton was raised, the pirates destroyed, and their chief slain, granting to them in perpetuity the island on which Macao is actually standing. But as no authentic act of donation ever was produced, the cession, resting merely upon traditional presumption, shall we not be justified in agreeing with Frigauld, that the Chinese, having by degrees overcome the panic at first sight excited by the tremendous Portuguese ships, petitioned the emperor to grant to foreign merchants a residence on a peninsula, or rather a rock, constituting a part of a greater island. "To this proposal the sovereign acceeded, stipulating that the stranger should pay tribute or ground-rent, and duties on their merchandise." Of this opinion are both the Chinese and Tartars. Neither a

* The Dutch and Spaniards established on the island Formosa, knew the man under the name of Ikoan, Equan, Iquon, Equam; and by the name of Nicolas, for he had been baptised, it is said.

few chops—official documents—suspended in the Senate house, nor those two hundred which Jesuits translated at Goa, by command of Marquis de Alorsa, who governed Portuguese India in 1744, prove any thing to the contrary; we therefore willingly side with La Clede, who, in his "Historia de Portugal," avers that "the Portuguese demanded leave to move to a desert island, called Macao, it was granted, and sometime after liberty to build a few houses;" and we likewise agree with the opinion of Dom* Alexander da Silva Pedrosa Guimaraeñs, bishop of Macao, who, as acting governor, wrote [1777] to the Senate, "by paying ground rent, the Portuguese acquired the temporary use and profit of Macao, *ad libitum* of the emperor.

Unwilling to deprive its natural subjects of the advantages of trade, and still more unwilling to expose them to the violence of rapacious and unruly guests, the government resolved (it appears from the concession) to place the strangers in such a situation that they may feel their dependence on the empire, without forcing it a third time to the extermination of men and the destruction of property. In my opinion, it is safer to ascribe the possession of Macao to imperial bounty rather than to conquest; for the conquerors would be compelled to give up the place, were the Chinese government but to command the tradesmen, mechanics, and servants, to leave off their business and retire, and thereupon issue an order not to furnish the inhabitants with provisions. The first settlers were in a less precarious state, if it be true that many of them held, in the conquered part of Keang-shan, landed property, for its produce rendered them (the Portuguese) independent of China, so far as the supply of the necessaries of life went. By whose hand the earth was cultivated is not mentioned in the memorandum we have noted; but it blames the owners for supineness, in not strenuously opposing the Chinese when they began to encroach upon the domain of Portugal. The intruders appropriated to themselves, not only the whole of this fruitful island, but they likewise drew across the isthmus, that separate it from Macao, a *wall*, it was constructed in 1573, for the protection of the country, and to prevent their children from being kidnapped. In the

* *Dom* is an honorary epithet in Portugal, written Dm.—*Don* is Spanish.

middle of the barrier is a door of communication, called *pórta docerco*, guarded by a few Chinese soldiers and an officer, that no stranger may pass this boundary. In the beginning the door was, according to Dominic Navarette,* opened but twice a month, then, every fifth day for selling provisions to the secluded: at present it opens at day light.

* Tratodos de la monarchia de China, Madrid, 1676.

CHAPTER II.

Topographical Description.

Macao is situated 22 deg. 11 min. 30 sec. north latitude, and 11 deg. 32 min. 30 sec. east of Greenwich, on a rocky peninsula renowned long before the Portuguese settled on it, for its safe harbor; then by foreign writers denominated Ama-ngao, port of Ama, in reference to an idol temple near the Bar Fort, the goddess of which is called Ama. In 1583 the Portuguese gave it the name "Porto de nome de Deos," and "Porto de Amacao," the etymology of Macao: later it was also called "Cidade do nome de Deos do porto de Macao," at present it is "*Cidade do santo nomo de Deos de Macao.*" The Mandarins, I am told, designate the use of the port by the character Gaou-mun, and that of the city by Gaou-kîng: Aou-mun is a provincial pronunciation of Gaou-mun.* This hilly settlement is dependent on the Keang-shan-këen, city of the third class, in the province of Kwang-tung, but separated from the large island Heang-shan by a wall drawn across the neck of land from shore to shore. Two principal ranges of hills, one running from south to north, the other from east to west, may be considered as forming an angle the base of which leans upon the river or anchoring place. Its level ground, with the exception of a few habitations of European architecture, is filled by the Bazar, and a great many Chinese shops for tradesmen and mechanics: the traveller's attention is roused by a variety of public and private buildings, raised on the declivities, skirts and heights of hillocks. On the lofty mount eastward, called Charil, is a fort, enclosing the hermitage of Na. Sra. da Guia; westward is Nillau, on the top of which stands the hermitage of Na. Sra. da

* In books and manuscripts we have found it designated by the expressions Gau-kan, Ghao-kim, Gau-min.

Penha: entering a wide semi-circular bay, which faces the east, on the right hand we have the Fort St. Francis; on the left, that of Na. Sra. de Bomparto: and before us, on landing, a broad, airy, spacious quay—"Praya grande," and many pretty houses, among which is the residence of the Governor, and that of the Minister. To the east of the town is a field "Campo," which stretches itself out to the very boundary wall, that closes the prison of Macao. "The territory is scarcely eight miles in circuit. Its greatest length from north east to south west, being under three miles, and its breadth less than a mile.* The Portuguese estimate the Peninsula at a little more than a league in length; its mid-breath at less than a mile. The first geometrical delineation of Macao was undertaken and executed by Manoël de Agote, chief factor of the royal Spanish Phillippine company in China, and Mr. de Guignes, the younger. You will find Agote's map inserted in the collection of drawings, appertaining to the "Account of the embassy of Lord Macartney to China," and that of De Guignes in his "Voyage á Peking." In 1808, by command of the Supreme Government, a map was made by Joaquim Bento de Foncéica. The peninsula is nearly surrounded by sheets of water, subject to the influence of ebb and flood from the gulf of China. The regular monsoon-winds, the streams of salubrious water, bursting out at the foot of Charil and Nillau, and the benefit of a well stocked bazar, render Macao wholesome and comfortable, though now and then—but seldom—it is shaken by the convulsive motions of earthquakes; it is oftener visited by dreadful typhoons, a species of hurricanes. That the reader may get an accurate knowledge of the climate, we beg leave to refer him to the appendix,† the description is borrowed from Mr. J. R. Morrison's Anglo-chinese Calender for 1834.

* Embassy of Lord Macartney by Sir G. Staunton.

† No. III.

CHAPTER III.

Division of Macao.

1. Parochial Districts. A concise description of the principal Public Buildings must convince us, that the ancient inhabitants spared neither treasure nor pains to embellish and protect Macao. *Churches.* The districts borrow their names from their respective Parish churches. The cathedral, dedicated to St. Peter, gives to the principal district the denomination of *Bairo da Sé.* When this church was raised I do not know. The second and most extensive district is called *Bairo de St. Loureneo*, from St. Lawrence, its patron. To judge from an inscription, this temple may have been rebuilt in 1618. The third and most limited district is the *Bairo de St. Antonio*, from the church of St. Anthony, it was burnt in 1809, and rebuilt by liberal contributions of both Roman Catholics and non-romanists.

Collegiate Churches. *St. Paul.** By a private manuscript we are informed that Francis Peres and a few Jesuits had (1565) a house where they used to lodge those of their society, who went by way of Macao to Japan. A church was coeval with their entrance in China, it was burnt by an accident. The noble building commonly designated by the name of St. Paul, "St. Paolo," was erected in 1602 as expressed by

VIRGINI MAGNÆ MATRI,

CIVITAS MACAENSIS LUBENS,

POSUIT AN. 1662.

an inscription engraved on a stone fixed in the western corner of the edifice. The old church was consecrated to our

* This venerated old edifice was consumed by fire in the night of the 26th or 27th January, 1834.

Lady, the mother of God "nossa Senhora da madre de Deos," and so is the modern. The frontispiece, all of granite, is particularly beautiful. The ingenious artist has contrived to enliven Grecian architecture by devotional objects. In the middle of the ten pillars of Ionic order, are three doors, leading to the temple; then range ten pillars of Corinthian order, which constitute five separate niches. In the middle one, above the principal door, we perceive a female figure, trampling on the globe, the emblem of human patriotism, and underneath we read MATER DEI. On each side of the Queen of Heaven, in distinct places, are four statues of Jesuit saints. In the superior division, St. Paul is represented, and also a Dove, the emblem of the *Holy Ghost*. In this edifice is a clock, which strikes quarters and hours, and to judge from an inscription on the principal wheel, Louis XIV. made a present of it to the Jesuit college.

St. Joseph—"St. José." The plan of the church and the college is that of the Jesuits. The corner stone was laid many years, but the Jesuits had not the pleasure of hearing mass at St. Joseph, earlier than in 1758. The church is rather small but of harmonious proportions. It receives sufficient light from a cupola and from a cross-bar window in the front. At two exterior angles of the fabric, are two towers, in one of them a chime, and in the other, in a lower part, a clock.

Convents. Capuchins, Augustines, and Dominicans make up at Macao the regular clergy, denominated by Ganganelli, auxiliary troops. Whether the *convent of St. Francis*—"convento de St. Francisco de Assij," owes its foundation to Spanish friars or not, is of little importance. Certain it is, that the Portuguese of this community occupied it by order of Philip I. in 1584. Twenty Capuchins were to be lodged in it: in the beginning of 1834 there were but two individuals under the inspection of a Guardian, nominated by the Provincial of the order, residing at Goa. The view from this Convent is extensive. The church consecrated to our Lady of the Angles—"nossa Senhora dos Anjos"—is roomy, and its great altar magnificent. In one of the corridors of this convent M. Duché de Veney, a draftsman to the Count de la Perouse, drew in 1787, on the naked white wall, the image of St. Francis with emblems relative to his mission. It was considered a master-piece. The pencil of a Chinese could not arrest its decay, but defaced it.

From the *Convent of St. Augustine*—"convento de St. Agostinho,"—the view is charming. The Spaniards are said to have built it in honor of our Lady of the Grace—"nossa Senhora da graça," but having received orders to withdraw to Manila, Portuguese friars succeeded (1589.) A prior appointed by his Provincial at Goa, has the care of the convent, and another Augustine, of the hermitage of Penha. The church was repaired 1814. Anthony Arcediano, the Superior with two other Spaniards came in 1583 or 1599—such is the discrepancy of historians—passengers from Acapulco in a Macao ship. They took a house and converted it into a *Dominican Convent* —"convento de St. Domingo." Two years subsequent they received orders from Goa to quit Macao; and, it being apprehended that the Dominicans might invite their countrymen and render themselves masters of Macao, the King commanded, that the institution should be handed over to Portuguese Dominicans; the Spanish went to Goa and founded there the college of St. Thomas. The church, denominated by the Dominicans a House of our Lady of the Rosary—"Casa de nossa Senhora do Rosario,"—was repaired in 1828. The Dominicans are called Preaching friars. In 1834 they were in all four, one Commissary, one Vicar and two subjects. The three convents are poor.

We shall now proceed to the description of the female convent, *Monastery of St. Clare*—"mosteiro de St. Clara," A nun of Toledo, by the name of Jeronyma de Ascençao, conceiving that she might, by founding in a heathen country, a community of her profession, save many souls from eternal damnation, chose the Empire of China for the field of her exertions. This spiritual mother left Toledo and arrived (1621) with a few of her daughters at Manila. Endeavoring to give effect to her views, she petitioned, through the Provincial of her order, the Viceroy Don Miguel de Noronha, Count de Linares, permission to go to Macao and there to lay the foundation of a convent in honor of St. Clare. Liberty was at last granted, and six nuns with the Abbess Leonora de St. Francis, (Jeronyma being dead,) came to Macao in November 1633. They were lodged four days at the hermitage of Guia, and then brought to the house of the Syndic of the convent of St. Francis, whose daughter with eleven other girls were ad-

mitted to the noviciate, which ends at the expiration of one year and one day. Meanwhile the buildings of St. Clare erected by voluntary contributions and alms of the faithful, were so far advanced, that the community took possession of it on the 30th April, 1634. The church is dedicated to the Conception of the virgin mother of God—" conceiçaõ da virgem mãi de Deos." At the exaltation of the house of Braganza, to the throne of Portugal, the Abbess Leonora, with three nuns returned to Manila in 1643. Another Abbess was elected by the members of the Community, because they have the right to nominate any of the professed among them to that dignity. This election is renewed every third year and confirmed by the Provincial of the Capuchins at Goa. The same Prelate nominates for two or three years a Director of conscience to the nuns, and a Commissary for the management of the temporal concerns of the monastery. They are supported by the receipt of a portion of fifteen hundred dollars for every professed nun ; any one serving in the choir must bring half that sum to the community. Besides, on certain bulky articles of imported goods, one per cent. is added to the fixed Custom House duties, half of which goes to the account of the monastery, a revenue subject to strange variations, for it has been so low as four hundred taels, and again so high as three thousand two hundred taels a year : in 1833, it amounted to three thousand eight hundred taels.

In consideration of this assistance, it was (1693) agreed that the Senate and Six adjuncts should have the right to nominate every fifth year, a daughter of some one of those gentlemen, who had been members of the municipality, and that she should, with the consent of the Abbess, be admitted without a portion. The number of the nuns has been various ; at last it was fixed at 40 : in the beginning of 1834 they were thirty seven. This convent was consumed in 1825 by a conflagration, but is now, 1834, rebuilt.

Hermitages. Having thus described the principal religious establishments to add a few words concerning the hermitages may be sufficient. The most ancient is that of *our Lady of Hope*—" nossa Senhora da esperança :" it served, tradition pretends, for a place of devotional meeting to the first Christian settlers at Macao. At the time the Dutch invaded Macao, on the hill called Charil, stood a chapel dedicated to St. Mary,

it was probably converted into the actual *hermitage of Guia,* —"ermida da nossa Senhora da Guia—or Neves." In 1833, the Capuchin nuns from Manila passed four days in the church. In 1808 the British soldiers who had charge of the fort occupied it also. On the western hill, denominated Nillau, the Augustine friars began (1622) the *hermitage of Penha*—"ermida de nossa Senhora da Penha de França,"—devotees enlarged it in 1624. Portuguese ships going into the harbor are accustomed to salute the hermitage with a few guns. Its revenue depends upon the liberality of individuals, and on promises sea-faring people occasionally make in an hour of distress, to acknowledge by gratuities the favor, which they think the Virgin Mary bestowed upon them, in preserving their lives and property.

The public building, in which the government hold their sessions, is designated by the name of *Senate House*—"casa da Camera." It is two stories high; its base of granite, the rest of mortar and bricks; so are also the pilasters. On them nothing like "Chinese characters, signifying the solemn cession of the place from the Emperor of China" is seen. The entablature rests on columns, and the cornice is ornamented with green glazed vases. This spacious fabric was erected in 1784, and cost the sum of 80,000 taels.* It has a chapel consecrated to our Lady of Conception—"nossa Senhora da conceiçaõ"—in which the members of the Senate hear mass before business is entered upon. Above the gates the Arms of Portugal are depicted, and beneath we read the following honorable inscription:

CIDADE DO NOME DE DEOS, NAÕ HA OUTRA MAIS LEAL.

"Em nome del Rei Nosso Senhor Dm. JOAÕ IV. mandou o Governador e Capitaõ geral da Praça, Joaõ de Souza Pereira põr este letreiro, em fé da muita lealdade, que conheceo nos meradores della em 1654."

We have not been able to discover "the many fine buildings ranged in large squares, surrounded by court yards and gardens," Krusenstein speaks of in his voyage round the world. Some substantial houses exist, and a garden famous for a rock

* One Tael of pure silver is worth somewhat more than six shillings sterling.

denominated *Camoens' Cave.** Had the author of the *Lusiades* arrived in all the posthumous glory of his immortal composition, I doubt whether he would have met a single individual at Macao, who, at that time, would appreciate the divine endowments of his genius, certainly not one, who could conceive the idea of consecrating a monument to his memory. Luis Camöens made a short stay at Macao, for in 1561 he was again at Goa. During his disgrace he may have written a few *Cantos* inspired by the beautiful scenery enjoyed from the place he is said to have inhabited at Macao.

Fortifications.—The Mount of St. Paul, commonly called the Monte—"fortaleza do monte de St. Paolo." Self-interest made the authorities of India and Macao thwart any direct intercourse between Manila and China, although, by permission of the Mandarins of Kwang-lung, the Spaniards traded (1598) at Pinhal. Don Paulo de Portugal, commodore, "Capitaõ mōr," from Goa, directed, on his arrival at Macao, a protest to Dn. Juan de Zemadio, an envoy from the governor of Manila to the high Mandarins of Canton, against his countrymen trading at Pinhal,† and a petition to the provincial officers, requesting them to drive the Spaniards from the port, or allow him to do it, a proposal that was scornfully rejected. Dom Paulo abstained from further violence merely by the remonstrance, that Macao was an open unprotected place, which would infallibly be assaulted by the imperial fleet, were the empire provoked by a lawless aggression. From this apprehension, we infer that Macao was at that time neither walled nor fortified. This is corroborated by the report Captain Matelief, who was sent (1607) from Batavia to spy and examine the peninsula of Macao, made to the Dutch government on his return. Very soon after this epoch, the work of fortification began without the consent of the higher Mandarins. In their minds, the undertaking excited distrust to such a degree, that the public officers gave credit to the absurd tale circulated, (1606) that the Jesuits were on the eve of rendering themselves masters of

* An Elegy. See Appendix No. IV.

† Pinhal is most likely a foreign pronunciation of a bay the Europeans actually designate by the name of Harlem bay, in Chinese *Ping-hac* on the south coast a short distance east from Canton.—*J. R. Morrison's Companion to the Anglo Chinese Calendar for* 1832.

China. In 1612, three of the principal men of Macao endeavored at Canton, to demonstrate the necessity of walling and fortifying the place, because the Dutch were enemies both of Portugal and Spain. Though a formal consent could not be obtained, bountiful presents inclined the Mandarins to wink at the building of (1622) a wall which runs north-east from the Monte to the sea, near St. Francis. The fortress of St. Paul was (1615) so far advanced, that Francis Lopes Carrasco came from Goa 1616, and took up his residence within the limits of the Monte, (most probably) in the capacity of a military captain—"capitão da gente de guerra." Fearing that Macao might again (after 1622) be visited by the Dutch, two hundred Spanish infantry and some cannon came from Manila, under the command of a Colonel. By his industry and the activity of Dm. Francis Mascarenhas, a military captain, Macao was walled and better fortified. To judge from the date engraved on a stone placed above the gate-way, the work might have been completed in 1626. At first, military captains and Governors resided in the Monte; the last was Anthony Joseph Telles de Meneyes in 1749.

The hermitage of Guia, which we have already described, was (1637) surrounded by a wall, that it might be rendered a proper place for a small garrison. The fort Guia, "fortaleza da Guia"—serves during day-light as a guidance for ships, steering for Macao and Canton. When a ship is descried the Governor is advised by signals of her approach, and when her flag can be discerned by a writing, the commanding officer sends down to him. On the arrival of a Portuguese vessel a bell is rung. This fort, that of St. Francis and that of Bomparto were garrisoned in 1808 by British troops. The landing beach--"Praya grande"—is bounded by two forts. The fort of St. Francis—"fortaleza de St. Francisco"—situated at the foot of a convent of the same name; it was on the 24th June, 1622, insulted by the Dutch squadron under the command of Admiral Reyerskom. A proper revenge was taken: "some of his vessels were sunk and seventy men killed," we are told by the author of Asia Portuguesa. At that time this fortress had but one battery; the lower dates from 1632. Leaving the little fort of St. Peter in the middle of Praya grande, where the signals from Guia are repeated, we shall go on to visit the fort Bomparto—"baluarte de

nossa Senhora de Bomparto"—anciently denominated with greater propriety Baluarte do Bomporto. From this fort a wall ascends south-west the hill, on the top of which is seated the hermitage of Penha de França. A little more to the south-west is the fortress Santiago, commonly called the Bar-fort—"fortaleza de Santiago." In it is a chapel, dedicated to the Saint. Ships are not allowed but with the permission of the Governor to pass this fort. Chinese junks and boats go out and in whenever they please.

An attempt was made in 1625, I believe, to raise a fort in a place denominated Patané, and to connect it by means of a curtain with the Monte. This the Chinese so strenuously opposed, that the work was abandoned, and the curtain changed into a garden wall, which extends to the arm of the inner sea-passage. In this wall are the *Gates of St. Anthony*—"porta de St. Antonio"—and between the Monte and St. Francis are the *Gates of St. Lazar*—"porta de St. Lazaro"—both leading to the fields. Each has a guard of a few town's-men who shut the gates at night and open them in the morning.

2. Ports. *Typa*—or the outer harbor. From the time the Portuguese were enjoined not to suffer foreign ships to lurk among the islands, but ordered to chase them away, and especially when a Tsung-tŭh in 1732 commanded Macao, to report ships coming in, the nation they belonged to, their cargo and the object of their voyage, the government of Macao was endowed, in my opinion, with a kind of inspective jurisdiction. Typa, being the foremost harbor, demanded a stricter "surveillance," than any of the other bays and creeks were entitled to. To tell what ships were ying in the Typa inquiries became necessary. Did the Commander think proper to land at Macao, he would, if bred a gentleman, inevitably call at the residence of the first authority, and willingly communicate, in the course of conversation, what might be satisfactory to the Governor; if on the contrary, the captain neglected an act of civility, the Governor was bound to invite him to his presence, that he might learn the reasons why the ship had anchored in the Typa. Were they of an urgent nature, the Governor would take upon himself the responsibility, and consent to a short or longer stay, convinced that the government of Canton would approve it,

when informed of the mishap that had befallen the vessel, and hindered it from proceeding to Canton, this involuntary interference has drawn from illnatured and ignorant persons much obloquy on the Governor. At the entrance of the Typa, men of war of sixty-four guns may anchor; and at the outlet, opposite to Macao, vessels of seven or eight hundred tons burden lay safe, sheltered from the north, south, east and south-west winds. The distance between the two ports is said to be five miles.

Leaving the mouth of the Typa, steering towards the *Inner port*, you pass a piece of ground called "Maria Nuner," and near Macao a shelf "pedra de Areia," visible at low water. Having doubled the point of the Bar-fort, you are in the inner harbor, bordered on one side by various beaches—"prayas"—more or less spacious, on the other by shores—"ribeiras;"—and a mount, in the bearing from east to north called "Lapa." The river is deep enough to receive ships of from 3 to 400 tons with their full cargo, but those of 7 or 800 tons must be lightened before they attempt to run in. The depths of the channel being various, ships and junks anchor near the city: they are exposed to south, south-east, and south-west winds.

CHAPTER IV.

Population.

Preliminary.

Driven from the eastern provinces of China, Fŭh-kĕen and Chĕ-keang, a great many adventurers sought at San-shan and Lampacáo, a market for their merchandise, but finding it insufficient, they betook themselves to smuggling, and swarmed all over the gulf of China. To fix their trade and to free themselves from pirates, and the heavy impositions exacted by the imperial cruizers, for their conniving at an illicit intercourse, was the simultaneous endeavor of both Chinese and foreign merchants. At last, by continued solicitations and largesses their desire was complied with, and the desert island, Ama, assigned, in 1557, for the residence of the strangers. Thither resorted directly, in four ships from Lampacáo, merchants, to whom tradition still does the honor to believe that they had contributed to "rout" the factious Chang-si-laō. Substantial houses began to replace temporary paltry huts. Chapels were built and consecrated to Divine service. Conscious of their weakness, and of their inability to maintain themselves by force of arms, the settlers determined to continue the old policy. By submission and gifts, petty Mandarins were induced to wink at an increasing population, at the installation of a government, and at the influx of priests, and their exertions to draw infidels over to christianity. The higher Mandarins had paid, for twenty-five years, but a slender attention to what was going on at Macao.

The inhabitants of Macao are divided into three distinct classes, viz: vassals of Portugal, vassals of China, and foreigners; of each we shall in turn give a brief account.

1. Classes.

Natural subjects.—If what a grave historian asserts—and there is no ground for impeaching his veracity—be true, that the "prisons of Portugal were now and then emptied, and the vicious tenants, and even culprits, who should have finished their career in the galleys, were sent on board the royal fleets to serve in India;"—we have less reason to shudder at the enormities perpetrated by the Portuguese in many parts of Asia. Some of this unholy stock respected neither friends nor foes; they seized every opportunity to enrich their commander and his horde. They were at times pirates or smugglers; at times strolling merchants. Several of this contaminated caste settled, no doubt, at Macao, with men of more correct morals. By this mixture, those who had reluctantly run the race of vice, were by good example recalled to the comforts of social life, which were soon enhanced by nuptial ties. Malay, Chinese, Japanese, and other women became their partners in wedlock, and mothers of a generation, the descendants of which are perhaps still members of the community. Their progeny is distinguished by the denomination of "Mestiços," or mongrels. Next to this class range those whose forefathers were not Portuguese, but either Malays, Chinese, or Japanese converts; but they, like the posterity of the Portuguese, are *free citizens.* In a representation, written in 1821, to be presented to the constitutional king John, as it is averred, that in 1583 there were at Macao 900 Portuguese, besides women, slaves, and many hundred of Chinese children, that had been purchased;* also a great many people who came from Portuguese ports in Asia; and that at the latter end of the seventeenth century the population of Macao amounted to 19,500 souls; in 1821 to no more than 4,600, consisting of free men, slaves, and people of all nations, including Chinese converts, who dress *à l'Europeenne*, viz: free natural subjects above fifteen years of age, 604 individuals, under fifteen 473; slaves 537; and women 2693, making a total of 4307. In this sum is not comprehended 186 men belonging to the battalion, nor 19 friars and 45 nuns. In 1830 the population was estimated,

* See "Ooriente conquistado à Jesu Christo."

exclusive of the military and clergy, at 4628, viz., 1202 white men, 2149 white women, 350 male slaves, 779 female slaves, 38 men and 118 women of different castes. The Portuguese born in Portugal and in its dominion, residing at Macao, in 1834, did not exceed 90 persons.* Neither they nor any other vassal are allowed to quit Macao, but by a previous consent of government.

Industry.—The actual inhabitants of Macao take the reverse of the apostolic admonition of Clement XIV, "to work is more useful than a continual psalmody." Their ancestors understood this meaning, for they worshipped God and did not altogether despise the exercise of mechanical arts. They employed themselves in manufacturing gunpowder and in casting guns. Near Bomparto, within the south-western wall, gunpowder was made, and, from 1639, deposited at the Monte. Among the artillery of this fortress, guns cast 1612, by Manoel Bocarro, are still to be seen; they were of Japanese and Chinese copper, and of ready sale all over India. The king of Cochin China sent, in 1651, twenty-five peculs† of copper for a large gun to be cast at Macao, where the art was still practised in the beginning of the eighteenth century. To point out the place of the foundry I am not prepared; it was perhaps existing in the valley that separates the convent St. Francis from the fort, Monte. In our days nobody cares for learning any art or for opening a shop. The more active of the lower class embrace the sea-faring life; the more idle enlist as soldiers; those who are worth a little money follow the business of a merchant. Many of them have in the trade of opium, these fifty years, made a fortune, and some acquired great wealth. A scrupulous friar once intended to deny absolution of sins to dealers in opium; but what casuist, when he chooses, has not a metaphysical loop-hole to slip through? To deal in poison is surely more immoral than to deal in slaves. By the first mentioned trade we challenge nobody, we act in the dark, and in secret injure whole nations; by the latter a chance of resistance is offered. The havoc in one case cannot be ascertained, for it works uninterrupted and hidden; in the other it may, because it is

* See appendix, iv.

† One pecul is equal to 133⅓ lbs. avoirdupois.

an open hostility; the rate at which the relative mischiefs act I would estimate as an unit to a million. Formerly, the merchants of Macao dealt largely in slaves, kidnapped in China, Japan, and many other places, or bought; they import but few from Timor and Goa. In the representations to King John VI., the houses, ships, goods, moveables, and ready cash of the population were [1821] estimated at about three millions of Spanish dollars.

Chinese vassals.—Foreign merchants being allowed to settle at Macao, Chinese servants, mechanics, tradesmen, &c., joined them, but they lived under the control of a Mandarin, with whose jurisdiction the head-judge, "Ouvidor," of Macao, was, by the 30th paragraph of his instructions, dated 16th February, 1587, forbidden to meddle. When the civil authority had been transferred to the tribunal of Casa branca, the Procurator of the Senate took the title of Mandarin, intendent of Ghao-kim. It precedes that of Procurator, when, through the medium of a petty Chinese police-officer, denominated "cabeça de rua," a culprit is transmitted, or a petition, that the Mandarin might order the cabeça de rua to attend, and be apprehended to answer, or when an excuse is sent for having inflicted on a Chinese a few strokes of cudgel. The Procurator is denominated chief of the Chinese, living at Macao—"cabeça dos Chinas em Macao." In reference to this title we might think that any Chinese entering Macao ought to be the bearer of a passport, stating the name and employment of the emigrant, and be bound to give security for his good behavior, but such are not the regulations. Old settlers, straggling merchants, artificers, gamblers, jugglers, thieves, good and bad men, go and come without any authoritative check on the part of the Procurator. Repeated efforts have been made to extend his influence, and consequently that of the Senate, over the Chinese population of Macao, though the attempt has always been resisted, and the friendly advice reiterated to do nothing but by a chop and resolution of the higher Mandarins. The Senate ventured [1787] to command the procurator, Philip Lawrence Mattos, to demolish a few houses newly built in Mong-ha and Patané, (Chinese villages in the Campo.) That work of devastation began. The retailers in the bazar, hearing of it, shut the shops, flocked together in crowds, cudgeled slaves, ill-used soldiers mak-

ing the rounds, and at last assailed on, "praya pequena," a house belonging to an Armenian, in which the Governor and many respectable citizens were assembled. Vengeance was demanded, and satisfaction would have been obtained, had the Portuguese been able to apprehend any of the disturbers or point them out by name. To assuage the agitated populace, the Senate saw the necessity of suspending Mattos, and of appointing the Procurator of the preceding year, with whom the Mandarins were invited to treat. To prevent disturbance in future, a bazar was opened out of the walls of the city, in a place called Patané, in the Campo, near the gates of St. Anthony. This accommodation was not of a nature to suit the inhabitants, for many of their slaves and servants were plundered on going to, or coming from the market. The locality of the old bazar answered, the people conceived, the purpose best, it was in a place called "Campo de Mandarim," for delinquents had formerly been capitally punished there. By the consent of Heang-shan, the Senate built there, in 1788, a new bazar, and the Mandarin pointed out to the different sutlers their respective stalls. Two years elapsed; the Procurator gave the Mandarin warning not to continue a building, which was erecting in the neighborhood of the market, for if the work was carried on, it would be his duty to pull it down. In the answer from Heang-shan, we read: "the place, denominated by the common people Gento or Kan-ti, none but Chinese ever inhabited, and it never depended on you. Be therefore quiet, and recollect that you cannot repair your own old houses, but with our license. How do you pretend then to the jurisdiction of an empty place?" The building was finished. The Procurator will find on record that many of his predecessors have exercised violence on wretched Chinese, and that the Mandarin took no notice of it. Why? because the sufferer being aware that he had violated the laws, bore patiently the punishment inflicted on him by the decision of the Procurator, without complaining to the Mandarin; for had he been transmitted to the Chinese tribunal, he well knew that his crime would have exposed him to much severer treatment.

In the ministerial memorandum, already mentioned, we read, "no Chinese shall establish himself or own a house at Macao, but by the permission of the Procurator of the Se-

nate," an enactment, in which the Chinese, who had fixed abodes among the first strangers, are not comprehended. New comers must get from the Procurator, with the consent of the Senate, license to settle, a license which he may, without any contradiction of the Mandarin, withdraw from those who prove themselves to be wicked and vicious, for he is enjoined not to suffer banditti in the place. But as he receives no official information, either of those who resort to or leave Macao, no correct statement of the Chinese population can be expected from his office. At the tribunal of the Tiotang, the Chinese civil magistrate at Macao, the influx and reflux may be inserted, though he may be ignorant of many Chinese who take up among their friends a temporary residence. Vagabonds shun him, and, by bribing his satellites, endeavor to keep out of his reach. The stagnation of trade at Macao these last fifteen years, [1834] has compelled many Chinese to seek employment somewhere else; the population is therefore less dense; still we may conjecture, (including the inhabitants of a village near the Bar-fort, those of the three villages in the campo of Mong-ha, and the people living in boats on the river,) that the number of Chinese may amount to about 30,000 individuals, or at least six times greater that the vassals of Portugal actually are. Several Chinese have embraced the Roman Catholic faith, for the sake rather of convenience, it appears, than conviction. With perhaps a few exceptions of good men, the rest I consider as the very dregs of China. Its better and more valuable subjects follow the form of worship which their ancestors practised. They have within the precinct of the city a temple, recently renovated, by the name of the Old Pagod, or Ama, the origin of which Doctor Morrison, in his Chinese Dictionary, page 360, second volume, has given a detailed account. This temple is seated on ascending, shaggy rocks, and laid out in a most romantic style.

To the eastward of the city is a field—"Campo"—which may be said to extend to the very boundary of the peninsula. Passing the gates of St. Lazar, we have to the left a range of mean huts, mixed with a few better looking houses, along the road leading to the Hermitage of Hope. The first habitations built there were occupied by new Christians, whom a Spanish Augustine Friar had, in 1809, congregated. A mass of

three or four hundred Chinese, by becoming Christians, had set the prohibitory laws of the country at defiance, and by dwelling together raised the spirit of persecution. Mandarin satellites surrounded them in 1814. Some of them were carried before their judge, others dispersed. At present, old and new Christians live promiscuously in the place. Opposite to it, is a piece of ground which an industrious European Portuguese had cleared and cultivated, when the undertaking was stopped, till he succeeded in making the Mandarins believe that the rice produced by his labor was intended for the relief of lepers at St. Lazar. The higher grounds of the Campo are used by the Chinese for burial places; the lower, comprising an extensive space between Mong-ha and Patané, laborious husbandmen render very productive; it bears rice and a great variety of vegetables. Believing by tradition that the country was theirs, though the Mandarins have over and over again repeated, "because you rent a place to live in, it does not follow that the land is yours," the Portuguese lamented, in a representation of 1722, to the Tsung-tŭh, that the Campo was full of tombs and uncultivated fields. We have seen that the attempt in 1787 to check by violence the progress of Mong-ha and Patané, failed. In both these villages is a Chinese temple of worship, well worth visiting. The fourth Pagod, or temple, is constructed near the high road, running from Patané to the barrier. It is a beautiful specimen of architecture in the Chinese style. The environs are romantic; it has the view of an arm of the sea and of islands.

Foreigners.—When historians teach us that almost all commercial nations never scrupled to ensure to themselves, by negociation, corruption, or successful wars, the enjoyment of an exclusive trade, should we not be astonished, that merchants, fixed on a barren rock, had neglected any means in their power to preserve their existence, and without an attempt at resistance, have suffered strangers to encroach upon the old international connexion of Macao with China. If this aristocratic Republic feared commercial intercourse between Manila and Canton, the activity and daring spirit of the Dutch, their declared enemies, must have inspired serious thoughts in the mind of those who had at heart the preservation of Macao. A Dutch commander, Wybrand Van Warwick, appeared [1604] with a commission to open a friendly

communication of trade with China, but the proposal was rejected, through the influence of Macao. J. P. Koen, governor of the Dutch settlements in Asia, resolved to get for the company a post in China. He sent Regerszoon to take Macao, (the issue of the attempt will be detailed at another place) but having failed, the Dutch threw themselves upon the hapless island, Pe-hou, one of the Piscadores or Pong-hou islands, under the pretext that the Chinese had assisted the Portuguese in the defence of Macao. Documents extant prove the fallacy; but let us suppose that the case had been true, would that give a sufficient cause for immediate hostilities? The truth is that Governor Koen had given orders to seize on any of those islands, should the expedition against Macao not succeed, and his instructions were obeyed. The Dutch began fortifying Pe-hou, but being in want of workmen, ships were sent to the coast of Fŭh-këen, on which sixty vessels were taken, plundered and burnt: the prisoners were employed in the construction of the fort, where almost all of them perished by hunger and hard labor: an equal number, between 14 and 1500 men were sent to Batavia, and sold on the island of Java for slaves. These facts are copied from Dutch historians.

The Dutch raised the fort at Pe-hou in 1624, and migrated to the island Formosa. They erected southwards of the capital, on a small island, a fortification that commanded the entrance of the port, [1634] and called it "Zelandia Castel." This place being neutral, the prohibition to deal with the Dutch was revoked, and the Chinese allowed to carry on trade with them. Finding that wanton cruelties and unwarrantable acts of hostility could not force upon the Chinese Government, though at that time convulsed by internal commotions, such a convention as the company or their agents intended to dictate, it was determined to try the effects of an envoy. Frederick Shedel came 1653, from Formosa to Canton, and demanded a free trade with China. Had not Chinese merchants accused the Dutch of plunder, and proved their piracy, and the Portuguese been less liberal with splendid presents, the two governors of the province would have supported the petition; not daring to do that, they advised the Dutch to send an embassy to Pekin, furnished with precious gifts and offers, worthy the acceptance of the Empe-

ror. Two gentlemen, P. de Goyer and J. de Keyser were appointed ambassadors; they arrived 1655 from Batavia, and set out from Canton to Pekin. They had an audience of the Emperor, though two Jesuits were requested by the Senate to promise, in the name of Macao, any sum necessary to disappoint the Dutch and oppose their design. In what manner this recommendation was complied with, a Jesuit, by name Ludovigo Buglio, designated in Olgiby's China, Ludovicus Bullionies, informed Anthony da Camera Noronha, military captain of Macao [1656.] The ambassadors, aware of the intrigue, pretended that they were sent merely for the purpose of congratulating the Emperor on the important conquest of China, which he had just achieved. Pleased with the compliment, Shun-che, in token of his imperial benevolence, gave liberty to the Dutch to send every eight years to Canton one ship for the purpose of trade.

By the following event this favor was extended. Shun-che left to his son, Kang-he, a formidable enemy at sea, a man from Fŭh-këen, of mean birth, having been a servant, it is said, at Macao, and also to the Dutch at Formosa, became a merchant, then a pirate to escape oppression. Chin-chi-lung* became in a short time a powerful man. The disaffected to the Ming dynasty, and the enemies of the eastern Tartars, who pressed violently on China, flocked in such numbers to his standard, that he had, (historians conjecture,) at his command a fleet of three thousand vessels of different descriptions. A rumor, generally entertained, that he fought in the defence of his country, made a pretender to the throne appoint him commander-in-chief against the Tartars, who were invading Fŭh-këen; this trust Chin-chi-lung betrayed; he secretly promoted the views of the Tartars, in the expectation that he would be acknowledged by the king of Fŭh-këen, and Kwang-tung entertaining the hope that he, by this acquisition, might be able to free China from a foreign sway, and seat himself on the Imperial throne. The Tartars noticed this ambition. Chin-chi-lung would not be vanquished by

* Duhalde gives him the name of Tchin-si-lao: by Olearius, in his voyage of the ambassadors, he is called Chin-chi-lung. Joaquin Martines de Zuñega, in his "Historia de Filipinas" describes somewhat differently the life of Chin-chi-lung, we follow the Jesuit, Martin Martini, who left China for Europe in 1651.

force; recourse was therefore had to stratagem. Heaping on him presents, dignities, promises, Chin-chi-lung was outwitted by the Tartar general, who drew him from his fleet and took him [1646] to Pekin, where Shun-che had him thrown into a dark and narrow prison.

Chin-chin-kong* or Kuesing succeeded his father in the command of the fleet, stationed at Fuh-chow-foo, the metropolis of Fŭh-këen. He continued to wage war against the Tartars, and in order to wreak his vengence on the Dutch, who had insulted his squadron, he wrested from them, in 1662, their settlement on Formosa. To avenge this loss the Dutch offered to co-operate with Kang-he in the reduction of Formosa. A succor of twelve ships, each carrying from 11 to 32 cannons, was, in 1662, accepted. Though the parties disagreed very soon, the Emperor gave [1664] permission to the Dutch to trade at Fuh-chow-foo, denominated by the Dutch at that time Hock-chew, and at Chang-chow-foo, and in 1666 at Canton, once every second year. This restriction ceased in 1685, by Kang-he's declaration, that foreigners should be at liberty to carry on their commercial pursuit in any port of China they might choose.

The English and French were also opposed by the authorities of Macao, for they could not help apprehending that the admission of foreigners to the trade at Canton should be prejudicial to the the merchants of Macao.

From 1685 all contention would have been useless, for in that year Kang-he determined, that all commercial nations should be freely admitted in all the ports of his vast empire. And in 1698, the xxxviith year of his reign, he declared, "that Macao depends on the jurisdiction of Canton, and that everybody who is civilized and comes to his dominions shall be considered a son of the emperor. At that time, merchants resided commonly at the place where they transacted business. This encroachment on old customs spread gloomy presages over men of pusillanimous or acute minds. A military Mandarin, by the name of Ching-maou, who pretended to be well acqainted with the character of Europeans, depict-

* Duhalde calls him Tchin-tchin-cong. Martin Martini, in his work "De bello tartarico," denominates him Quesingus. J. M. de Zuñega gives him the name of "Cogsing," the etymology of "Koxinga," we presume.

ed them in a memorial, presented to the Emperor, as men of unruly, fierce, and savage passions, and that "free trade" was pregnant with danger. His specious arguments were, by a competent tribunal weighed, and an edict, dated Kang-he's lvith year, [1717] came out, limiting the access of foreign trade, confining it at last to the sole port of Canton.

The Mandarins being unwilling to allow strangers to stay at Canton after the ships had been despatched, these gentlemen turned their thoughts towards Macao, and sought from the governor permission to take up their shelter among the Portuguese. The accommodation was granted; but there immediately came an Imperial order, that nobody, except the individuals who were inscribed on a list, handed, I believe, 1724 to the high Mandarins, should be suffered at Macao. Then the Senate petitioned the court of Goa to invest them with authority to send away, at pleasure, both foreigners and Portuguese. In the reply the following discriminating phrase deserves our attention: "*Intendo com tudo que deve representar na corte do Imperador as razoẽs que oçorrem para che (ao Senado) conceder, que possaõ filar nessa cidade algumas pessoas, que vaõ à Macao à seu negocio, ese naõ podem recolher na mesma monçaõ.* With all this, I mean that you should present to the court of Pekin the reasons which oppose immediate compliance, that the Emperor may grant you (the Senate) discretionary power to let such persons, who came for the sake of trade, and cannot return the same monsoon, remain at Macao. Does not this hint from a supreme government authorize us to argue that the residence of strangers at Macao depends more on the concession of his Imperial Majesty, than on the arbitrary will of the Senate of Macao? Notwithstanding, this body never ceased strenuously to oppose the admission of foreigners, nor the Chinese authorities to insist upon it. At length both parties came into a closer contact. A chop, of 1750, fixed the rules to be observed by the Senate in their proceedings towards strangers, who came from Canton with the permission of the Mandarins. Still contention and strife lasted, till the Senate, in the presence of the Governor, Anthony Pereira Coutinho, resolved on the 9th February, 1757, to grant, for the sake of hospitality to foreigners, a temporary residence at Macao; this resolution was sanctioned by the Governor of Portuguese

India. It was permitted to house-owners to let houses, with the consent of the Governor and Senate, to strangers, and particularly to the "Supercargoes of the companies, who are a kind of representatives of their respective nations." In consequence of the regulations of 1750, the Mandarin of the district is bound to inform the Senate, through the Procurator, that a foreigner is coming to Macao with a passport from the Mandarins of Canton. When the same gentleman shall wish to return to Canton, a chop is sent down to him; this must be produced to the Procurator, that, by his signature, the Mandarin may know what individual goes back to Canton. Strangers are likewise in the habit of claiming the assistance of the Procurator, when disputes and misunderstanding with the Chinese take place. If the quarrel is about a trifle, the Procurator succeeds easily; if of any importance he occasionally sacrifices some little of his property, that it may not be said that he has no influence over the Chinese.

Self-interest, it is rumored, made a certain Tsŭng-tuh, about seventy years ago, deny to foreigners the liberty of choosing any merchant of Canton they wanted to deal with. He drew up six articles, which became the invariable rules of conduct between foreign merchants and those of China, whose number he fixed at ten: they were confirmed by Keen-lung, on the xiith day, xiith moon, xxivth year of his reign, [1760.] The first article absolutely prohibits strangers from residing at Canton after the shipping season is over; orders were consequently issued that they should move to Macao. An altercation took place on that subject between the Dutch and French Supercargoes, each pretending that the other should obey and quit Canton first, a wrangling which was the more ridiculous as neither of the nations had an existing convention that had been violated by the new regulations. At last both left Canton, and came, in 1762, to Macao. The English, Danish, and Swedish supercargoes got leave, about the same time, to take houses; but the Spanish factors obtained this permission not before 1792. This indulgence has latterly been extended to Americans, private merchants, and other foreigners.

The advantage of a familiar intercourse has begun to be felt. The rent for houses, paid by foreigners in 1832, exceeded thirty thousand dollars. Besides, several Macao men

and women find means to support themselves and families by attending on gentlemen, ladies, and children. Macao owes also to the philanthropic feeling of the members of the British Honorable Company, an institution which has spread useful knowledge among the inhabitants. We allude to a "Library," founded in 1806: it contains nearly four thousand volumes, in various languages, principally in the English. From this valuable collection we have drawn considerable information, enlarged by the books, to which our friends, a Dutch gentleman and a Spanish Dominician Friar gave us free access. So assisted, we have been able to fill up a part of those chasms which we fell in with in our extensive researches. Another interesting foundation was laid in 1829, by young English amateurs of natural history. "The Museum" was progressing, and posterity would no doubt have been indebted to it for many rare specimens of nature's produce and marvels, had not the founders of it been obliged, by the dissolution of the British factory at Canton, to separate.

Foreigners, during their residence at Macao, are protected, and they ought, as local subjects, to conform to the dictates of the laws of Portugal, unless liberated from their influence by privileges and conventions. Bye-laws bind dependents, but they do not justify members of any corporation in setting at defiance public authority, instituted for the protection of peace and harmony. Attempts of this kind are resisted by the Governor and Minister, whose duty it is to make the laws of their sovereign respected. Though there is no absolute necessity of waiting on either of them, a gentleman, we think, will feel satisfied when he complies with the custom every where observed, of calling, at least, at the Governor's. Circumstances may render protection necessary, and in that case it is surely more agreeable to meet a gentleman with whom we are acquainted, than to ask a favor of, or justice from a man we never saw.

2. *Public Education.*—We shall first advert to the royal bounty, by which children of an inferior, and even of the lowest caste, are invited to cultivate their minds. In "one *school*" children are taught reading and writing the mother language,—in "*another*" a Professor explains the Portuguese and Latin grammar, and continues his lectures in the Latin language, for the benefit of those who are desirous of

becoming conversant with its beauties. The only expense attending is the purchase of books. Some Friars also occupy their leisure hours in teaching Portuguese and Latin; no wonder, therefore that almost all boys read and write, though seldom without sinning against the rules of grammar.

We shall now proceed to the principal seat of learning, in which the progeny of those who claim the first rank in society, may, as it were, be led by the hand to the fountain of mental improvement.—We allude to the "*Royal College of St. Joseph.*" The Jesuits were the founders; but at their expulsion [1762] its activity ceased, and was not resumed till at the expiration of more than twenty years. In 1784 the Court of Lisbon transferred this establishment to the "Congregation of Missions," and in 1800, the charges to be paid by the Senate were definitively settled. The priests belonging to this college are all European Portuguese, commonly six: their superior is appointed from Europe. Of this institution, the principal aim is to provide China with Evangelic teachers. Young Chinese, not exceeding twelve in number, are admitted, and furnished with what they necessarily want. If they evince a sincere desire to become priests, their education is directed that way; but it generally requires ten years before the candidates can receive the first order. Those whose vocation is dubious wait longer, or leave the college; others, who want application, or are noted for a misdemeanor, are sent away. The Professors give instructions in the Portuguese and Latin grammar, arithmetic, rhetoric, philosophy, theology, &c. Many children of the inhabitants participate in them, though few of them are made priests. The Chinese language is taught, and English and French occasionally. Parents, who can afford to pay for their children a small remuneration monthly, for food and a cell, fix them at the college, where the students learn to speak genuine Portuguese, and acquire sometimes a taste for the improvement of their minds. Some children dine at the College, and join their families at night; others attend the lectures delivered "gratis" by the Professors at distinct hours. In 1815 eight young Chinese, two Malays, and sixteen boys, born at Macao, were settled in the college. In 1831, seven young Chinese, two boys from Manila, whose fathers were Portuguese, and thirteen born at Macao.

"*Seminary of St. Paul.*"—Jesuits had, at an early period, settled at Macao, for the sake of teaching religion. Devotees furnished funds for the purchase of a house contiguous to the ancient church; in this house infidels were instructed and young vassals of Portugal educated. This had, before 1594, been converted into an extensive Seminary, where, often more than ninety children of the inhabitants were taught the rudiments of learning. A "College" was afterwards founded. It had two classes for Latin, two chairs for theology, one for philosophy, and one for belles lettres. The circuit of the Seminary contained a large hall for the library, one for astronomical purposes, and an apothecary shop. Missionaries going and coming were lodged in the Seminary, which could accommodate 70 or 80 individuals. This celebrated seat of learning in the east was broken up [1762] by order of Joseph I. King of Portugal, and their members dispersed.

3. *Charitable Institutions.*—"*Misericordia.*"—Donna Leonora, consort of King John II. founded in Lisbon [1498] a Brotherhood of Mercy, known by the appellation of "Confraria de nossa Senhora da Misericordia." The foundation of the "Santa Casa da Misericordia"—the Holy house of mercy at Macao was laid in 1596, and its first Provisor—"Provedor"—was Melchior Carneiro, Governor of the Bishoprick of Macao. To assist fellow men, whose means of subsistence are too small and inadequate for the maintenance of a numerous family, to relieve bed-ridden, respectable people, and those who reluctantly go abroad asking for alms, and to bring up orphans and foundlings; these are the sacred duties which this worthy society profess to impose upon themselves. In any country where Portuguese ever settled, having but one church, their next thoughts were bent, it seems, upon forming benevolent institutions, like that we are alluding to. Reformed rules for its management were drawn up, [1617] and confirmed 1649 by John IV. who took the Santa Casa da Misericordia" under his immediate protection. In compliance with the "compromise" of 1627, the collective members nominate electors to choose a Provisor, Secretary, and Treasurer, with ten Deputies to form a Board of thirteen. The individuals thus selected are at liberty to decline the trust or to accept their respective charges for the period of one year, ending on the third of July. The Provisor may, with the

concurrence of a majority of the Board, take certain resolutions; but in fixed cases, such as in the election of new members, a general meeting is required. About fifteen years ago, none but a Portuguese, or his descendants could be admitted; since 1821 it has been otherwise. The board meets twice a week in a spacious hall, not far from the fine church, dedicated to our Lady of Mercy—"nossa Senhora da misericordia."

The members of this brotherhood do not contribute, duty bound, to the formation of a productive fund; they engage merely to act as trustees. On certain bulky articles of trade one per cent. being added to the regular custom-house duty, half of its total amount is, at the end of the year, received by the Treasurer; the other half goes, as already mentioned, to the monastery of St. Clare. In 1833 the receipts were 3806 taels; besides this stock, which is of course subject to much fluctuation, the members of the Board manage all those sums which living or deceased persons may choose to throw into the coffers, for purposes fully explained in writing. Conscientiously to execute the will of a testator or donor is an inviolable duty of every honest man; to a philanthropic association it is also an advantage; of an opposite behavior, bitter complaints are recorded. "The Provisor dissipates and squanders away the money left by testators for the benefit of their souls, and legatees are deprived of their property." Sea-risks are taken without due discrimination, and by a criminal connivance at recovery, both principal and premium are lost. A brotherhood, which shall endeavor to stand acquitted of these charges, must fulfil the charitable commands of bringing up children and foundlings; of redeeming, by trifles bestowed on wretched parents, Chinese infants from death; of assisting poor, though respectable members of the community with periodical succour in money or rice, or medicine in case of sickness.

Asylum for Female Orphans. An institution of this kind was an early thought of the Brotherhood of Mercy, but no efficient means could be devised for its duration. A temporary foundation for thirty widows and orphans began in 1726, they were fed, and the orphans taught to manage a house. One of the most deserving of the inmates, was annually endowed with the amount of one half per cent. on the whole importation of trade, which the Senate had set apart for a

nuptial portion : this half per cent. rose in 1726, to 406 taels; in 1728, to hardly 60 taels. From this epoch, the institution remained suspended till in the year 1782, the Brotherhood made a proposition to establish a new one in conjunction with the Senate : the proposal was accepted. The Senate gave four thousand taels and the name of Asylum of Sta. Rosa de Lima—"Recolhimento de Santa Rosa de Lima."—This stock, increased by liberal gifts and legacies, is lent at respondentia. The net proceeds of the premium, determines the number of girls who can be admitted. No one is received but with the consent of the Bishop, who appoints a Priest (for there is a chapel in the house,) an Inspector, and a woman of good reputation, Regent of the community. A schoolmistress teaches religion, reading, writing and needle work. Female children, whose fathers can afford to pay a certain allowance for food, lodging, &c. are not refused admittance when places are vacant, and the Bishop does not start any objections. Orphans there educated, may with his consent, accept the situation of a teacher in any family, and the proposal of a matrimonial union, (should a suitable match happen to be offered.) In this event, a portion is bestowed, but the amount depends on the resources and the good will of the Bishop.

Asylum of St. Mary Magdalen. Relying on ancient documents, a Vicar-general Anthony Joseph Nogueira presumed that he might imprison women, who by their libidinous conduct gave, as he thought, scandal. This conceit was adopted and matured (1791 ?) by the Bishop Dm. Marcellino Joseph da Silva. The slander of invidious enemies, or of disobliged greedy informers was listened to. The episcopal gaol, bearing the name of "Asylum of St. Mary Magdalen," soon harbored many females, whose guilt had not been ascertained by a legal previous process, sentenced to a confinement "ad libitum" of the diocesan. The property of the recluses was mismanaged. Commonly, no inventory of it was taken, no responsible person appointed, whose duty it should be to collect the goods and prevent them from being plundered, in order that they might be restored to the released. This inexcusable neglect left many of those who had been reclaimed through repentance, contrition or protection, without means of living, and forced them to submit again to

a condition they had probably learned to deprecate. Those immured lived under the spiritual direction of the Vicar of St. Lawrence, and in the domestic concerns they were under the inspection of a woman, who taught them to spin, weave, knit, &c. The produce of their labor being insufficient for the maintenance of the prisoners, gratuitous contributions made up the deficiency. This "imperium in imperio," continued till it was by a provision dated, 12th March, 1800, of the Prince Regent of Portugal, dissolved. The hierarchy remained with the Church discipline, and the province of civil administration reverted to the chief justice of Macao.

4. Hospices. Among the acts of charity, for which the public has to thank the Brotherhood of Mercy, I think that the *Lazar-house*, contiguous to the Hermitage of Hope, might have been one of their first foundations. Its utility had been fully ascertained, when a few Spanish friars, shipwrecked in the act of smuggling themselves into China, came from Canton to Macao, with orders to embark for Manila. This command they eluded, and hid themselves (1579) in the receptacle of Lepers, watching an opportunity to break as interlopers, the prohibitory laws of China. In 1834 there were 69 patients. *The Civil Hospital*, if not coeval with the above mentioned establishment, was an effect of an early thought of the Brotherhood. A high wall separates the section of men from that of the women. To be admitted, a petition is presented to the Provedor, whose report, if favorable, assigns a place, not only to forlorn diseased Christians, but likewise to the Heathen. They are received, taken care of, and, if possible, healed by the physician attached to it: Christians are consoled by hearing prayers in the "Chapel." This hospital is for males and females, and contains 40 beds. To render the establishment alluded to, less subject to vacillations, a new method has been adopted at the Board of the Brotherhood of Mercy. Rents, alms, bequests, and the distribution of money on sea-risks, are regularly accounted for. The Provisor is, by an order of 1787, bound to lay the state of administration before the Minister, but even this salutary provision cannot always protect the funds from being plundered. At the foot of the Civil, is the *Military Hospital*, which owes its existence to an order from Goa in 1784. It is attended by a Surgeon, and has rooms for three officers, ditto for eight subalterns, and a hall for fifty eight soldiers.

CHAPTER V.

Government.

Preliminary.

The Merchants, fully aware that their settlement at Macao, was due, neither to any conquest achieved by the arms of Portugal, nor as a return for services, which the Portuguese ever afforded by co-operating in the destruction of dreaded pirates, bore in mind two principles, namely, to be on good terms with the provisional authorities, and to improve as much as possible their exclusive trade with China. To secure these advantages, interested merchants suffered with resignation the extortions which public officers were wont to exercise, as rewards for their conniving at the infraction of Imperial decrees and laws. The actual government of Macao is compelled now and then, to adopt the same method, though in a measure, which bears no proportion to what the bribes were in ancient times. However, at the expiration of nearly three hundred years, the Senate may, without any material exaggeration, copy the expressions their ancestors used in a letter (1593) to Philip I. "Para aqui conservarmos gastamos muito com os Chinas gentios"—to maintain ourselves in this place we must spend much with the Chinese heathen.

The Portuguese well knew, that, as local subjects, they were bound to obey the laws of China, but, like other strangers, they aspired at living under the protection of their own laws. Influential members determined, for the purpose of order, and impression on the minds of an increasing rude class of settlers, to choose from among themselves a Lano

or Place Captain—"capitaõ da terra"—to admit a head-judge—"ouvidor,"—whose power was confined within the narrow influence of a justice of the peace, or of an umpire: a Bishop was also recognized. A few enlisted soldiers acted by the direction of the governing party, as police men for keeping the place quiet and guarded. Of this assumed authority, a small portion was allotted to the Commodore—"Capitaõ mór da viagem do Japaõ,"—of the Portuguese ships from India, when the fleet touched in her way to Japan at Macao for trade. During his visit the functions of the Governor were suspended, the duty of the military depended on his direction, nevertheless, he was fain to concur in the policy of the arbitrary colonial regency. To give to these organic elements a fixed form of civil order, the merchants, with the sanction of the Governor, of the Bishoprick, and the Commodore, then in port, resolved that Macao should have a regular government. Their relative influence on its formation, shall briefly be explained in the sequel, but the features are less antiquated than they would be, were it in our power to delineate them from original documents, such as they were three centuries ago.

Every free subject of the crown of Portugal born at Macao, possessing the necessary legal qualifications has a right to vote at the election of members of the municipal government; a privilège, which free men from other parts of the dominions of Portugal, unless disqualified by the laws, can obtain by marrying and settling at Macao. A class, called "Homens bons,"—i. e. citizens, who have been Senators, and another class of municipal officers, subordinate and dependent on the Senate, denominated "Almotaçes," from among whom individuals may, by election, be raised to Senatorial dignity, are every third year convened, and meet on the day appointed by the Chief Justice, who presides over the meeting. Those assembled in council, name among the most distinguished, experienced, zealous, and ancient citizens, electors, and the Chief Justice having selected six, who have the greatest number of votes, administers to them the oath prescribed by the laws, and divides them into three classes, each consisting of two electors, who must be neither relations nor kinsmen. Remaining at the Senate House, each pair, separated from the two others, sets down in three rolls, the names

of those of their countrymen, whom they consider best qualified to become principal officers of the municipality, including the Treasurer for three years to come. To this end, each pair points out twenty-one individuals, and signs the rolls. The three rolls of each pair of electors, being delivered to the Chief Justice, that gentleman, having lawfully ascertained that no collision took place at the elections, compares the three rolls, and selecting from among them, persons, who are not related, forms one roll, called "Pauta," containing the list of the candidates to the government for the three next following years. Three lists, drawn from the Pauta, are transcribed at Goa, signed by the head of Portuguese India, sealed and sent to Macao, where one of the lists, on the cover of which is marked the subsequent year, is at a general meeting on the 31st December, opened, and the appointments, with the name of the appointed read by the Secretary in a clear and audible voice. The members of the new Senate, take the oath given to them by the Chief Justice, faithfully to discharge, during the course of a year, their respective callings. The gentlemen who resign, cannot be re-elected until three years have elapsed, except when there is a want of persons proper for the office, in which case, they may be called in again at the expiration of either one or two years. The collective body is composed of two Judges "Juizes," three Aldermen—"Vereadores," and one Procurator—"Procurador." The aldermen preside and manage the various concerns, properly municipal, according to existing orders and regulations; the judges fulfil the commands of the Senate, provided they do not militate against established rules and laws; they also decide upon certain civil and criminal cases, but from their decision an appeal lies open, either to the audience of the Chief Justice of Macao, or to the supreme tribunal at Góa, called "Relacaõ," composed of six Ministers, including the Chancellor, presided by the Viceroy or Governor General; its decisions are definitive, and conclusive in most cases. The Procurator proposes and inspects the necessary repairs of the public buildings, streets &c.; he executes the written orders of the Senate, and signs with his colleagues, their resolutions. He is besides, the organ of communication of the city with the Mandarins of the district. To collect the revenue falls upon the lot of the Treasurer. Whenever he presents at the end of

six months and at the end of the year his accounts to the Senate, he has a seat at the Senate, but not among the Senators.

1. First Municipality—200 Years.

Senate—"Camera."

Under the presidency of Melchior Carnéiro, Governor of the Bishoprick, the inhabitants of Macao, who had a right to vote, assembled in 1583. This is maintained in the Representation, written, I am told, in 1821, to be laid under the eyes of King John VI. and the Cortes, meeting at Lisbon. In another old authentic manuscript, I have read, that, by permission of Dm. Duarte de Moneyes, Viceroy of Portuguese India, the assembling took place in April, 1585. Being best acquainted with the municipal franchises, bestowed by the munificence of their sovereign, on several eminent trading places in Portugal, the plurality voted for a municipality: they proceeded to mould it, by selecting from among themselves two Judges, three Aldermen, and one Procurator. This transaction was first approved—the representation alluded to above, affirms—by Dm. Francis Mascarenhas, Count de Santa Cruz, so called, in the catalogue of Viceroys I am in possession of, and ratified by his successor Dm. Duarte de Moneyes, Count de Tarouca. He granted to Macao on the 10th of April, 1586, the liberties, privileges and rank, with which Sta. Cruz de Cochim, on the coast of Malabar, had been honored. This concession did not satisfy ambition. Her worshippers entreated (1593) father Gil de Matta to obtain from Philip I. "that citizens of Macao, who by election had filled situations of Senators, should in prerogatives and dignity be on a level with those of Oporto." His Majesty resolved, however, by a provision of March 3d, 1595, that the citizens of Macao were to possess equal immunities with Evora, the same that had been assigned to Cochim. Rightly to judge of their merits, an authentic copy of the royal grant, must have been obtained, either from the archives at Lisbon, or from those of Cochim. The expression which a magistrate, delegated from Goa, Anthony Moureira de Souro used in one of his addresses (December 23d, 1726) to the Senate, saying, "it is not proper that the settlement should be

without Foral," we are inclined to construe, not as an absolute want of such a document, but rather as a reflection on the members of the Senate, for having neglected to get it confirmed and sanctioned by the then ruling monarch of Portugal. The document actually existing in the Senate under the title of Charter—" Foral,"—contains twenty-eight " Alvarás"—letters-patent, confirmed by King John V. The Senate, composed of two judges, three aldermen and one procurator, were invested with the exercise of full power. In a Constitutional deed—" carta de declaraçaõ,"—issued by John V. under date January 6th, 1712, the attributes of the Senate are thus defined: " the political government of the Senate comprehends all those cases, which have any relation to the well being of the city, the preservation of its peace and tranquillity, &c. Its economical government consists in collecting the revenue; in expending it; in apportioning the assessment of tribute to be levied on ships; in paying the salaries to public officers, and in discharging all other necessary expenses.

One of the Aldermen presides alternately over the Senate. Their resolutions, taken at the plurality of votes from the elective body, had the virtue of municipal decrees. Its members managed the election so dexterously, that the ancient families remained year after year, with the pre-eminence and direction of public affairs. The Senate recognized at Macao no controlling power or supremacy. When any business of great importance was to be done, the decision of which the municipal government would not take upon their own responsibility, a Council was convened. The Bishop, men of Senatorial rank, the Governor—" Capitaõ da terra"—the Prelates and the Ouvidor or Chief Justice, and the Exalmontacés were invited; opinions pro and con were ascertained, and the conclusion signed by all the members in council, even by the dissenting, under protest. Though a gentleman from Goa, Dn. Augustin de Assevedo Monteiro—" Desembargador Syndicante,"—endeavored in 1712 to stem the torrent of iniquity by fixing regulations, which the Senate were requested to observe, and likewise rules for future Ouvidors, to what length the Senate stretched the latitude of their power till 1784, an epoch, at which the balance of a ruined government began to work, the reader may decide, by taking into consideration the following memorable facts.

1. Domestic Political Influence.

On the Members. Besides a few enrolled stipendiaries, whose duty it was to watch over the common police, inhabitants, having a right to vote at the triennial elections, attended also, when summoned by the Land-captain and Governor, for the purpose of checking any irregular tumults, that tended to interrupt private and public security, or of repelling foreign aggressions. The little cohort bearing arms, was (1616) placed under the command of a Military Captain—"Capitaõ de gente da guerra,"—and we may conjecture, that in 1622, (the place of military captain was vacant,) it amounted to as much as 150 men, for we are authentically informed, that 60 Portuguese, and 90 Macao-born, were not able to prevent the landing in the port of Casilhas of a naval force, which the Dutch had fitted out to secure to themselves the possession of Macao. The population of the place, having considerably fallen off by the migration of those, who found no employment or means of subsistence from the moment the trade with Japan was lost, (1639) Malacca captured, (1641) and the port of Manila shut (1644) against all communication with the Portuguese, the difficulty of making new levies in the settlement, was acknowledged. Fifty and more soldiers came, therefore, (1667) from Goa to Macao with Emanuel de Saldanha, a Portuguese ambassador to the court of China: he commanded, that the military body should be composed of 120 foot soldiers, disciplined by a Captain, a sub-lieutenant, and a sergeant.

Free men were enrolled among others. By this change, the Governors and Captains-general flattered themselves, that the Senate might by degrees be so put together, that the members might be glad to pay due respect to the repeated commands of Viceroys, and to the decree of John V. (30th December, 1709,) directing that the Governor should have the principal seat, at any time he might have any thing of importance to lay before the Senate. To attain this object, several of the Governors had been in the habit of sending military freemen to the general elections, that they might exercise their right of voting, an innovation that caused much dissension and embarrassment. Diogo de Pinho Teneira proposed to himself to conquer the resistance, and humble the proud independence of the Senate, by annulling the

choice made by the electors of new municipal officers, and by commanding another election to be made, a step so illegal and contrary to old custom, that the Senators actually serving, resolved to continue the discharge of their public duty. Aware that their houses would be invaded by the satellites of the Governor, and their persons apprehended, they sought an asylum first in the Convent of St. Francis, and then at the College of St. Paul. The Governor claimed from the Jesuits the surrender of their Senatorial inmates. His instanstances being rejected, Diogo threatened to blow up, by the guns of the Monte, both the Church and College, a profanation he gave up through the friendly intercession of some respectable ecclesiastics. However, hardly was the Governor aware, that the Senators had proceeded to a meeting at the Senate-house, held by the Bishop, who, when invited, always presides over the Council—where the Prelates, Citizens and Commons joined them, to consult on the means of stopping all further progress of molestation and strife, than he, accompanied by his partisans and military, directed his steps (June 29th, 1710) to the same place. But no sooner had the assembly perceived his approach, than they armed themselves, descended from the Senate-house, and despising the Governor's order to separate, fell upon him and drove both him, his adherents, and soldiers to the Monte. From that fort Diogo had three guns fired in the direction where a dense mass of people were assembled before the Senate-house. This murderous attempt provoked them; the tocsin was rung, blood would have been spilt, had not the Bishop ordered, that the Eucharist—"O santissimo,"—should be carried in procession. At the sight of this divine and venerated emblem, the irritation subsided, an agreement was drawn up and signed (July 3d,) by both parties, but the Senators returned to St. Paul's, and did not leave it until the 28th of the same month, the day on which the ceremony of installation of the new Governor took place. Diogo was impeached, convicted, and punished, I presume, according to the laws of Portugal.

In a letter, dated 1714, Vasco Fernandes Cezar Meneyes, Viceroy, expresses himself thus: "considering that your place is actually experiencing want of men and subjects, I hereby permit soldiers and officers to be employed in the public service, notwithstanding any order previously issued

to the contrary." In consequence, many of the officers duly elected, took by permission of the Governor of Macao, their seats among the Judges and Aldermen of the Senate. No pains were spared, even so early as 1717, to get this order rescinded, but neither the petitions of the Senate, nor the proposal (1773) of Diogo Fernandes Sallema de Saldanha, Governor of Macao, to send 50 Sepoys and 50 European soldiers from Goa, as substitutes to the turbulent and noisy military voters, proved successful. The remedy came from Goa, in 1784, for the Government determined at last to establish at Macao a company of 100 Sepoys and 50 artillerymen.

Though no vassal (except a few,) elected by the constituted authorities, be exempted before seventy years of age from serving the public, the Senators have it in their power to excuse, for weighty reasons or continued ill health, any of their colleagues, from exercising a too laborious and troublesome occupation: they may assign to him a less burdensome one. Having (1775) made the discovery, that one of the ordinary Judges happened to be an ex-Jesuit, the Senate, with the concurrence of a Council, annulled, by virtue of an existing decree, the election, and directed the other Judge to proceed against the intruder; a measure very much applauded by the Court of Lisbon.

On the Subaltern Officers. Among those provisionally appointed by the Senate to be confirmed by letters-patent from the King of Portugal, is the "Secretary," a man, who always ought to be endowed with a considerable share of knowledge concerning the rules, proceedings and doings of past times; of the standing orders from Goa, of the commands received from the Court of Lisbon; a man of a sound unbiassed judgment, influenced by no other motive than those of promoting directly and indirectly, by honorable means, the welfare and prosperity of the settlement. Such a public officer, deserves at all times great esteem, but among superiors, who have not had the advantage of an elementary education, the general information which such a gentleman can afford, must be of high importance. About seventy years ago, some of the municipal members were constrained to sign the resolution, taken in the "Vereaçaõ,"—the assembly of Senators, presided over, alternately, by one of the Aldermen—

with a cross, under which the Secretary wrote the man's name. Among those illiterate and staunch republicans, we must class several individuals of brilliant merit and distinguished talents. Of this truth we are convinced by the perusal of a few scraps or remnants of old manuscripts, the principal and most valuable part of which was by order of Dm. Rodrigo da Costa, Viceroy, sent, if we are not mistaken, from Macao to Goa, in the year of 1690.

Almotacés. They may be considered like police officers and justices of the peace. Their number for a year amounts to twenty-four; two of them serve a month together in turn. This duty devolves for the three first months of the year on the Senators, who on the 31st December, gave up their situations to their successors. Eighteen individuals are then chosen for the service of the remaining year. Those two, who are to be employed conjointly, are inscribed on a distinct roll for every month. Should any of them depart this life, or be unable to attend to his duty, the Senate fixes on a substitute. King Joseph I. in a letter, dated 15th January, 1774, commands the Senate to elect from among the natives every year, six Almotacés, declaring, "that his vassals born in India and baptised, provided no disabilities of the laws intervene, shall possess, without any difference, the benefit of all the privileges conferred on those born in Portugal." This just and paternal solicitude for the enjoyment of common rights, belonging to common subjects, aristocratical ambition is generally ingenious enough to elude. Their meritorious ancestors expired long ago, but patrician progeny still look down on the plebian class, from the attitude to which ignorant aristocracy, hereditary or monied, is wont to cling.

On the Christian population generally. Of many heinous offences, the collective members of the Senate have rendered themselves guilty. Dm. Francis Mascarenhas, a military Governor, by repeated encroachments on the rights of the Senate, and on the safety of the inhabitants, caused a tumult in 1624, which ended in his assassination. Twenty-four of the ring-leaders were by the Supreme tribunal at Goa, sentenced to death, but in 1632 the King's pardon was received. It is recorded that the Senate, now and then, arrogated to themselves the privilege of Sovereignty, by venturing to deprive some citizens of their rights, and to send others to the

Dutch, English and Spanish settlements. In the archives of the Senate, existed several orders from the Viceroys, contradictory one to the other, "of them, you avail yourselves, [writes John the 1st.] as you think proper and your passions suggest." John de Saldanha da Gama made Anthony Moureira de Souza, already mentioned, "protest (1726) against the Senate's persisting in the practice of banishing and transporting persons." As an instance to what length the Senators stretched their authority, we shall translate a proclamation, dated 13th of April, 1712. "Nobody living under the jurisdiction of the Senate, whatever may be his qualifications or situation, either citizen, inhabitant, pilot, boat-swain, sailor, or common man, shall be allowed to transfer himself from one quarter or place of abode in the town to another, without permission from the Senate, in accordance with a royal provision, under the penalty of being held and treated like a suspicious person, and enemy of the land, and punished with the loss of his property." A list of those to whom the Senate granted license to leave the country was presented by the procurator to the Governor.

The lucrative trade of Japan and Malacca being lost, three places, Manila, Batavia, and Timor, offered a profitable market. The Oligarcks resolved in 1720, to explore it themselves, leaving the minor ports to merchants of inferior credit. This barefaced selfishness was reproved by the court of Goa, and it was commanded, that a ship should in its turn go on a voyage to the places above mentioned.

The following edict, may probably elicit a smile. It is of 1744, and "forbids under a pecuniary mulct of ten taels, the natives from wearing a wig and covering themselves with a paper umbrella." Matheas de Souza petitioned the Senate, and was allowed the use of both, for he proved himself to be by the side of his mother, from the lineage of a Portuguese. Other natives petitioned the Viceroy, Marquis de Castello Novo, arguing, "that the petitioners and their ancestors, had from time immemorial been habituated to treat themselves like Portuguese, who by intermarriage were nearly allied to them, and that the petitioners were the first, who contributed to the relief of any pressing want of the community." In his reply, the the Viceroy commands, "that the proclamation alluded to, shall have no effect, for the Senators in this case have overstepped the limits of their jurisdiction."

On the military department.—The liberty which the first inhabitants of Macao allowed themselves, when they [1560] choose for Place-captain—" Capitaõ da terra"—Diogo Pereira, a royal decree [Nov. 24th, 1563] tended to abolish; still in 1587 this captain owed his situation to the confidence of his countrymen. Further edicts, one dated 25th February, 1595, confirmed by those of 16th January, 1665, and 2d March, 1675, commanded, that the viceroys should keep among other factories—so the Portuguese used then to call several of their settlements in Asia—the Government of Macao at the disposal of certain distinguished females, whose parents had perished in India, either by the arms of the infidels, or in the civil service. Of this description many young ladies came from Portugal to Goa, in the expectation that they might meet in Asia with a suitable matrimonial settlement. To advance this laudable desire, the Viceroys publicly notified that the pretenders should produce their respective titles. Their claims were examined: if considered of equal weight, the prize was adjudicated to her whose father had died in the conflict against the enemies of Portugal in India. It consisted in bringing to her future husband, in lieu of any other marriage-portion, the right of governing Macao when his turn came. If he did not live to enjoy the favor, he could, by his last will, bequeath it to his son or widow: when still living, he might pass his title to any other gentleman, approved by the viceroy, in consideration of a sum of money, settled by arbitration. What the salary of a governor of Macao amounted to in early times I have not been able to trace. In 1636 it was 1000 taels per annum, in 1740 ninety taels per month; now it is 2000 taels yearly. Like many other public officers of Portugal—asserted by the annalists of the Portuguese discoveries—the Governor of Macao wielded, at the same time, the sword and jerked the scales; he had ships and ware-houses ad libitum. Merchants complained, "the Governor manages his business so dexterously as to secure to himself the benefit of profitable sea and trading voyages." This eagerness for gain King John IV endeavored to stop, by a letter dated 3d September, 1720, in which he declares, "that the Governor is allowed to trade neither in his own name nor in that of any other person." So long, however, as we shall continue to hear in society the utterance

of this metallic query, "how much is he worth," instead of this moral one, "is the man beneficent, virtuous, meritorious," similar prohibitions will be of little or no avail.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century "Governors and Captains-general" came from Goa, with the intention of balancing the overgrowing preponderance of the Senate. Violent party disputes arose, but the Senate got generally the better of their antagonists. Count de Sandomil, viceroy, pretended [1735] that the Governor should preside; it was denied, alleging a royal provision, that the Governor shall have neither a seat nor a vote in the Senate. To them belonged all political and economical concerns; to the Governor the military department. In concurrence with the newly appointed Governor, a day for his installation is fixed and proclaimed by order of the Senate. In the case of vacancy by death, the corpse is deposited in the Cathedral, to which place the municipal officers, attended by a medical gentleman, proceed. The presiding Alderman of the month approaches the coffin and calls three times on the deceased by his name: The physician having declared that the man is dead, the lists of succession are brought from the Senate-house: that one, the superscription of which refers to the current year, is opened; it contains the name of the person or persons who shall succeed. That question being decided, the Alderman takes out of the hand of the deceased the cane, held as signal of command, and delivers it to his successor. From this moment he is considered to be invested with the power and authority which the deceased had a right to exercise. Of this transaction the Secretary of the Senate draws up a public document which is signed by him and the new Governor.

On the civil department.—The application of the statutes of Portugal was for a length of time managed by laymen and lawyers, either of Macao or from Goa. The former had 100 taels, the latter 200 yearly. Of those who were sent from Goa, the Senate, in a letter to his Majesty, the King of Portugal, says, "they keep the place in constant commotion and disquietude; they are miserably poor. That they may return at the end of three years well off in point of fortune, they are not over-scrupulous in treading justice under foot, and in embezzling deposits in their trust." The Senate, therefore, requested that the office might be entrusted to the

oldest of the Aldermen; but John V. determined by a resolution, dated 16th April, 1740, "that the office of Ouvidor is superfluous in a place, the jurisdiction of which does not extend beyond the compass of the town-walls. Let the ordinary judge and the judge of orphans give their sentence in lawsuits; from them the contending parties may, as formerly, appeal to the supreme tribunal, "a Relaçaõ,', at Goa.

The Senate enjoying already, through the brotherhood of mercy, great influence on the election of the man who should be one of the managers of property left by the deceased—"Provedor dos defuntos"—Provisor of the deceased; the other judge of the orphans—"Juiz dos orphans"—had now by the intervention of their own officers, the entire jurisdiction in their hands. But these men being almost always illiterate, the civil affairs became at last so embroiled that the Senators themselves found it indispensable to solicit Queen Mary I. to appoint a gentlemen regularly bred to the law, as chief justice. Previous to that epoch [1787] controlling magistrates—"Syndicantes"—were delegated every third year from Goa, with power more or less comprehensive, as circumstances required. Though these ministers were bound to act according to laws, orders, and instructions, "they applied them merely for the purpose of ruining" the place, as the Senate expressed it in 1725. The rich and mighty slip, with their crimes, through the lawyers' cobweb; the poor and miserable are caught to prove, at Goa, that justice has been duly attended to, during a short residence of a few months at Macao

At present the Chief Justice, acting likewise as Judge of the customs, receives yearly 2000 taels. His perquisites, including those from the custom-house, may be estimated, I presume, at about 1000 taels per annum. This magistrate has always been forbidden to engage in trade; and the royal regulations, dated 26th March, 1803, carry on their face renewed prohibitions, which lay slumbering till 13th December, 1824, because the gentleman,* who was, during a period of twenty-two years, at the head of the civil Government, came to Macao destitute of property, with the ambition to enrich himself, though he failed.

* See a bombastic panegyric—"Elogio"—of that magistrate, printed in Lisbon, 1826. The same author published also at Coimbra a meagre work, called "Memoria sobre Macao."

On the Chinese Population.—The Portuguese from their first settlement at Macao, have constantly been at variance with those Chinese who wanted to establish themselves there, because it was thought policy to limit their number. From ancient records we are led to believe that, all those Chinese who had no fixed abode, went out of the town at night; that not only the gates of the districts, but also the street doors were shut. In 1697, it was resolved, that no other Chinese than those whose names were inscribed on the registers at the Senate should remain; the rest had orders, by a proclamation, to leave the city in three days; the refractory were to be handed over to the Mandarins, as vagabonds. No more than 90 coolees,* selected by three petty Chinese police officers—"cabeças da rua."—were suffered to stay. The Senate, favored at times by the Mandarins, or local magistrates, has succeeded in limiting the number of even useful Chinese residents. That this ill-timed policy may operate, recourse has been had to violent measures. In 1711 the Senate commanded, that several houses, let to the Chinese, contrary to the prohibitive publications, should be demolished. Some built and owned by Chinese were, by order of the Mandarins, pulled down. On this occasion, John Mouraõ, a Jesuit, made the following sound speech to the Senators: "There will always be," he said, "proprietors who will let or sell to the Chinese their houses, for it is well known, that even royal edicts are slighted, and insufficient to stop the efforts of individual convenience, then even when the common edict is exposed to suffer injury." The prediction was verified; for, although the Senate, by repeated commands from Goa, had taken steps to redeem houses, shops, &c., mortgaged in the hands of the Chinese, the endeavor proved unavailing. In 1749 the Senate obtained the consent of Mandarins, that only 70 workmen in wood and bricklayers, 10 butchers—"porqueires"—4 blacksmiths, and 100 coolees, should live in the town; and to prevent them from fixing themselves in the place, the Senate published an order, that no house-owner should either let or sell his house to a Chinese; expecting that, by this measure, many of them would evacuate the place. Other expedients were also tried

* Common workmen.

for the same purpose, but all proved ineffectual. At last, Francis da Cunhae Meneyes, the Governor General of Goa, granted by this letter, dated 29th April, 1793, permission for the inhabitants to let their houses to Chinese.

2. Domestic Economical Influence.

For more than two hundred years, or to 1784, the Portuguese financiers of Macao were continually groping in the intricate recesses of taxation. The rule was, that at the end of the current, or in the beginning of the ensuing year, the rate of customs, to be paid on all sorts of goods imported, should be fixed in a meeting of the Senators and the principal citizens—"homens bons."—A great deal of vacillation in this point is obvious. If the duties levied produced more than was required to meet the discharge of public burdens, the Senators were—the representation of 1821 to the king and Cortes affirms—in the habit of dividing among themselves the surplus; if inadequate, they took upon themselves to make good the deficiency, except when it was caused by ship wreck, or brought on by unexpected unforeseen calls: in those cases, the Senate borrowed money of the citizens, or these contributed voluntarily, in certain proportion to the common expenses. The ways and means adopted for collecting the duties and spending the revenue will be illustrated by the facts, which we are going to transcribe, under the head of receipts and expenditures.

Receipt.—The assessment fixed on importation was paid in specie, i. e. in kind. The moment a ship belonging to Macao, appeared in the roads, the Procurator, being also Treasurer, went on board, where he left some guards of his own creation. They began by drawing up a list, containing a declaration of the quantity, quality and weight of the goods, mentioning the name to whom they belonged. This job being ended, the merchandise was sent by the guards to the warehouses of their respective owners, and to the stores of the Procurator and Treasurer that part which was assessed for paying the duty. These guards are described as being unfit, disloyal, fraudulent. Instead of first registering the contents of the chests and boxes on deck, the goods in the hold of the ship were unloaded, and those on deck suffered to disappear during the night. Mean, miserable dependent, they often

went on shore, leaving the owners to act as they pleased; the cargo was sent home and no duty paid. A Viceroy threatened, that those who ventured to disembark any thing without satisfying the customs, should pay double the amount, and be sent as prisoners from Macao to a fortress, there to be secluded for six years; but what threats can intimidate practical knaves? The Procurator received the duties with weights five per cent. better than those he sold by; permitted his godowns* to be cleared by public sales, at which none of the Senators were present, he improved his situation with so little scruple of conscience, that he paid off all his debts and remained a rich man. Besides, as Treasurer, he had in his hands for three years the deposit of cash, with liberty to take sea-risks on strong staunch ships, and grant respondentia to able and substantial people. Of these, his individual transactions, he afterwards had to lay a statement of particulars before the Senate. The city bore any loss happening to a vessel, and for private debtors of it the public money, the Treasurer stood security. He charged, by consent of the Senate, two per cent. premium for loans, as his own emolument.

The effect of such sweeping peculations of public property began to be seriously felt in 1636. The expulsion from Japan, the loss of Malacca, the exclusion from the Manila market, Kang-he's prohibition, [1662] and his public declaration [1685] that all commercial nations should be welcome to China, brought on the necessity of borrowing money to relieve pressing exigencies. So early as in 1630, the natural subjects refused to advance at small sums; the Senate got it from the Spaniards. At a later period [1660] the King of Siam sent to Macao 605 catteest of silver. Then the per centage claimed by the Misericordia and St. Clare, were kept back. For money belonging to orphans and public deposits, seven per cent. were allowed and sums raised, at as high a rate as ten per cent. on bonds signed by all the members of the Senate. At last the revenue was so reduced and penurious, that to encounter the annual necessary disbursements, a tax, fixed by arbitrators, was imposed by the Senate, at one

* A go-down is the basement story of houses where goods are stored, servants live, &c.

† A cattee is equal to 1½ pound avoirdupois.

time on the population, including citizens, friars, and priests, at another, on houses and shops. These subsidies were suspended in 1706, for the customs had then rendered 5,756 taels; they amounted, in 1718 to 150,000 xeraphins.* In 1726 the trade had so fallen off that the city wanted to borrow again, and in 1735 it was indebted to the amount of 25,000 taels.

Notwithstanding the commands of John V. that the Procurator should lay a yearly account of the revenue of customs before its magistrate—Ouvidor—inveterate knavery continued, till the viceroy, Count de Sandomil, who resigned in 1741, resolved upon separating the occupation of Procurator from that of Treasurer. His rules were superseded by those of Don John José de Mello, Governor General, [1768] and these finally set aside by the regulations, dated 29th March, 1784, concerning the custom-house at Macao. From the time that the office of Treasurer became a distinct trust, the electors proposing every third year municipal officers, had to select from among their most respectable and substantial countrymen three individuals, who, if confirmed by the Supreme Government at Goa, could serve as Treasurer, each a year in turn.

Expenditure.—The fifth of all customs belonged to the king, the rest to a civil fund; both under the direction of the Senate, from 1714. In that year, Vasco Fernandes Cezar de Meneyes, Viceroy, gave orders that the Procurator should collect the King's fifth, hitherto gathered by the King's factor; and he laid the Senate under the obligation to employ its amount in paying the Governor, repairing the fortifications, and keeping the artillery and arms in good order. The Senators had to present to the Governor of Macao, annually, a statement, and to Goa a summary, that it might be examined and approved. The share in the customs, surrendered by the King's munificence to the city, served to clear the yearly ground rent to the Chinese; to discharge to the clergy, to the members of the Senate, and inferior servants of Government their salaries; to bestow on Misericordia, and the Monastery of St. Clare, on the convents, churches, and hospices assistance, relief and alms; in one word to pay all the

* A xeraphin is estimated, in Vieira's dictionary, at 300 Portuguese rees.

civil expenses of the place. Under the head of extraordinary charges, it is well worth remarking, that the Senators had adjudicated to themselves one hundred peculs of sandal wood, sold to adventurers at from 100 to 120 dollars, which they divided, that they might have a new suit of clothes at the procession of Corpus Christi. Later, the public chest was ransacked: one hundred dollars were appropriated to apparel, that the Senators might appear neat and well dressed. At last, the income being so reduced, that the garrison could barely be paid, the Senators did not scruple to apportion among themselves 500 taels. Fees, contrary to the prohibition of Count de Sandomil, [1734] were still, in 1742, distributed. These arbitrary unlawful gratuities have been abolished; the Senators were at all times rewarded, and are actually so, by trifling fees, seldom exceeding six hundred taels per annum.

Having set apart a certain sum to meet unexpected demands against the royal chest, the Senate gave [1730] leave to the Procurator to allow to ship-owners, of good credit, 2,000 taels; in the subsequent years, citizens, inhabitants, bachelors, married, and unmarried men, and widows also had a share in the respondentia, at 20 per cent. In 1761 the remaining cash was to be distributed at sea-risks, and in 1764 at local interest. Count de Ega commanded [1765] that one half of the remaining fund should continue a permanent stock, and the other half given at respondentia, and on interest. His successor confirmed this resolution, and commanded to place more money at the local current rate of interest. To this disposition, ancient citizens had [1764] started objections, and experience soon taught, that lending and borrowing money under those regulations, would finally destroy the revenue. The truth is, that the grand debt to the royal chest, amounting, in 1791, to 450,000 taels, originated mostly from claims, which had no relation to sea-risks.

II. Constitution of Macao.

Preliminary.

The preceding disquisition has offered us instances of repeated vexations, which the superior order of citizens allowed themselves, in despite of laws, royal mandates, and threats from the supreme government at Goa, to practice on the inferior class of their countrymen. In my extensive researches, I have met but with a single example of popular efforts to resist iniquitous attempts. A decree of an Emperor of Japan, having commanded that the ships from Macao, then in the port of Nangasaki, should be detained, and the owners compelled to pay a considerable debt, due by bankrupt Portuguese to Japanese merchants, the sufferers, on their return, invoked the protection of the laws. In lieu of decreeing, that the property should in proportion be restored, the Senate, in conjunction with the Ouvidor, resolved, (1636) that no restitution of the loss, inflicted on innocent people by Japanese violence, should be imposed on any of the other merchants," a shocking tyranny which disgusted everybody. The people rose, dragged violently the Senators to the Senate-house, forced them to take their seats, and compelled them to ratify their demand, "protesting, that they would in case of infraction, make the Senate respect conventions." This revolutionary procedure, was lost upon the next municipal officers and their successors, for more than a century, till Dm. Federic William de Souza, Governor General of Portuguese India, by an order of Mary I. Queen of Portugal, prescribed rules, dated 12th April, 1784, to be in future observed by the constituted authorities at Macao.

Senate. This body is elected and composed as formerly, of two Judges, three Aldermen, and one Procurator. At the meeting called "Vereaçaõ," one of the Aldermen presides alternately for a month: they manage various concerns properly municipal, according to existing orders and regulations. Matters under consideration, are decided by the plurality of votes. Documents, having any reference to Government, must be registered at the Secretary's office, in the Senate,

such as letters of credence of a Governor, the Commission of a Chief Justice, and even the Pope's Bull, and the King of Portugal's Writ for execution, to the elected Bishop.— The day and the hour being fixed, when either of these gentlemen are to be lawfully invested with the exercise of his office, the Senate sends an invitation to the clergy and to the nobility: the common people are apprised of the ceremony by a proclamation. We shall not give you the trouble to ascend the steep flight of stairs leading to the fort Monte, at the gates of which the installation of a new Governor takes place; nor those more easy steps in the Senate-house, where that of the Chief Justice is performed, but you may enter the Cathedral, should you be desirous to hear the inaugural oration of a Bishop.

The high sounding distinctive honors, said to have been bestowed by John IV. and confirmed by John V. on those individuals who had been members of the municipal government, are now very seldom a matter of conversation, for they are obselete, and would rather excite in the audience, a sardonic smile. The actual progeny of past and present Senatorial rank, contend for the attributes of noblemen, and claim at Macao, the prerogatives of nobility.

Governor. "The Governor shall preside in all cases, economical, political, civil, or military," viz: in all discussions concerning the public money, the preservation of peace, and harmony with the Chinese and foreigners: communications relative to the military department, come from him. He is commonly sent by the Viceroy, from Goa to Macao, for the period of three years, or till he shall be relieved by a successor: his salary is two thousand taels per annum, besides a decent residence on Praya Grande. His duty is to report to Goa, the doings of the Senate. All matters under discussion ought in justice to be decided by the majority of votes, but at Macao, when the Governor and Minister coincide in opinion, the other members have merely to sign resolutions. May not this rule lead to collision, to the prejudice of the royal chest of municipal independence? Though the Governor has not the casting vote, he may upon his own responsibility, oppose any motion, militating against regulations, laws, or commands from Lisbon and Goa. Should it so happen, that the Senate and Governor cannot agree on any point under discussion, and delay be fraught with danger, the Bishop, and

those who have a right to vote, are convened, and the question is settled by the majority of votes in Council.

On the day of his installation, the Governor and Captain General, promises by an oath, to protect the place: for this purpose a body of Sepoys from Goa, and young people at Macao, are enlisted. The whole force ought to be 400 men, and sixteen officers: in 1834, it amounted to 240 men, with corresponding officers. A soldier receives six dollars per month, and new regimentals every second year: the officers are paid according to their seniority. To this cohort is entrusted the guard of five fortresses, and a fort, nearly opposite to the Governor's residence. The fortifications are mounted with 130 guns of different calibre and metal.

Minister. Convinced that a thorough reform in the jurisprudence had become inevitable, the Senate petitioned Mary I. to name a gentlemen, bred to the law, who should be at the head of the civil government at Macao: the Queen appointed Lazar de Silva Ferreira, who was installed in 1787. He and his successors, are distinguished at Macao, by the epithet of Ministers, who in the absence of the Governor, preside as Vice President over the Senate. They are also Judges of the Customs. The powers of a Minister are great, but anybody dissatisfied with his decisions, may appeal to the supreme tribunal at Goa.

Vassals of Portugal at Macao, were forbidden (1689) by Dm. Rodrigo da Costa, Viceroy, and by John V. (1712,) to obey the summons of Mandarins. The common Chinese are now in the habit of pleading their causes against the Portuguese, at the audience of the Minister, who does them justice; but by having no lawful means, by which he can compel the refractory Chinese, to appear and answer before his tribunal, no effectual protection against subjects of China, ought to be expected from him in favor of foreigners.

By an order of the Prince Regent of Portugal, in 1803, no homicide shall be given up to the Chinese: the cases shall be tried by the civil authority of Macao; if the criminal be found by the laws of Portugal, guilty, he shall suffer death by the hands of a Christian executioner. This command was attended to for the first time, 1805.

Royal Chest. The occasional deficit in the royal chest, and the consequent necessity of borrowing money, that the Senate might meet the current expenditure, can be traced,

rather less to the want of commercial activity, than to the improvidence and dishonesty of administrators. The following statement corroborates this surmise. Lazar da Silva Ferreira, examining by command of Queen Mary I. the state of the King's coffers, and the accounts of the Senate, found (1784) a deficiency of no less than 320,000 taels, because many fraudulent and insolvent securities, he conjectured, had been accepted: consanguinity, friendship and patronage had winked at not cancelling the loan by reimbursement, but had suffered it to grow year after year, more important and onerous. It then became wholly impossible to cancel it, for many a debtor was dead, or completely bankrupt. Should honest men, who had stood security, be required to reimburse the principal, with premium, the means of carrying on their own business, would be drained, or at least, so extenuated, that the place, the existence of which depends principally on the exercise of navigation and trade, might be brought to the very verge of perdition. The magnanimity of Queen Mary saved Macao. Her son, the Prince Regent, announced in a letter of the 7th March, 1799, to the Senate, that the debtors to the royal chest, at Macao, were graciously liberated of a sum of money, not less than 291,193 taels. Meanwhile the Regulations, dated 29th March, 1784, concerning the Customs at Macao, had been duly attended to, and operated a beneficial change in the financial department. The duties being fixed by public tax laid upon all importations, the Treasurer of the Senate receives, in accordance with the certificate of the Custom-house, at the end of every month, the amount, and delivers it to the royal chest at the Senate-house. At the expiration of six months, and of the year, the Treasurer presents to the Senate, presided over by the Governor, and assisted by the Minister, his accounts. All disbursements are made by the commands of the Senate, and an order written by the Secretary, and signed by the Governor, Minister, and the Senators. Aiming at nothing more than to protect in future, the King's revenue from undue losses, Lazar da Silva Ferreira, and his successor, Anthony Pereira dos Santas, used their influence, and the Senate granted sea-risks only to citizens and merchants of known credit and substantial security. The recovery of principal and premium, was regularly enforced thirty days after the ship's safe return to Macao. These measures

countenanced by the presiding Governor, operated as a salutary check on deceit. The revenue was economized ; for showy parade, unsound projects, strange favors—imported a few years later—were at that time unknown. Public money was employed for the discharge of salaries and extraordinary calls. To meet them, about 35,000 taels more were required, the surplus income was again sent to sea, at respondentia, the national moving capital increased year after year. In 1802, it amounted to 173,690 taels. In 1809, 159,400, taels were by the constituted authorities, distributed at respondentia, at a premium from 20 to 25 per cent. In 1817, no more than 40,400, went on bottomry and respondentia. That very same year, the ordinary and extraordinary expenses rose to upwards of 80,000 taels. In 1826, the city bore a debt of more than 122,000 taels. In 1830, the customs yielded 69,183 taels, but the disbursements were 109,451 taels. In 1832, the royal chest, or the city, had against it, a claim of no less than 150,000 taels. On the 31st December, 1834, the debt amounted to

		Taels, 165,134,688
The Receipts of that year from the Customs, were,		Taels, 75,283,613
The Expenditure, civil list,	Taels, 29,210 : 866	
Ecclesiastic " "	8,092 : 566	
Military " "	28,881 : 834	
Ordinary Expenses,	66,185 : 266	
Extraordinary Expenses,	Taels, 4,434 : 778	
Do. paid off on the debt of the City,	19,580 : 645	
	23,715 : 420	
		89,900 686

The inhabitants of Macao are burdened, neither with a poll-tax, nor with taxes on houses, windows, &c. The resources of which the government can dispose, for meeting the expenses, and paying the debt of the city, are all derived from duties, paid on goods, imported principally in ships, belonging to Macao: no export duty is paid by the merchants.

CHAPTER VI.

Foreign Relations.

With Portugal. Politically.—Whether the Sovereigns of Portugal number Macao, among their ultra-marine possessions, by the reason the Jesuit Nicolas Trigauld alleges in his "Christiana expeditio apud Sinas,"* or because the strangers, who had settled at Macao, and were natural subjects, claimed protection from their King, is a matter of speculation, which I shall leave to antiquarians to settle. Certain it is, that early relations between the mother-country Goa and Macao, existed. In a preceding page, it was hinted that the Court expressed its displeasure at the inhabitants of Macao, for having chosen of their own accord, a Governor or Capitaõ da terra, (1560.) Four years previous to this epoch, Sebastian I. succeeded to his grandsire, Emmanuel, and an empty treasure, though Portugal had at its command the most extensive and lucrative commerce at that time. However, constant emigration and the unnatural state of celibacy of the secular and regular clergy had so debilitated the country, that the home produce of arts and manufactures, being inadequate for the consumption of the conquered and trading provinces in India, recourse was had to foreign industry, so that the riches of Asia flowed through Portugal, to England, France, and the Netherlands. Sebastian, too, began and carried on an unnecessary war against the Moors, and levied heavy contributions on all classes of his subjects. He passed

* Quem in finem, Lusitani reges (Amacao) locum civitatis appellatione donatum, auctoritate pontificia, præsule adornascunt, quo facilior, nec sine ecclesiastica majestate, sanctorum administratio in extrema orbis plaga, redderetur.—*De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas* p. 156. *Auct. Nic. Trigaulio. Coloniæ*, 1616.

over to Africa, and having perished, a ruined kingdom fell to the lot of his uncle, Cardinal Henry, weak, decrepid, on the brink of the grave. The reins of government were relaxed. The right of succession was worth contending for. After some struggle, the Duke of Bragança yielding, the crown of Portugal fell to the lot of Philip II. King of Spain. He was acknowledged and proclaimed (1581) under the name of Philip I. The ultra-marine dominions of Portugal followed this example. To Macao, described by Diogo de Couto, "*a melhor ê mas prospero columna que os Portugueyes tem em todo o oriente,*"—the best and most important pillar the Portuguese possess in the east,—the proposal of submission was carried from Manila, by Father Alonço Sanches. By his management, the principal authorities assented, and having been taught from the pulpit, obedience, the common people consented. The acknowledgment of Philip I. in 1582, was the consequence. After a lapse of sixty years, Portugal separated from Spain. Valuable portions of that monarchy, had risen in arms against the mother country. The politics of Europe were in favor of the independence of Portugal. A few individuals contrived a restoration, and the Duke of Bragança, was in 1640, proclaimed King of Portugal, under the name of John IV. This news, an English ship trading to Canton, brought,(1641.) The Governor of Manila, desirous of combining the interests of that place with those of Macao, authorized his ambassador Dm. Juan Claudio, to negociate the union with the crown of Spain. The advantage was obvious to all men of sound understanding and impartiality. The minds of the less enlighted wavered; but the ungrateful antipathy, roused by the contents of an official letter from Count de Aveiras, viceroy of Goa, and an address of king John IV. to Macao, caused two hundred and fifty-seven members of the city to declare their adherence to the new dynasty. An oath of allegiance was taken on the 12th June, 1642 and John proclaimed the lawful sovereign of Portugal. To signalize their attachment to the royal family of Bragança "the inhabitants made a great donation in ready cash to the king; of two hundred brass cannon, and all sorts of ammunition. The author of "Portugal restaurado" says, "Anthony Fialho Ferreira and Gonçalo Ferras, principal persons of Macao, arrived at Lisbon for the offering to the king obeisance

in the name of the city," but not a word of the rich donation that had been voted, and of which the representatives ought to have been the bearers, had the remittance of those presents ever taken place. We may record a similar instance of affection in our days. Hardly was it known that the Queen and Prince Regent had taken their departure from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro, than it was resolved in 1809 to send an ambassador to Brazil with congratulations to the royal family, and such tokens of respect and memorials as the financial state of Macao could afford: the expenses amounted to 5500 dollars.

With Goa. Having condescended to grant protection to the natural subjects of Portugal, established in China, the Court of Lisbon thought proper to render Macao, in the first instance, dependent on Goa, with permission to appeal, in certain cases, to the Sovereign himself. To his ministry, or more properly to the minister of ultra-marine affairs, the Senate presents yearly, detailed accounts of their municipal doings, economical concerns, and political relations. Copies of these reports are forwarded to Goa, for revision, approbation or amendment. The rumor, that a new era of happiness and prosperity, by the convocation and meeting of the constituent Cortes at Lisbon, was dawning over the nation—caused serious domestic broils at Macao. Those in power and their friends contended for the preservation of their prerogatives; the lower class—in all parts of the world—the most numerous and turbulent, from ignorance—cried out for a change, for preferment. Both parties had their mountebanks. Were people in general taught, besides the catechism of their religious tenets, the recognized precepts of social contracts, those political incendiaries from the pulpit, in the newspapers, and at camp-meetings, would be despised and their eloquent pathos laughed at. A tutored understanding comprehends the true meaning of the imperishable rights and duties, which all members of a community are required to comply with, and scorns revolutionary projects, till either of the contracting parties has, in a most arbitrary manner violated the compact. In this case it is but justice to avenge treason. This discriminating intellect was as little the lot of the citizens of Macao, as of those of almost all other countries. After some delay, an oath of adhesion to the basis of a future

Constitution was (16th Feb. 1822) taken: what was further to be done, orders from the King, Cortes or the supreme government at Goa, should determine. This judicious and rational proposition, was unpopular. Vague accusations against members of the Senate, gained ground; the high clamors and the feelings of the public mind, made a general meeting unavoidable. It took place on the 19th August. A noisy multitude vociferated for the dismission of the King's minister Miguel de Arriaga Brum da Silveira: the Senators reluctantly assented, and resigned. A new municipal government was elected and installed; the Senate endowed as before 1784, with legislative, executive, and judiciary power. The defeated party, had recourse in September and November, to insurrectionary movements; but their plan was ill digested, and the leaders unqualified to carry the point by a coup de main. Mr. Arriaga, in the opinion of many, being the principal promoter of all commotions, to save him from insult, and perhaps from the peril of losing his life, by the rage of an infuriated mob, it was resolved at a meeting, that one of the Senators, should take him under his protection, and bring him from his dwelling, up to the Monte; on falling sick, he was allowed to remove himself to his ordinary residence. At last, an order, that he and the ex-governor should quit Macao, was served: they were to proceed to Lisbon, there to answer for the offences, which they stood accused of. Both embarked in March, 1823, on board the Vasco da Gama; but Mr. Arriaga took leave of his friends and set out for Canton in a Chinese boat.

That the Governor General of Goa, neither would nor could sanction an act, by which a subaltern Government, unthorized withdrew its allegiance, for the sake of bringing the poorer inhabitants of Macao, back under the scourge they, during two hundred years, had winced, could easily be anticipated. Those, deposed from their public trust, were mighty, their complaints reasonable, their arguments weighty. Protection was claimed; it was granted by Dm. Manoel da Camera, Governor General of Portuguese India: he sent under the command of Joaquim Mouraõ, the frigate Salamandra, and 69 Sepoys, with a competent number of officers, to enforce obedience, should the usurpers contrive to keep in their hands, illegitimate power. On the 10th of June,

the frigate arrived, and was refused entrance into the port: the naval and military commanders, were not allowed to land; nobody would listen to the contents of their instructions. Believing, that by the organization of the ruling Senate, on the 19th August, the citizens had done no more than to adopt the sense in the Basis of the Cortes to the welfare of the place, men and patriots of sound judgment argued, that the frigate should be sent back to Goa, and in case the commander ventured any hostile measures, it then became a sacred duty of every free born Portuguese to defend the town, his own life, property and liberty. Not daring to attack from fear of hurting, during the conflict, any of the subjects of China, Mouraõ, addressed the Viceroy of Kwang-lung, and Kwang-se, and Mr. Arriaga, residing at Canton, made likewise his representations. They were, at length, so far attended to, that the Tsung-tŭh, despatched in the beginning of July, to Macao, delegated Mandarins, that he might be well informed of what the parties had to allege, each in its favor. Several meetings were held: the Chinese recommended peace, and returned to Canton. Coteries had been forming, the political tendency of which, was not unknown; however, no efficient measures to check their progress, were resorted to. You would think, that the Senators were either slumbering, or fully convinced, that no invitation could be successful. But a provisional regency, presided over by the Bishop, having been organized, the Sepoys, and the artillery from Goa, landed at an early hour of the 23d September, 1823: their friends greeted them, the police-men of Macao joined them. At the head of this cohort, the commander, Joaõ Cabral d' Estifique marched to the square of the Senate house. The guardians of public safety were sleeping. The most pernicious of the intruders, Major Punlino da Silva Barbosa, was made prisoner, when still in his bed, and transported to the Salamandra: his comrade-Senators absconded. Another Senate, composed of such gentlemen as Dm. Manoel da Camera had chosen from among the individuals, who had previously been proposed by the Count de Rio Pardo, succeeded; a new Governor, with his usual attributes, was installed; the Councellor Arriaga, coming from Canton, reinstated in the exercise of all his offices. To free themselves at the moment from imprisonment, and prosecution, ex-Sen-

ators, Priests, Friars, Lawyers, and common citizens; fled to Canton, Manila, Singapore, &c. A few apprehended, were forwarded to Goa, where they had to answer for their crimes.

With the Dutch. By the influence of Macao, the endeavors of W. Van Warwick, to open a trade for Holland with China (1604) were thwarted. In 1607, Matelief came to examine the strength of a place, the trade and opulence of which tempted the covetousness of his countrymen, fighting in defence of their liberty, against Spain, to which Portugal had been annexed. At the end of the truce of twelve years, (1609—1621) between Spain and the Dutch, J. P. Koen, then Governor of the Dutch settlements in Asia, gave orders to Kornelis Reyerszoon, to take Macao: the attempt was made, (1622) but failed. Having compared the report of the Dutch Admiral, with a manuscript document of the affair in the Senate's archives, and found that both agree in the most essential parts, we have resolved to enlarge this article by presenting a brief extract from the latter.

"A fleet of sixteen sail, commanded by Kornelis Reyerszoon, anchored on the 22d June, 1622, in the roads of Macao, where he was joined by two ships trading to Japan. On the 23d, preparations were made for debarking, and on the 24th, St. John's day, about two hours after the sun had risen, two men of war opened their guns on the place, two armed vessels cleared the beach called Cassilhas, on which, in spite of our fire arms, 800 men landed from 23 boats, with such an impetuosity, that 60 Portuguese, and 90 Macao-born, could not prevent their landing. Perceiving that our people retired, the enemy left on the beach two companies of one hundred men, to disembark the artillery, which was to be used against the place; the rest bent their march in good order, under an incessant fire, towards the city. The tocsin was rung: our people flew to assist us. The enemy had nearly passed the hermitage of Guia, when a heavy gun, and some of less size were fired at them from the Monte. This salute made them stop, and finding that a great number of men were in front, the Commander, apprehensive of being surrounded, sought some strong hold on the declivity of the mountain at the foot of Guia. Of this movement the Portuguese availed themselves, they attacked the enemy in the rear, with so much resolution, that the Dutch threw away stand-

ards, arms, and every thing, that they might get quickly back to the bay. The two companies stationed at Cassilhas, endeavored to rally the fugitives, when the Portuguese fell upon them so furiously with fire and sword, that the enemy was compelled to seek for safety on board the ships. Many tried to reach the boats by swimming; of them, 90 were drowned, and almost as many were slain in the field. The Dutch lost five standards, five drums, and a field piece, that had been just landed, and more than a thousand small arms.—Four Captains were slain, and one taken, with seven prisoners. Four Portuguese, and two Spaniards, with a few slaves were killed. Some Portuguese slaves, who had behaved bravely and faithfully during the action, were emancipated by their masters: the Tsung-tŭh of Canton, sent them two hundred piculs of rice."

Though the Dutch were foiled in their first attempt to get possession of Macao, four Dutch ships came again (1627) and stationed themselves among the islands, with a view to intercept Macao ships, expected from Manila: they also kept the place blockaded. On this occasion, says the author of Asia Portuguesa, "the rich men went out in their rowing vessels, boarded the chief-ship, took and burnt her. They killed 37 Dutchmen, and took 50 prisoners; the booty was 24 cannon, 2,000 balls, and some money." The news, that a Spanish squadron was on the way to give succor to Macao, made the rest of the Dutch ships take their departure.

With the English.—By the Methuen treaty, of 1703, Portugal had placed herself, as it were, under the protection of Great Britain. This power never failed to give her ally the assistance she stood in need of, either in Europe, or her ultra-marine possessions. Apprehensive that the French Republic harbored the intention of seizing upon Macao, the Marquis of Wellesley, then Governor-general of British India, sent an English force to the protection of the settlement. It was proffered in 1802, and would have been accepted, had the united efforts of the English commanders and the Portuguese authorities proved sufficient. The Viceroy of Canton and his council dismissed the proposal; the expedition therefore withdrew from China.

This issue demonstrates, that the Portuguese have no right to dispose of Macao; that they are merely local tenants, or rather vassals; that the decision, of receiving or not, foreign

troops, depends on the supreme will of the sovereign of China. Unaware of these difficulties, or disregarding them, Lord Minto, Governor-general of British India, despatched, under Rear Admiral Drury, a powerful squadron of ships, and also an armed force to defend Macaó against the French. The Admiral having resolved to take possession of the place at the point of the bayonet, a convention was drawn up and signed on the 21st September, 1808, by the Portuguese and British commissioners: the same afternoon the first detachment of English troops landed quietly. We do not pretend to enter upon a detailed account of the various expedients the supercargoes of the honorable East India Company's select committee—"debating advisers" of the Admiral—devised for attaining the object aimed at by the mission. Suffice to record, that in the imperial rescript, communicated on the 4th December, to the Admiral and the chief-supercargo we read: "Knowing as you ought to know, that the Portuguese inhabit a territory belonging to the Celestial Empire, how could you suppose that the French should ever venture to molest them. If they dared, our warlike tribes should attack, defeat, and chase them from the face of the country. Conscious of this truth, why did you bring your soldiers here? Repent and withdraw immediately, the permission of trade shall then be restored; but, should you persist in remaining, the hatches of your ships shall not be unlocked," &c., &c The most elegible condition was chosen. By the agency of the Governor and Minister of Macao, a convention, dated 11th December, determined that the British should quit the place in eight or ten days: the troops and the artillery train embarked in a few days. On the 22d, Admiral Drury dropped a friendly line to Bernardo Aleixo de Lemos e Faria, Governor of Macao, offering him many thanks for his civilities, and set sail in the Russel man-of-war for India.

With China—1. *Politically.*—The dynasty, Ming, having permitted the Portuguese to settle at Macao, the vassalage began, notwithstanding the intimation of the ministerial memorandum alluded to. The government of Macao, like that of Corea, Cochin China, Siam, Malacca, &c., renewed, at stated periods, the obeisance due to their supreme Lord, by sending an envoy, as token of submission and a *tribute*. This surmise is sanctioned by the assertion

of Faria e Souza, who, in his "Asia Portugueza," says: "the gentlemen, who had charge of the present, ranged at pleasure over the country, and were always treated with magnificence and liberality." Gonçalo Teixera presented, among other valuables as a tribute, three guns of the Portuguese artillery, the model of which was imitated by Chinese founders. The instability of court affairs at that time, in China; the danger that the envoy might be, by the invading Tartars or their adherents, apprehended, induced probably the Chinese Government, to commute the usual present into a regular sum of silver, yearly paid into the Imperial treasury, as the safest measure that could be adopted. The Portuguese of Macao having, in 1651, acknowledged the supremacy of the actually reigning Ta-tsing family, Shan-che, the first Manchou sovereign over China, was pleased to remit for three years the *ground rent*, being then, it appears, one thousand taels, equal, I suppose, to the third part of the triennial tribute. His son, Kang-he, the theo-philosophic,* required from 1691 no more than 600 taels; a standard to which the recognized annual payment of 500 taels, by sundry additional charges is still raised. The sum of 500 taels is, in the beginning of every year, delivered, by the Procurator of the Senate, to the Mandarin of Heang-shan, on his presenting a discharge, signed by the Imperial Treasurer at Canton.

That the reader may form an idea of what the tribute might have amounted to, we shall first translate a letter of submission and gratitude, which the Senate of Macao directed, 1719, to Kang-he, and then subjoin a list of presents, so that any minute inquirer may compute, should he think worth his while, by approximation, the value of them.

High and Mighty Lord:

The Portuguese of Macao, who govern the place, Manoel Vicente Rosa, &c., with all the others, have always received immense favors of your Imperial Majesty, whose name fills all the world, and lately a new one bestowed upon us by not being included in the prohibition of navigating the southern seas; we have more than ten thousand mouths to provide for. The favor of not being comprehended in the pro-

* See a few of his maxims in the Appendix, No. vi.

hibition is above all comparison great, and certainly we can never acknowledge it as we ought. To shew in some way our thankfulness, we have selected a few articles, which we at present transmit to the Tsung-tŭh, or Viceroy, begging him to have the goodness to present them to your Imperial Majesty, and we shall be very happy, &c. Macao, 1st March, 1719.

Signed, M. J. Rosa, &c.

List.

4 boxes, each containing 12 square glass-bottles, with very best European wine.

4 small boxes, each containing 12 small square glass bottles, with pattern snuff—"Amostrinha."

10 large Chinese jars, with pears, peaches, muis, carambolas and ginger.

1 small box containing pastils for perfume.

1 small box, containing 12 square glass-bottles, with candied almonds, candied and sweet pastils.

12 ounces stone, "gaspar anthony," in five pieces.

4 printed calico covers from the coast.

4 pieces white fine cloth from the coast.

4 fire-locks from Europe.

2 cases with knives from Europe.

1 box containing Peruvian bark.

1 tin box containing Roman treade.

1 box containing divine plaster, salves, &c.

1 box containing tartar of white wine.

1 box containing Galbanum.

1 box } the labels could not be deciphered.
1 box }

1 tin box containing Ipecacuanha.

2 rolls with gold lace from Europe.

In 1720 Kang-he had a son born; this event was celebrated at Macao. Two years later the Emperor expired, and the Senate having been informed of this sad news from the Mandarin of Heang-shan, directed that guns should be fired twenty-four hours from the forts and the shipping in port; that the civil and military officers should wear mourning for three months. At the exaltation of Yung-shing to the throne,

bells were rang and guns fired: at his demise (1735) the inhabitants wore mourning twenty-seven days; the fort Monte fired a gun every hour for 24 hours, and then a royal salute. From that time similar demonstrations of joy or grief have not, to my knowledge, been ordered by the Senate, except in 1821, at the ascension of Taou-kwang on the throne, when the Senate house was illuminated; it cost 12¾ taels.

2. *Judiciary.*—Report, when speaking of the Portuguese achievements in India, was seldom in their favor. Experience has also taught the Chinese, that restlessness and a domineering spirit made the prominent features of those adventurers, who had left Europe for Asia in quest of a fortune. By these previous notions need we wonder at the cautious conduct the Chinese betrayed, whenever a request for future concessions became the topic of discussion? Neither did the strangers, by their behavior, conciliate the good will of the people. It being one of the principal objects of the Portuguese to extend the influence of the Roman Catholic faith; the true believers, i. e. men who suspend the use of their common sense on all points of religious controversies, did not scruple to seduce youth and have them educated by the Jesuits; to purchase children from their wretched parents, and conceal those which kidnappers could lay hold of. This infamous practice is severely reprobated by writers, who have delineated the behavior of their countrymen in Asia. During a period of twenty-five years (1557, 1582) that the higher Mandarins took little or rather no notice of Macao, the settlers might have boasted—as the ministerial memorandum affirms— of "being governed by the laws and jurisdiction of Portugal, without the least dependence on, and subordination to, or mixture with, either the Ministers or Mandarins of China;" but an increasing population, and the misdemeanors of some individuals rendered an accurate inquiry of what the strangers were doing at Macao indispensable. The Viceroy of Kwang-lung and Kweng-se summoned, in 1582, before him the Governor of the Bishoprick, the Captain or Governor of the place, and the Judge. Fearful of what might happen to them they were unwilling to obey; yet the salvation of their infant colony required that some person or other should proceed to Shaou-king-foo, the Viceroy's residence at that time.

Matthias Penella, the Judge, a man of age and experience, on very good terms with the Mandarins, and Miguel Ruggiero—called by the French, Michel Roger—an Italian Jesuit missionary, were despatched with seductive arguments, such as in many parts of the world, and perhaps most in China, public officers allow themselves now and then, with complacency, to listen to. The two gentlemen arriving at Shaou-king-foo, were traduced as culprits before the tribunal of the Viceroy, who, with asperity upbraided them, censuring their fellow countrymen for the audacity which they had evinced, in depending on other laws, than those by which China was governed. The ungrateful merchants were to be expelled, deprived of the immense advantages of trade, and the port forever shut against them. This tone softened and mellowed in twenty-four hours, for rich and magnificent presents had been heaped on the Tsung-tŭh and those of influence. They consisted in velvets, mirrors, and a variety of European manufactures, to the value of four thousand cruzades. The envoys were treated with becoming civility, and absolved with the gracious sentence, that "*the foreigners subject to the laws of the Empire, may continue to inhabit Macao.*

In civil cases.—Among the foreigners a Mandarin took up his residence, and decided between Christians and Chinese lawsuits belonging to his office. King Philip I., of Portugal, in his instructions, dated Madrid, 16th February, 1587, for his "Ouvidor," or chief justice at Macao, commands him, in the 30th paragraph, "not to intermeddle with the jurisdiction of the Mandarin of the place—'a povoaçao'—exercises over the Chinese and Chinehews." Litigious questions, not within the circle of his jurisdiction, were referred to the cognizance of superior judges. To substantiate this assertion, we shall, in a chronological succession, report a few instances. In 1657 Manoël L. Aranha, an Alderman, absconded, proceeded to Canton, and laid before the Tsung-tŭh a variety of accusations against some of the most respectable members of the Commonwealth. Armed men were sent to apprehend and bring them up to Canton; an order that spread amazement and consternation among the public. The Viceroy was convinced by documents laid under his eyes, and the promise of 4000 taels, that Aranha was a perfidious informer:

he was condemned in a general meeting, held the very same year, to reimburse the sum, but he escaped banishment. In 1686 Pero Vaz de Silveira and Joseph Pinheiro were summoned before tribunals at Canton, for their having had some muskets manufactured by Chinese gun-smiths; the threatening subsided at the sight of 224 taels. It must have cost the city a greater sum to still the wrath of the Mandarin of Casa Branca. He came (1688) to Macao, sent for the Senators, and gave them audience in the quality of their judge. He lectured them for harboring in the place, people who sold and purchased children, both male and female: he commanded them to give up to him the guilty and the kidnapped. To make Mandarin of Hean-shan (1690) drop an inquiry, and desist from calling before his tribunal at Macao, two captains, who had brought some salt from India, and another for sulphur, imported from Manila; likewise the Ouvidor and the adjunct of the garrison, for having given a few blows to a Chinese, the Senate had to come forward with 400 taels. It was forbidden in 1611 and 1613 to build new houses or mend the old without leave. These edicts were surely as little respected as the seventh paragraph of a conventional pact, dated 1749. It commands that neither churches nor houses shall be erected on new foundations; or the ancient habitations, churches, forts, and quays, &c., repaired without having previously bought a license from the Mandarin of Casa Branca. However, after the parties have agreed on the amount of a fee, Mandarin runners, sent about, discover foundations sunk in the earth these hundred, or hundred and fifty years. To this connivance Macao is owing many fine dwelling places.

Criminal cases.—When a manslaughter or murder takes place, a sum of money may clandestinely be proffered the parents of the slain—an accommodation very often scorned: they rather crave public vengeance, by reporting the case to their Mandarin. Meanwhile the suspected person is secured and imprisoned; his case tried, and witnesses heard by Portuguese authority. On the arrival of the Mandarin, who is come for inspecting the dead body, the Procurator remits to him the culprit, that he may examine and make him confess in what manner the nefarious deed was perpetrated. The inquest of the coroner was formerly forwarded to a tribunal

of high Mandarins at Canton; at present it is directed to the Viceroy, on whose sentence the fate of the delinquent depends; was it a death-warrant, he was brought to Canton and executed. This old custom was changed in 1710, when the Mandarin of Heang-shan undertook, for a bribe of 120 taels, to obtain that the culprit should suffer death by the hands of a Chinese executioner at Macao, in the presence of Mandarins, parents of the deceased, the Procurator, &c. In 1743, the Senate refused to deliver up the guilty, a novelty the Mandarin informed the Viceroy of. The innovation being new and of importance, was submitted to Këen-lung. The Emperor conforming himself to the opinion of his tribunals, issued, in the sixth year of his reign, (1744) this rescript: "hereafter should a Chinese kill a European, of Macao, sentence shall be passed on him according to our usage; when a European murders a Chinese he shall suffer death by the sword or cord; other things, such as to examine the culprit, to throw him into jail and deliver him to Mandarins, are unnecessary." This despatch was imparted by the Mandarin through the Procurator of the Senate, though it was in 1773 set aside in the following trial:

A Chinese had been murdered at Macao, suspicion having fastened on an Englishman, the local authority caused him to be apprehended and committed to prison. According to custom, the civil government of Macao first heard the case. It was tried; the accused examined, deposition of witnesses received, but the slightest evidence, that Francis Scott was the homicide, could not be found. In this predicament, the man should not have been given up, although the Mandarin threatened the city, and obstinately claimed the culprit. To bring this perplexing business to a close, a general meeting or council was convened. Men of respectability, and among them a member of the then ruling Senate argued, "it will be unjustifiable to consent to the sacrifice of an innocent man; the most accurate inquiry proves sufficiently, that the Englishman is not guilty; our reasons for refusing to give him up must therefore be submitted to the Mandarins, and persevered in, till we shall succeed in saving him from an ignominious death." The Vicar-general of the Bishoprick argued differently. "Moralists," he said, "decide that when a tyrant demands even an innocent person, with menaces to

ruin the places, the republic can say to any innocent, you must go and deliver yourself up, for the sake of saving, from inevitable destruction the community, which is worth more than the life of an individual. Should he refuse to obey, he is not innocent, he is criminal." The Procurator, added, "the Mandarins are forcing away the Chinese retailers, determined to make us die of hunger; we, therefore, had better surrender the Englishman." These anti-philanthropic sentiments operated: the plurality of votes decided, that Scott should be handed over; the Mandarins made him suffer death in 1773.* From 1805 a Christian culprit is put to death at Macao, by a Christian executioner.

In Commercial cases.—History of the trade.—The Portuguese settled in India, contrived to get the whole trade into their hands. They attained their object, and enjoyed for upwards of a century, the advantage of being the sole carriers between many ports of Asia and Lisbon: fixed on the barren rock of Macao, they had, for seventy or eighty years, an exclusive market in China. The Chinese being in the habit of carrying their manufactures and produce to foreigners, who trade as interlopers, on the eastern and southern coast of China; continued it even after the Portuguese began (1578) to go up to Canton in ships of from two to six and eight hundred tons burden. They brought from Europe woolens; from India amber, corals, elephants' teeth, sandalwood, silver, specie, &c., &c., but above all a great quantity of pepper. Their annual exports, to which "Asia Portugueza" adverts, amounted to 5,300 boxes wrought silk, each box containing one hundred rolls of velvet or damask, and one hundred and fifty of a lighter texture. (Martin Martini, in his "Atlas sinensis," mentions 1,300 boxes,) 2,200 or 2,500 "paõs de ouro" sticks of gold, each weighing ten taels; item 800 pounds of musk; besides seed pearls, precious stones, sugar, china-ware, and a variety of trifles.

Elated by the command of nearly the whole trade with Japan,

* The above is a most melancholy fact. An atrocity, however, which J. Barrow, Esq., in his travels to China, 2d edition, page 368, lays to the charge of the Portuguese Government of Macao, seems to be gratuitous, for *we*, who have deliberately ransacked the existing records on homicide, could never discover, that a Manila merchant ever was insidiously betrayed into the hands of the Mandarins for justice. Mr. Barrow ought to have been so candid as to mention the authority for so heinous an accusation.

Asia, and Europe, the natural pride of merchants in general was shocked at the indifference with which the Chinese authorities treated them. Of this neglect, the Senate complained, in a letter (1596) to the Viceroy of Goa, but honestly admitted, "it was owing more to the Portuguese themselves than to the Chinese," adding, "the Chinese require that we shall not come to Canton, but do the whole of our business at Macao." This hint was despised. Many Portuguese vessels were rambling on the coast, in spite of reiterated remonstrances from the Mandarins against smugglers, for neither the measurement of the ships nor the duties on imports and exports could be levied on them. Were any apprehended, the strangers cried out against the provincial government, pretending, by sophistical evasions, that it had no right to punish interlopers. This wrangling and brawling ended by shutting the port of Canton (1631) against the Portuguese shipping. An association with Chinese dealers, who were to furnish the export, and take at Macao the imports, was concluded. This scheme lasted but a few years, the partners fell out, and the Chinese partnership grew hostile to Macao. A deputation of six gentlemen went (1637) from Macao to Canton: they were commissioned to negociate the return of trade to that place, in which they *did* not succeed. Perpetually molested by inadmissible pretensions, the superior Mandarins of Canton had transmitted to the Emperor a memorial, saying: "Macao was formerly an insignificant place, it is now a kingdom; it has many forts, and a great and insolent population. It would be proper to ask, how much rice and liquors, which the Portuguese may want, and let them have the supply: it would be proper to debar them from the commerce at Canton." The Sovereign having assented to the proposal, his supreme will was signified to Macao on the 11th of June, 1640.

Although Macao ships were precluded from the port of Canton, we are not warranted to draw the conclusion, that all direct intercourse between the respective merchants was relinquished. Even in our days, the Senate of Macao maintains, that their merchants were formerly at liberty "to go to and come from Canton, with a passport signed by the Procurator and the Senate; also to convey goods to Canton and back, paying duties to the Emperor," a privilege which the

Mandarins deny ever was granted; but they admit, "that the Portuguese were not forbidden to go and come with a Mandarin chop." The communication found, most likely, its way through the numerous rivers and natural canals which intersect this part of the province, and is called "the inner passage;" an assumption which, to my knowledge, cannot be strengthened by any written national document, but by the testimony of a Spanish Jesuit, Navarette, who, in 1659, came from the Philippine Island to Macao. This missionary informs us, that "the merchants of Macao, having concluded their transactions at Canton, were accompanied by a convoy of ten or twelve Chinese vessels of ten oars, each worked by two men, besides a guard of twenty soldiers," an incumbrance that engrafted on the trade heavy charges. In what sort of vessels or barges the goods were transported, is a subject on which the author has not touched; but would it be an unqualified suspicion, that they belonged to Macao, and were adapted to inland navigation? "The fleet," Navarette says, "stopped at Heang-shan, was visited and paid duties."

We have already noticed, that the merchants of Macao thwarted for some time the view of the Dutch, to establish their trade at Canton. The English came to try their good luck. Captain John Weddell anchored (1637) in the roads of Macao: he was the bearer of a letter from Charles I., King of England, to the Governor and Captain-general of Macao, Domingos da Camera Noronha; but not as a line from the Governor-general of Portuguese India. To do business at Macao was inadmissible. By an authentic manuscript we learn, "that Weddell resolved to employ bribes, cunning, and every means to attain his object." However, being described by commissioners from Macao, as adventurers, without any respect for laws and religion; and having aggravated their invidious malice, by the exercise of wanton violence on the river Canton, the English were disappointed. Milburn pretends that the Portuguese at Macao opposed (1680) the English Company.

The attempt of the Dutch, English, and French, to share in the profit resulting from commercial business with China, at Canton, caused less the decline of the prosperity of Macao than the prohibition to navigate the ships. Kang-he,

anxious to put an end to the war, which the son of Chin-chi-lung, already spoken of, waged against the Tartar dynasty, commanded, in 1662, that his subjects, living near the sea, should quit their abodes and take shelter thirty Chinese miles (four or five leagues) from the coast, and abandon all navigation. The penalty of disobedience was death. The inhabitants of Macao were, by the mediation of John Adam Shal, (not Shall) a Jesuit, dispensed with literally obeying the general law, notwithstanding a maritime prefect was going (1667) to put the edict in execution. Several ships had, after the prohibition of navigating, returned; and in this year, seven more came to Macao. The ships and their cargo were, by a sentence from Pekin, condemned: the Mandarins by an uncommonly great bribe, eluded the confiscation. The natural subjects were (1669) permitted to return to their ancient abode and occupations; this favor was denied to its local subjects, the Portuguese; their ships could not in 1685, go to sea but by a previous license from Canton.

The Portuguese being expelled (1639) from Japan, and forbidden (1662) to navigate, there were at Macao, in 1685, no more than ten vessels owned by merchants, whose stock was small and credit less. Having no port to go to, the ships were offered no freight, but foreigners letting theirs cheaper, Macao (1704) "remained with only two ships, that could neither be manned or fitted out." The settlement was nigh breaking up, when a temporary relief approached: it came from a quarter nobody expected. Kang-he had, in 1685, thrown open to all commercial nations the ports of his vast empire, and permitted to his own vassals the exercise of a free trade. This encroachment on old custom spread a gloomy presage over men of pusillanimous or acute minds. A sea-prefect (Tsung-ping, i. e. Lieutenant-general) named Chin-maou, presented a memorial, in which the Europeans were depicted as a people of an unruly, aspiring spirit, and adventurous Chinese, living abroad, of a dubious patriotism; both drawing an immense quantity of rice from the country: in one word, free trade was pregnant with dangers. These specious arguments, being pondered by a competent tribunal, an edict, dated Kang-he's LVIth year, XIIth moon, 10th day, (1717) came out prohibiting to his subjects all communication with countries southward of China. The Mandarin of

Heang-shan intimated this order to Macao. A deputation went (1708) to Canton, patronized by Joseph Perera, a Jesuit, the Viceroy and his next man granted permission to navigate the southern seas; the very same year ships were despatched to Manila and Batavia. The concession was confirmed by Kang-he, who, the year before, (in 1717) had made, through his Viceroy of Canton to Macao, the offer of becoming the general emporium of foreign trade, and that the city should receive the duties on all importations. This brilliant proposition, the Senate declined. A similar offer of Yang-ching, in 1732, was, by order of Count de Sandamil, Viceroy of Goa, also rejected. How many ships Macao owned at the time, when the merchants had in their hands almost exclusively, the whole trade with Canton, I could never ascertain. By a command of Yung-ching, the shipping of Macao, was restricted in 1725, to twenty-five vessels: each ship was registered; her name and that of the commander has never been changed these hundred years past. An anomaly!

Hoppo. This is a tribunal, that has in charge the collecting of imperial dues on navigation and trade, and remitting the amount to the Grand-hoppo at Canton. Its local situation is on "Praya pequena." The chief officers of this custom house owes his appointment to the Grand-hoppo at Canton; at Macao, the Portuguese designate him by the epithet Grand-hoppo, in contradistinction to another, seated on "Praya grande," of this we shall say a few words hereafter. To the Grand-hoppo of Macao, the Procurator, on the arrival in port of a vessel, transmits a manifest—it ought to be genuine—of the cargo; a similar one to the Tso-tang, and to the Mandarin of Casa Branca." Of the ship's departure, the Hoppo is informed. No regular Hoppo was for nearly one hundred and fifty years established; but two years after Kang-he had declared the ports of China to be open to foreign nations, or in 1597, Hoppo-guards chased a boat loaded with goods. In 1688, a Dutch ship directed her course to the inner harbor of Macao, but the Bar-fort prevented it by firing on her. Informed of this act of hostility, the Hoppo-chief sent for the Procurador and asked, "by whose authority dared the Portuguese elude the commands of the Emperor," declaring, "that strangers coming to trade shall enter the port any where they please." Spanish vessels came in 1698 and

1700. A French vessel from the north-west coast of America, being chased (1793) by an English armed vessel, in the roads of Macao, run into the harbor. The Senate intended to make her a good prize, for Portugal was at war with France: the Mandarin of Heang-shan, having reported the case to the higher authorities, an order was intimated, that Macao should restore to the owner back ship and cargo, "if you do other wise you shall not be allowed to remain in the place, on the same footing as before." The Grand-hoppo collects the amount of measurement from Macao, and foreign ships, and the duties on goods sent to, or coming from Canton.

Measurement. On a fixed day, the principal officer of the Hoppo, or his deputy, goes on board the vessels to be measured, attended by the Procurator and the commander of the ship. The duty of the anchorage depends on the size* of the ship, and is paid in cash. This branch of port-polity, was for many years left to the discretion of a subaltern officer, whom the Grand-hoppo of Canton chose to depute every year, for the sake of measuring the ships of the monsoon, and sending the revenue to Canton. As late as 1685, no fixed rules for the discharge of this impost, being published, ship owners made, through the agency of the Procurator, to the Mandarins, entrusted with collecting the duties on navigation, the proposal to accept of a valuable private gift, with the condition, that the biggest ship should be charged at 500 taels measurement, and the smaller in proportion; terms, which both parties it seems, agreed to, because the Senate became security, for the punctual fulfilment of the contract. At last, Regulations, dated 1699, or in Kang-he's XXXVIIth year, XIIth moon, 2d day, determined that the measurement of Macao ships, should be rated at that of vessels of Fŭh-këen, Che-keang, and the rivers to the eastward. By this direction, the Macao shipping was divided into three classes, and the anchorage duty began to be, and is in proportion to their relative burdens. Whatever this sum may be, a vessel, once measured, has always $\frac{2}{3}$ of the original amount remitted, a favor, which no ships except those of Macao, inscribed on the Imperial register, can claim: European ships, though measured, are not entitled to this indulgence. That the Imperial rev-

* Appendix, No. VII.

enue might not be defrauded, the Mandarin of Heang-shan, intended (1712) to mark the ships, but for an emolument of 200 taels, he gave up his intention. Twelve years later, the twenty-five ships which Yung-ching had consented that Macao may own, were marked with numbers.

Considered as vassals of the empire, the owner of any vessel going to sea, may request the Hoppo of Macao, to demand for it at the office of the Grand-hoppo at Canton, a passport in the Chinese language. On presenting this document, the civil authorities, in whose district an accident has happened, are bound to tender all the aid and service within their power, for saving men, ship and cargo; and for that purpose, the Procurator of the Senate, may correspond with the Mandarins. This benevolent and humane protection is extended to ship-wrecked foreigners by a law, dated the 2d year of Këen-lung, 1737.*

A Hoppo on Praya grande, (the great landing place,) a Viceroy of Kwang-lung, and Kwang, &c., commanded (1732) the Portuguese of Macao to report to a civil Mandarin, the

* The following is a translation:

"Along the whole extent of our coast, people are driven on shore by gales of wind. It is hereby ordered that the Governors and Lieutenant-governors of provinces shall take the lead and cause officers to be particularly attentive in affording compassion; that they employ the public money to bestow food and raiment on the sufferers, and to refit their ships. After which, that they cause the goods to be returned, and see that they are sent home to their own countries. This is done to manifest tender feelings towards men from remote regions. Take this order and command it to be everlasting law."—*Chin. Repository, Vol.* 11. *No.* 11.

Is there in Christendom any government that can glory in any similar provident and disinterested regulations? May not the unusual calls, these three years past—of foreigners at the eastern coast of China for assistance rouse suspicion? Shall government never be informed, that the pretext of their being in want of materials for repairing ships, of provisions for a crew, &c. has for object nothing else than to gain admittance at different ports, where incessant and pressing solicitations are used by the foreigners to dispose the subjects of the empire to set its laws at naught, by purchasing a drug severely prohibited, because the use of it is injurious to the faculties both of body and mind, and by distributing tracts of a proscribed doctrine. Finding that the Europeans are willfully misusing the tenor of the humane law of Këen-lung, is there no apprehension that this edict may be repealed, or European vessels at least, excluded from the benefit, which by their lawless conduct, the commanders shall have forfeited? But do smugglers ever care for the distress of posterity? and ought anybody, who endeavors to engraft vice upon nations, be numbered among morally good and honest men?

arrival of any foreign ship, her force, the nation she belonged to, her errand, &c. This troublesome commission was reluctantly complied with. The superior Mandarins accused their inferiors of remissness, these threw the odium on the stubbornness of the Portuguese. To put an end in future to all crimination and recrimination, a subaltern Hoppo was settled on Praya grande, the landing place, in a barrack. The government of Macao, removing it, (1779) furnished the man with a suitable house, in which he is actually living. This Hoppo levies on foreigners, coming and going, an arbitrary tax on their persons and baggage. He is assisted by compradors, pilots and others, and gives to his superiors "the information incumbent on the Portuguese;" but in all cases of importance, the Procurator must also make his report, a duty which was exacted in 1802 and 1808, when the British squadrons and transports were lying in the roads of Macao.

No man-of-war is required to pay measurement, if not armed "en guerre et marchandise"—of this kind were the Galleons, which were sent from Goa to give convoy to vessels trading with Japan; they were measured: in a letter (1612) the Senate complains of having been compelled to pay for them, 4870 taels: in 1698, the measurement of a frigate amounted to 1020 taels.

Duties. From 1557 to 1578, inclusively, Chinese merchants, bartering at Macao, foreign goods, principally for silk, bore the duties of imports to, and exports from China. The Portuguese began in 1578, to resort to Canton. The merchants, who were properly deputed from the Senate, to manage the mercantile concerns of the city, waited on the Mandarin, to whom the concerns of the place was entrusted, with a present of 4000 taels; nearly double that sum was proffered, when the ships were loaded and despatched.* Such guests deserved attention. At first, the market was open once a year; but from 1580, owing to the two different monsoons, twice. The managers of trade, spent from January, in making purchases for India and other places, and from June, for Japan, every year two, three, and sometimes four months.

* Histor. Reschr. der. Reisen. Deel VIII. 177. Histor. Description of the Travels. Vol. VIII. 177.

The imported cargo, were appraised, and the duties paid in specie, till 1582, when silver was refused. From 1579, according to an old manuscript, the Portuguese had to pay export duties at Canton.

Can reliance be placed on an assertion of the ministerial memorandum often alluded to. "The Portuguese had the privilege of paying on all articles of trade bought at Canton, and carried to Macao, ⅔ less duty than other nations." The mouldering manuscript just mentioned, informs us, that in 1579, the duty was "12 maces per peeul, for fine silk, and 8 maces for coarse; 2 maces per peeul, for all other kinds of merchandise." Assuming this to be one third, other merchants must have been charged at the rate of 4½ per cent. When this favor ceased, and the standard rose to six per cent. it has not been in my way accurately to discover before 1699. That the toll-gatherers gave the Portuguese credit for some parts of the Imperial dues, is evident from records, stating that Macao was (1637) indebted to the Emperor in the sum of 90,000 taels, an arrear, which had probably begun to accumulate from the year 1631, the period at which the provincial government resolved to exclude Portuguese ships from the port of Canton. That a similar deficiency in the receipt might not recur, the duties to be levied on exports to Macao, were in 1637, formed by a company of merchants at 22,000 taels per annum. The regulations already quoted in reference to measurement, stipulated also, that Macao merchants should pay no higer duties, than those of Fŭh-këen and Che-keang pay their respective custom offices. By a letter, dated 1724, from the Senate to the Viceroy, we learn, "that the Supreme Majesty, the Emperor, had granted to the city of Macao, the privilege of paying a duty of six per cent." and by a reply of the Procurator to the Grand-hoppo of Canton, who intended in 1792 to raise this impost, the Senate declares, that "it shall be discharged in conformity with the tariff of 1699"—Kang-he's XXXVIIth year.

Ship-building. *Abimitio*,—an old manuscript assures us it was under a heavy penalty forbidden to build ships at Macao. This injunction was no doubt enjoined on the first settlers, for had it began at the ascension of the Manchan family on the throne of China, or after the inhabitants of Macao had recognized the supremacy of the new dynasty, we may be assured

that the then existing recorders of events would have gravely accused in their writings, the Tartars of illiberal encroachment on an ancient privilege, conceded by the Ming governments. Tradition—an ingenious antiquarian—does not hesitate to maintain that on Oitem a place was set apart for building and repairing ships. Had that ever been the case, the owner of the settlement, the Jesuits would undoubtedly have acquainted posterity with its locality, origin, progress and cessation. However, on a plan—of which we shall further speak in another place—of Macao, delineated one hundred and eighty years ago, a situation on the Priests' island at Macao, called Lapa, is assigned for a dock, and another for a battery ; the existence of either we do not venture to affirm nor deny. As instances of this jealousy, with which the Mandarins opposed ship-building, we shall refer the reader to the following particulars. The Mandarin of Casa Branca, hearing that a priest, Anthony Nunes de Sá had, in his premises built a vessel, deputed three of his colleagues to verify it. The Senate, (20th January, 1668) conceived that the delegates must be admitted, and that the Magistrates of Casa Branca—negociating with him, i. e. bribing him—should be taught to believe, that out of a truncated small vessel, the inhabitants were making a barge for the purpose of bringing fuel to Macao. In 1713, the Senate begged leave to build a brigantine, " embarcaçaõ de vigia,"—the Chinese pretending to obstruct the work some Portuguese had begun, for repairing their ships, a petition was by Joseph Pereira, a Jesuit, then at Canton, presented to the Viceroy, who issued orders to the two Mandarins at Heang-shan, to publish at Macao a chop, prohibiting everybody from stopping the Portuguese in refiting their vessels. Should anybody dare to disobey this command, he was to be imprisoned and punished. The very same year, (1722) Kang-he's permission to buy oil, nails, &c., for repairing old ships was renewed, but the prohibition of building any new ones, also reiterated. At present, an owner stating that his ship wants repairing, obtains permission from Tso-tang, a civil magistrate, residing at Macao ; to him, a Chinese shipwright, when employed, pays a certain fee for the license of doing the job.

3. *Diplomatically.* Envoys.—The information, which Raphaël Perestello, sent, not by the conqueror of Malacca,

Afonso Dalboquerque, who died 1515, at Goa, but by George d' Albuquerque, in a Junk from Malacca to China, gave on his return, respecting this famous country, induced Lopes Soares d' Albargaria, Governor of Portuguese India, to appoint a man of comely figure, insinuating, intelligent, not illiterate—essential qualifications in a negociator—and embarked him with Commador Fernaõ Peres de Andrade, who had orders from his Sovereign, to survey some parts of China. Having removed temporary cavils, Peres had (1517) an audience of the three Governors of Canton, to them he mentioned that he had brought with him an Envoy, commissioned by his master to wait on the Emperor, and propose friendship with the King of Portugal, and free trade with China. Thomé Pires, the Envoy, and seven of his countrymen, his retinue, landed; they were accommodated as foreign ambassadors usually are, and provided for. The Court acquainted with the object of his mission, took time to consider. A vassal of the late Sultan of Malacca, claimed at Peking, protection against the Portuguese, who six years before, wrested from his master, a vassal of China, his capital and dependencies. The Emperor had requested the Portuguese to restore to Mahomet Mahmet, or Mamadio, his sovereignty; perceiving that the recommendation was slighted, policy suggested the expediency of admitting the Portuguese envoy, who after a lapse of three years, set out (1720) from Canton to Nanking and Peking. John de Barros says: "*Thome Pires partió levando tres navios, õ ramo concertados á nosso modo de bandeiras e tolda de seda—Somente por honra deste reino levava as bandeiras com armas e divisa delle,*"—Thomé Pires set out with three rowing vessels, adorned in our way with flags and silk awnings—he carried for the sake of the honor of the country its armorial ensigns. The Mahometans, to examine when and why they came to Canton, is foreign to the subject in hand—meanwhile discloses the design of the Portuguese,—"they aim, it was told, at ruining all foreign shipping, that they alone may carry exports and imports all over the world." This invidious insinuation gained credit by the wanton provocations, which Simaõ Peres de Andrade had made himself guilty of, from the moment he landed (1518) at San-shan, till his escape in 1521. Describing this commander's wilful despotism, and his inflexible obstinacy,

the Governors of Canton observe in a memorial to the Court —"the Portuguese have no other design than to come under the denomination of merchants, to spy the country, that they may hereafter fall upon it with fire and sword." Has this early impression, by a more philanthropic behavior of other European nations, been mitigated? The Chinese recollect the seizure of Perhou by the Dutch, their plunder and violence on the eastern coast of China, their trade with Ching-chin-kong, or Koxinga. Have the English behaved better? Captain John Widdell is not the only one, who near two centuries ago, insulted, with four ships, the river of Canton. Similar and other examples—on record, of later dates—of an offensive character prove, that at the end of three centuries, the boasted European civilization* is still unwilling always to respect international laws and rights. But let us return to our Envoy. Unrelenting diplomatic representations from the ambassador of the dispossessed Sultan of Malacca, and accumulated reports of the iniquitous proceedings in India, with which the Portuguese were charged, moved an Emperor, who soon after departed this life, to order a competent tribunal to examine whether the embassy was legitimate or spurious: it was decided that Pires and his companions were spies, and deserved death. Kea-tsing, who succeeded, sent the Portuguese back to Canton, prisoners, to be kept in custody. Were Malacca restored by the Portuguese to its lawful sovereign, no harm should be done to the Envoy and his retinue; they should be allowed to leave unmolested the country: were the surrender of Malacca refused, Pires and his friends should be dealt with according to law; by its tenor Thomé Pires and others suffered death in September, 1523. Pires had no audience, the ceremony of worshipping, described by Barros, the Portuguese were merely occular witness to. The court received no presents, nor gave any; those intended for the Court of Peking, Pires, during his imprisonment, was robbed of.

* If civilization consists in dancing, drawing, fencing, hunting, warring, romance-writing, and in useful arts and sciences, Europe has a claim to pre-eminence; if civilization means respect for mutual rights of individuals and nations, freedom from despotic, civil and religious oppression, I apprehend she is far from that devotion of mind, which all good men most sincerely wish her to attain. The popular, "thorough, practical and moral," education, recommended by an American philanthropist, will greatly advance the work of civilization —*See North American Review, No. LXXVIII. p.* 73.

Francis Xavier—he was not yet made a saint—denominated the apostle of the East, suggested to Dm. Alfonso da Noronha, the expediency of opening by means of an embassy, an entrance in China, to Christianity ; the plan was listened to and approved. Noronha chose for this mission a wealthy man of probity and consideration, Diogo Pereira, who procured and bought on his own account, an assortment of suitable presents ; some more magnificent, the royal treasury, by order of Dm. Alfonso administered. They were to be delivered by the Envoy, in the name of King John III. to the Emperor. In this journey Francis Xavier, embarked : they left Goa, in 1552, and touched at Malacca. Whether it were because Pereira, had at one time or another, refused to lend Dm. Alvaro de Ataide (or de Taide,) da Gama, the sum of 10,000 crusades, or were from jealousy of Diogo's honorable commission, the Prefect of Malacca, Dm. Alvaro, took upon himself, under pretext that the places was threatened by enemies, and wanted assistance, to deprive Pereira's ship and others in port of their rudders. Thus the project to proceed to China was abandoned.

King John III. being, by letters from Francis Xavier informed before his death of the impediment the Prefect of Malacca had thrown in the way of the embassy, which Dm. Alfonso de Noronha had, in the name of his Sovereign, directed to the Emperor of China, and of the sacrifice Diogo Pereira had made of his property, by laying in presents, which were destined for the Court of Peking, the nephew of John III. King Sebastian I. determined to reward the zeal and patriotism of Diogo. He commanded his Viceroy, Dm. Francis Coutinho, Count de Rodundo, to send Diogo Pereira, as Portuguese ambassador to China, but hearing on his arrival at Goa, that Diogo governed Macao, the Count despatched next year, (1562) Diogo's brother-in-law, Gil de Goys, with permission to Pereira, to accept the embassy, or remain as Governor. Diogo preferred the Governorship, and Gil, who was by a special command of Sebastian I. to take Jesuits with him to the Court of Peking, could never manage matters with the Mandarins, so as to be permitted to proceed : that the embassy was mean, unimportant, destitute of pomp and grandeur, was alleged by the provincial authorities. The two Jesuits, Francis Peres and Manõel Teixeira, who came in company with

Gil, took up their residence at Macao, near the Monte; this, we had before an occasion to mention.

Ambassadors. Kang-he inherited the throne of his father, and an obstinate maritime war. A plebeian from Fŭh-këen, Chin-chi-lung, had declared against the invading Tartars. He was at first a merchant, but became soon the head of a mighty fleet, composed of those, who would bear neither domestic nor foreign oppression. The Man-chows called him a rebel; his adherents a General. A Tartar commander overcame Chin-chi-lung by cunning, and took him (1646) a prisoner to Peking. His son, Chin-ching-kong, a valiant, but violent man, surnamed Koxinga, took up the concerns of his father, avenged his imprisonment on the Tartars, and wrested (1662) from the Dutch, their settlement at Formosa. Chin-chin-kong died, Dutch reports say, within two years after this conquest, leaving to his son Ching-king-mag, or simply Chin-king, his command and ulterior views. Formosa in the hands of a naval power, which the Tartars could not cope with, was a dangerous neighbor. To check further progress, Kang-he commanded in 1662, under pain of death, that those of his subjects, who were dwelling on the borders of the sea, should withdraw from their abodes and settle in the interior, thirty Chinese miles—*Le*—from the coast, and totally suspend every kind of sea-voyages towards the South. Kang-he was, by the intercession of the Jesuit J. A. Shal, as already averred, pleased to except the inhabitants of Macao, from moving to a new place, but to navigate remained forbidden. Macao, having no other means of subsistence than trade, merchants ventured upon sending their vessels by stealth, partly by bribery, in pursuit of their business; the undertaking proved to be so hazardous and uncertain, that the Senate resolved to make John Nunes da Cunha, Count de St. Vicente, acquainted with the miseries that threatened the place with ruin. The Viceroy, in expectation, that a diplomatic mission might alleviate the hardship, chose Emanuel de Saldanha, and sent him in the name of King Alfonso VI. Saldanha arrived in 1667, the very year, in which seven ships with cargoes, were by sentence from the Court of Peking, ordered to be confiscated.

Did the presence of the Envoy mitigate the severity, pronounced against the ships and their cargoes, or shall we as-

cribe the lenity—for neither were confiscated—to large bribes bestowed on the Mandarins? We shall not pretend to solve this question. Saldanha, on his arrival, requested the Senate to appoint intelligent men, from whose experience he might collect the subjects of complaint, and likewise suggestions for a remedy. For this purpose, six gentlemen, with whom he during his stay at Macao consulted, were chosen. From Goa, the ambassador brought no presents, either for the Court or the Mandarins at Canton; the Senate had to provide them all. An authentic document still extant, demonstrates that those intended for the Emperor, were estimated, besides fractions, at Taels, 1,983

For the Empress,	1,269	
		3,552
For the Mandarins,		14,382
		17,634

Furnished with these valuables, Saldanha, accompanied by two Mandarins, set out for Canton, where he was detained fourteen or fifteen months, and at last despatched in a boat, "qui portoit banderolle avec cette inscription, cet homme vient pour rendre homage." The embassy consisted besides the Envoy, of a chaplain, a counsellor, a secretary and another gentleman, of twelve pages, a captain lieutenant, commanding twenty Carbineers, two interpreters, and servants not included. Of the ceremony which Saldanha on his reception underwent, I can give no notice, for I have met with none in my investigations.

To the amount of the presents, being Taels, 17,624

Macao had to add the passage-money of the Envoy and retinue from Goa and back; besides a payment of some small expenses incurred (1668) at Canton,	12,731
	30,365

The result of the embassy so little answered the expectations of Macao, that the Senate solicited His Majesty not to intercede in behalf of his vassals at Macao with the government of China, were it not in a momentous and urgent case.

Such a case, it was thought by the Court of Lisbon had arrived. The impertinent strife and disgraceful feud about certain ceremonies in China, with which the Roman Cath-

olics incessantly annoyed. Kang-he made him write (1713) by the Portuguese ship, Sta. Anna e Joaquim, a letter, and send (1721) the Jesuit, Anthony Magalhaens, to King John V. for the purpose of inducing by the King's mediation, the Pope to put an end to the polemic animosity of Missionaries, and to grant to the Chinese proselytes, permission to practice the established customs of the empire. These had been by four members of the Inquisition, condemned: their opinion Clement XI. confirmed (1704) by a decree, which the Court of Rome fortunately refused to rescind. From this moment China escaped becoming in fifty or sixty years, comparatively a desert, for a worship which requires an almost daily attendance, shortens the means of subsistence, and consequently those of bringing up families. At last, Kang-he was convinced of the necessity to put a stop to the progress of a sect whose teachers raised disaffection against the existing rules of government, and taught their converts to obey rather the commands of priests, than those of the Sovereign. Yung-ching, his son, forbade at last, by an edict, (1723) the exercise of Christianity in his dominions. In order to soften the severity and calm the mind of the Emperor, this most faithful Majesty sent, as his representative, Alexander Metello de Souza e Meneyes, with father Anthony Magalhaens to China; they arrived at Macao in 1726. The Procurator of the Senate wrote directly to the Mandarin of Heang-shan, "the King, our lord, being informed of your Majesty's accession to the throne, has deputed a great man to congratulate you with all his heart." The high Mandarins of Canton pressed the ambassador to proceed without delay, but his Excellency desirous to preserve unimpaired the respect due to his representation, solicited over and over, of the Tsung-tŭh to forward to the Emperor a letter, in which Metello, having alluded to the difference between a vassal-king, and an independent Monarch, expressed his confidence, that he should, by the commands of the Emperor, be treated by all public officers, with becoming deference. The excuse for not forwarding the letter was, that, had the proposal been made directly on the ambassador's arrival, it might have been sent; but since the Emperor had received advice, that the ambassador was on his way to Peking, it became inadmissible. During the correspondence with the Tsung-tŭh, his Excel-

lency held conference with a Junta, composed of two members of the Senate, two assistants, chosen by the electing body of the people, together with the Governor and Captain-general, that he might fully be informed of the oppressions and wants the city was laboring under, and solicit at the foot of the throne of China, redress and cessation of all unjust and vexatious practices. A superior Mandarin, commissioned to attend on the ambassador from Macao to Canton, gave his Excellency the most solemn assurance, that in the "Kang-ho," or pass-port, prepared by the Tsung-tŭh, neither the word "Tsin-kong," nor any other, implying inferiority, should be inserted. Still Metello hesitated, but was at length prevailed on by the Jesuits, to return his visit to the Mandarin, with whom he then fixed the 18th November, as the day of their departure.*

Four days previous to that, on which the Ambassador and the Mandarin intended to embark for Canton, a copy of the Imperial rescript to a memorial of Tsung-tŭh, was handed to Metello. Among other expressions, it contained the following: "the European Ambassador has passed many thousand miles to come here. The Tsung-tŭh of Kwang-lung must give him servants and provisions during his journey and a Mandarin to attend on him, and to take care of him. In reference to the departure of the Ambassador, let that be left to his own will: it is not proper to molest him, by hurrying and pushing him on; thus shall the Tsung-tŭh, as my representative, convince him of my kind affection." Yung-ching

* Alexander Metello de Souza e Meneyes having found means to forward, by an express, a letter to the Emperor, it was received the 26th November, 1726, and translated by father Parennin. The Prime Minister—the thirteenth brother of Yung-ching—reading the address, and remarking, that the ambassador objected to the two characters, Tsin-kong, asked the interpretor, what meaning the Europeans attach to those signs.

"On leur donne, repondit Parennin, un très-mauvais sens: ils signifient tribut, redevance, sujestion, dependance. Il est vrai, repondit le Regulo, ces caractères ne s'employent qu' à l'égard de ceux qui dependent de nous, et qui doivent le tribut. Mais s'avisera-t-on de croire, que les Européans, qui sont au bout du monde nous soient soumis, et que nous ayons rien à exiger d'eux."—*Lett. Edif. Tom.* XXI. *Paris*, 1781.

Kong ou Kung ne signifie que present; les Mandarins ne faisoient aucune difficulté de les remplacer par un autre mot "Ly," sur la tête des presens do l'embassade angloise. (1793) Kung plus imposant est ordinairement employé pour les presens qu' on offre à l'empereur. Voy. en Chine par J. C. Hittner, p. 206.

ordered "Tong," a president of the inner tribunal of crimes, and the Jesuit, Anthony Magalhaens, to join the Ambassador, whom they met in the province Keang-se. Metello preferred to continue his journey by way of the canals, as more convenient than to travel by land; he arrived at "Chan-kea-wang," with forty attendants. The Kong-ha had fixed the number to twenty-six, but his Excellency declared, that he would himself, rather bear the expenses for the supernumeraries, than that his retinue should not correspond to the dignity of his mission. On the 18th May, 1727, the Ambassador on horseback, made his entrance at Peking: on his way he had a great quantity of cruzados flung out, a splendid prodigality and munificence, which was repeated on the Ambassador's return from his first audience.

The ceremonial of an audience, not being invariably the same at the Court of Peking, we shall record the "solemn" ceremony, Leoff Vasiliévich Ismäiloff, an Ambassador from Tsar, Peter I. of Russia, was subject to in 1720. The manuscript narrative is from an eye witness. The Envoy being conducted to the Hall of Audience, carrying in his hand a letter addressed to the Emperor, deposited it on a table placed opposite to the Emperor: he then withdrew, and made at the other side of the open door, the three genuflections and the nine obeisances: they were not correlative to the person of the Sovereign, his master, for if so, the Ambassador should have made the genuflections with the letter in his hand. Having performed the ceremony, Ismäiloff entered the Hall again, took, kneeling, the Tsar's letter, and being invited to the throne, placed the credentials before the Emperor. This account agrees in the main with that of John Bell of Antermoney, who in the ninth chapter of his Travels, says: The master of the ceremonies conducted the Ambassador by one hand, while he held his credentials in the other. Having ascended the steps, the letter was laid on the table, placed for that purpose, as had been previously agreed; but the Emperor beckoned to the Ambassador, and desired him to approach, which he no sooner perceived, than he took up the credentials, and attended by the master of the ceremonies, walked up to the throne, and kneeling, laid them before the Emperor." These two authorities prove, that the previous agreement referred to, by Fr. Juan de Concepcion, in his "Historia general de Philipines Tom." X, p. 102, never ex-

isted. "Quiero yo el Emperador que ponga la carta, (del Tsar) el Embaxador sobre una mesa, y en mi nombre irá un principal mandarin à reverenciar-la, tocando con la frente la tierra * * * asi se executó,"—I the Emperor, will that the Ambassador shall place the letter from the Tsar on a table, and that in my name one of the principal Mandarins shall go and reverence it by knocking his forehead on the ground * * * and it was done. A precedence of this nature, would suit admirably any Ambassador, for, unless by transubstantiation, the Sovereign who sent him, be identified with the packet, the worshipping a piece of paper, is assuredly more absurd, than to worship an enthroned monarch. Had the two great men been in presence of the other, the ceremony, I venture to say, would have consisted in mutually embracing as equals; but when a Sovereign sends to a foreign court, "a confidential servant," such person, if anxious to deliver his message, ought to conform to the established rules of etiquette, for he and his master, must not forget the old adage: "Quis vult finem, velit et media." The assertion in Bell's Travels, chapter XIth, that Leoff Vasiliévich received an autographic answer to Tsar Peter, is to be understood, that Ismäiloff, being called, accompanied by his Muscovité interpreter, to a private audience, heard Kang-he verbally dictate his compliments to the Tsar, in the presence of two superior Mandarins of that tribunal, to which the affairs of Russia belonged, and order them to consign these Imperial expressions in an authentic document. In China the Emperor never writes, we are informed, letters to any body, but those containing orders to his subjects.

We proceed to the description of the ceremony Alexander Metella de Souza e Meneyes went through on the day (28th May, 1727) of his audience. Two Mandarins in actual waiting at court, preceded, then followed the Assessor of the Council of State, Lepoo, also translated tribunal of civil office, and Parennin, a French Jesuit, the Interpreter; next came the Ambassador, carrying with both hands his master's letter; after him the Secretary and a third gentleman, bearing the title of Mordomo,* conducted by a Mandarin. Ac-

* At the Court of Lisbon, Mordomo-mŏr is an office of high trust.

companied by the Assessor, his Excellency entered the western gates, ascended the steps of the throne, and kneeling, presented the credentials: he rose, went out by the same way, and in front of the middle door, which was open, the Ambassador with his retinue, performed the usual act of obeisance. This ceremony being over, the Ambassador was brought to the foot of the throne, and seated at the head of the grandees. He shortly after had permission to make his speech, which he delivered, placing himself on his knees upon a carpet. On the 7th June, the presents contained in the thirty cases and boxes, were offered. The Emperor said: "It gave him much pleasure to perceive in so many precious things, the affection of the King of Portugal." From this day, the Ambassador resided a whole month at Peking. He and his family were, by an Imperial proclamation, allowed to stray without impediment over the place, in any direction they pleased. On the 7th July, his Excellency had his audience of leave at Yuen-min-yuen, a country seat at a short distance from the capital. That day, the Emperor presented with his own hands to the Ambassador, a cup with wine, and sent him from his own table several dishes. Leaving the place, presents were distributed to the retinue of the Ambassador, and to his Excellency, among other things, which Yung-ching gave, were seven trifles, valuable solely because they were the gift of a monarch. Metello received also, thirty cases and boxes, to be delivered to his most faithful Majesty, the King of Portugal.

The Ambassador had declared to the Mandarins of the Council of State, that he could not admit the answer of Yung-ching, unless it were in terms of equal rank. "Tong," commissioned to bring the Ambassador back, took charge of the Emperor's reply, and put the scruples of Metello at rest. They left Peking 16th July, went on board vessels, laying at the distance of five or six leagues from the capital, and were on the 18th December, at Macao. No advantage that I am aware of, resulted from this embassy, though the city bore the heavy contribution of thirty thousand taels. The Ambassador brought to the Senate a letter, in which John V. gave the inhabitants of Macao to understand, that he would graciously condescend to accept a donative proportioned to the great expenses the royal chest had borne for the mission of.

an Ambassador and the presents to the Emperor. In consequence, the Jesuits of the province of Japan contributed,

	Taels, 1,000	
Those of the vice-province of China,	500	
The Chapter of Macao,	200	
Twelve citizens together,	3,000	
The city revenue bore,	25,300	
		30,000

Strangers, being permitted to settle at Macao, first by tacit consent of inferior Mandarins, and later by the verbal one of the Tsung-lŭh of Kwang-lung, and Kwang-se, on condition that they should submit to the laws of China, aimed at independence. Fancying that they were masters of the spot they resided on, its inhabitants had early claimed the protection of Portugal, because the greater part of them were really vassals of that kingdom. The submission was accepted and rules fixed for the government of Macao. So situated, it became policy in the Portuguese to extend their influence over the Chinese, living in the place, and draw to themselves the territorial jurisdiction. These attempts had always been resisted, but repeated endeavors to encroach on Mandarin authority, convinced at length the Viceroy of the two provinces and his council, that it was high time to fix invariable rules, by which the Portuguese should, in all future transactions, be bound. Twelve articles were drawn up, and the Portuguese requested to agree to them, or leave the country. After many long, tedious, and troublesome conferences, the most eligible condition was chosen; a Conventional Pact of which we shall extensively treat hereafter, was signed in 1749. Any friend to good order and fixed laws would have welcomed the regulations and maintained them inviolate, but the 12th article forbade the teaching of Christianity, which so shocked the faithful, that it was deemed proper to omit it in the Portuguese translation. The whole reform being considered an intrusion on their rights, the Senate, Prelates, and the Governor, resolved to complain to the King of Portugal; and at a general meeting, it was decided, that Dm. Fr. Hilario de Sta. Rosa, Bishop of Macao, should be requested to take upon him the commission and proceed to Europe. On

his arrival at Lisbon, (1750) the Bishop presented from the Senate of Macao, to King Joseph I. a memorial, the contents of which were pondered in a royal sitting in Council, the determination of sending an Ambassador was taken.

The King chose for his Ambassador FRANCIS XAVIER PACHECO LAMPAYO, who came to Macao 1752. On the 14th November, the Mandarin of Heang-shan, put forth a chop—a proclamation—translated by the Jesuit, J. S. de Neuvialle, from which the following is an extract. "I publish this chop to let you know, that the Kingdom of Portugal has never been in the habit of paying tribute. At present the new Sovereign of that realm, sends an Ambassador * * * who is at Macao, to offer some objects of curiosity from that country, and knocking head, to inquire after the health of the Emperor. We are informed, that a Mandarin is sent to receive the Ambassador. Take care to sweep and clean the streets; do not be noisy; do not pronounce the Ambassador tributary, that he may not be displeased and disgusted." Pacheco left Macao and came to Canton on the 25th December, where the Supercargoes of the trading companies waited on him. Accompanied by "Shu," a Tartar Mandarin, and Father Augustine Hallerstein, (not Allerston,) the interpreter, the Ambassador reached "Chi-hoa," (20th April, 1753.) On the day his Excellency entered Peking, many of the Roman Catholic priests on horseback attended; they opened the march. Then came the Mandarin conductor and Hallerstein. Next followed three grenadiers with drawn swords for the protection of twenty-nine cases covered with yellow silk, containing the King's presents. After them followed trumpets and cymbals, the attendants and manual servants, all on horseback; also the pages with two black boys at the stirrups, and the Secretary with two stewards on each side. The Ambassador was carried in a rich, magnificent sedan-chair, by eight Chinese bearers, elegantly arrayed. Next the chair walked the adjuncts of the Senate, surrounded by many black boys, dressed like running footmen. At last came twelve chests, covered with blue velvet, laced with gold, and the arms of Pacheco in relief, embroidered in gold and silver. Grenadiers on horseback, closed the train. Alighted at his dwelling, the Governor-general of Peking, to whom the Emperor had entrusted the care of the present embassy, paid his Excellency a visit.

In the same order the Ambassador proceeded on the 1st May, to the place Këen-lung had fixed upon for the reception of the first homage. The Emperor being seated on his throne, the Secretary and the Mordomo, Hallerstein and the director of the ceremonies, with the Ambassador were admitted into the Hall. His Excellency ascended the steps of the throne, and kneeling, presented to the Emperor the King's letter. Këen-lung took it himself and handed it to one of the grandees, who kept it exalted at the height of his forehead all the time his Excellency—the hat on his head—delivered his speech. The speech being finished, the Ambassador, the Secretary, and the third gentleman, performed the usual ceremony of obeisance. At the lapse of ten days the presents in twenty-nine cases and boxes, were sent, unpacked and accepted. Pacheco had besides, fifteen boxes with presents to be distributed among the principal Mandarins. Këen-lung reciprocated the royal memorials by sending from time to time, his Imperial gifts, in fifty cases and boxes, to the King of Portugal, and presents to the Ambassador and his retinue. Attiret, a French artist, was commanded to draw the likeness of his Excellency, which by the order of the Emperor, was placed over the Imperial throne in a Hall of the European buildings at Yuen-min-yuen. If reliance can be had on the assertion of an Italian Missionary, who for twenty-seven years attended the Court of Peking, in the qualification of a mechanician, there must be at that country seat, six Palaces, built in the European architectural style. At Yuen-min-yuen, the Emperor's address to the King of Portugal was handed to the Ambassador, who left Peking on 3d June, and landed at Macao 6th October, 1753, in company with "Hay," a Tartar Mandarin, and Hallerstein. With this embassy, Macao spent 22,000 taels, and his Excellency used to say, it cost him 16,000 dollars.

Conventional Pact. It were to be wished, that those citizens, who flatter themselves with the expectation of becoming by election, sooner or later, members of the municipality, should take pains to study the early, and actual relations of Macao with China. An accurate knowledge of them ought to be an essential requisite in the gentlemen to whom the direction of the military force is to be entrusted. To boast as a young Governor did twenty odd years ago, that he should make the

whole province tremble before his " Quatro gatos," (four cats) meaning the gentle cohort of four hundred men, denominated the Prince's Regent battalion, betrays an idle, puerile, presumption, or gross ignorance. Sixty years before, actuated by the then uncontradicted tradition, that Portugal was to be reputed the liege Lord of Macao, Anthony Joseph Telles de Meneyes, Governor of Macao, exceeded his power, and drew humiliation, perplexity and expenses on the city. He began by an order, to pull up, cut down and destroy a railing the Chief of the Hoppo on Praya pequena was making in front of his office, for registering and examining, within its precinct, with ease and quietness, goods coming from Canton, and other parts of China, by the inner passage, or being despatched for their respective ports. This violent and illegal act, had nearly suspended the trade, for the Chinese custom-house officer threatened to shut up his tribunal and carry his complaints to Canton. To make him desist from the journey, and adopt peaceful sentiments, the Senate could not help recurring to the old, tried, and successful means, namely, to offer excuses, valuable gifts, and the cost of a new solid enclosure round the Hoppo's office. Telles also was the cause of an alarming and very serious contention with the civil magistrates. Private manuscripts inform us, that in 1748, a military guard going their rounds, laid hold of two vagabond Chinese and brought them up to the fort Monte, where the Governors used at that time to reside. Telles de Meneyes, said : bring them to the Procurator. In the way to his house a quarrel arose, in which the prisoners were used so cruelly, that one of them had expired, and the other was dying, when the soldiers reached the door of the Procurator. In this state he declined receiving them; they were therefore brought back to the Monte. What hereafter became of them could never be fully ascertained. Several conjectures were circulated, and are on record : among them we have selected such, which in our opinion are marked with the seal of common sense and probability.

Next morning the Procurator waited on the Governor, who assured him, that he had not seen the Chinese ; a reply he obstinately adhered to, whenever an inquiry was made what had become of the murdered men. The surrender of the dead bodies and of the culprits being denied, neither an inspection of the deceased, nor examination of the perpetrators

of the crime, was granted. To bring about this essential object, the Mandarin gave orders to the Chinese retailers not to sell victuals to the Portuguese, and, leaving a few soldiers in the place, he proceeded to lay the case before his superior, the Mandarin of Heang-shan. The scarcity growing every day more distressing, and at last frightful, relief was to be sought by any means within the reach of man. The Governor obstinately refused to give up the soldiers. In this emergency, the Senate resolved to tempt the venality of the Mandarins; the trial was successful. In a secret meeting, managed with one of them, the Procurator slided into his hand, thirty pieces of gold*—Paõs de oura"—assuring him, that the culprits had been degraded and were gone to Timor. The gold had its wonted effect. After the sale of provisions had been suspended for nearly twenty days, the prohibition was removed.

By refusing to give up the dead bodies, a Coroner's inquest was prevented, an incident, which would help the Mandarins out of a dilemma, were a surmise of their being bribed ever stirred. To allege, that they were endeavoring by incontestible evidence to unravel this intricate business, would be admitted a sufficient excuse for having delayed to submit this criminal case to the decision of the Viceroy. Meanwhile a new shape was given to the case. Truth was —which too often happens—turned and twisted into falsehood. It had been at length proved to the satisfaction of the judges, that the soldiers had been under the influence of occasional fits of insanity, and that in a paroxysm of mental derangement, the two Chinese were slain. In consideration of this deplorable state of their brains, it is hoped, that the merciful heart of his Imperial Majesty will mitigate the rigor of the laws, in commuting the sentence of death, into perpetual banishment at the place, to which the Portuguese of Macao are wont to send their convicts, and in commanding that each of the delinquents shall have, according to law, to bestow twenty taels on the respective parents of the deceased, for celebrating their superstitious ceremonies. This opinion, suggested in a memorial of the high Mandarins of Canton, to the Emperor, had the desired effect; it procured pardon to

* In January 1834, the price of Gold 98 touch, was twenty-four dollars per tael.

the soldiers. Of this royal favor, the Senate was, by a Chop from the territorial judge of the province, informed.

To these precedents, we shall add a short detail of an occurrence, which made the provincial government comprehend, that the Portuguese of Macao still continued wilfully to slight their orders, and to set at naught the laws of the empire. The Mandarins had more than once admonished the Senate to allow no subject of China to embrace the Christian religion, proscribed 1723; nevertheless a man, charged with heinous crimes—the nature of which I do not know—had for a length of time, escaped the pursuit of his prosecutors, for he had found a retreat at the Jesuits. Protesting that he would become a christian, they sent him as a Catechumen to an Institution they had near St. Paul, called our Lady of defence,—"Nossa Senhora do Amparo." Spies discovered at length, his hiding place, and Chinese justice reclaimed him as a subject of China. The missionaries boldly denied having any knowledge of such a person, but it was soon ascertained, that many more lay hid at the same place. Exasperated at the impudence of foreign religionists, the Mandarins persevered in demanding all those, who by their inhabiting the Amparo, betrayed an inclination to desert the worship of their forefathers; they insisted that the culprits should be given up, and the Amparo razed; commands which the Portuguese with all their might opposed. The provincial government having decided, that the inhabitants of Macao, should either quit the country or submit in a certain degree to the supremacy of the empire, the Mandarins put a stop to long and tedious discussions and obstinate resistance, by issuing a mandate not to furnish them with the necessaries of life, but to be ready for evacuating the place in a few days. Aware that the people of Macao depend on a continued influx of provisions from the interior, and that the daily supply comes from native retailers, to avert the impending calamity, a Council or general meeting was held on the 9th of November, 1749. The members protested against violence, and declared, that necessity compelled the Senate to suffer the Amparo to be demolished, and to agree to a Conventional pact,* dated Këen-lung's XIVth year. It consists of twelve articles. A copy, left

* See Appendix No. VIII.

with the Senate, was by the advice and co-operation of Anthony Pereira e Sylva, a delegate magistrate, "Syordicante," from Goa, altered. In the Portuguese translation, the twelfth article, is omitted, because it prohibits teaching the Christian religion to the subjects of China. The Portuguese articles, engraved on a stone tablet, fixed in a wall of one of the corridors in the Senate-house, exhibit a jarring discrepancy when compared with the original, by which the Mandarins are guided.

Mandarin interference. Macao being the seat of a mixed population, whose political existence is at variance with the principals of undivided submission of natural subjects, collisions must now and then occur. When public business required the presence of any of the Mandarins from the district, the Senate hired for him a temporary habitation, till the resolution was (1779) taken to buy a house and prepare it for the reception of inferior officers of the province; it goes by the name of the Mandarin's house—"Casa do Mandarin." These dwellings being wanting in that space and convenience, which must attend on a Magnate or a Tsung-tŭh, when either condescends to honor Macao with a visit, the Procurator selects a commodious house for his residence; fits it up, and adorns it in the style and taste of Chinese elegance. The collective body of the Senate, waits on such an eminent personage. The oldest inhabitants of Macao averred (1712) that the Senators were then for the first time permitted to be seated in the presence of a Viceroy in chairs; heretofore they had their places on stools. Mandarins of high rank visiting Macao, were welcomed with presents of more or less value: those bestowed in 1810, by the city on the Tsung-tŭh of Kwang-tung and Kwang-se, who then called, were worth, I am told, about fifty taels.

The natural subjects of the empire being very numerous at Macao, vagabonds, gamblers, thieves, &c. entertain the expectation of hiding themselves easily in a place where the jurisdiction is divided, and the tenor of laws variously applied; the influx of these pernicious dregs of nations, is therefore constant and great. To keep them in awe, Këen-lung permitted, about a century ago the Mandarin of Heang-shan, to settle in the neighborhood of Macao a co-adjutor, with power to examine criminals and inflict on the convicted, a certain

degree of due punishment. This civil petty officer, denominated by the Chinese, Tso-tang, established himself (1800) at Macao; he keeps a watchful eye on the inhabitants of the peninsula, and is the organ of communication with the higher Mandarins.

Correlative Intercourse. We endeavored in Chapter fifth, briefly to sketch the features of a municipality absolute, and those of the actual mixed government, so far as both can be considered independent of Chinese influence on their domestic concerns: to what extent and in what manner the laws of Portugal suffer infraction by Imperial civil officers, a rather full exposition is given, we think, in the sixth Chapter. At present we intend to relate a case or two, in which Macao could freely discuss and ponder propositions, which the liege Lord chose to make to his local vassals.

Succor against the Eastern Tartars. The Man-chaw, or oriental Tartars, threatening the independence of China, because the dynasty of Ming had forfeited the affections of the people, suggestions came from the Envoy, Gonçallo Teixeira, bearer of a tribute from Macao, to seek auxiliary aid at Macao, as on record: it was adopted by Tëen-ky, the successor of Wan-leih; and a negociation set on foot by a Jesuit, John Rodrigues (1620) from Peking. A force of 400 regular soldiers—Europeans, Macao-born, and Chinese, good marksmen, bred by the Portuguese—under the command of two Captains, Lieutenants and Adjutants, was raised. This cohort passed Canton and proceeded to Nan-chang-foo, the capitol of Keang-se. At that place, news being received, that the invasion of the Tartars had been repelled, this little armed body had orders (1622) to retrace their steps and return to their home. Every soldier was accompanied by a slave boy, who had been bought with the Emperor's money. For defraying the necessary expenses, 34,000 taels were taken up at Canton, a sum, which (1632) was reclaimed under the pretext that the succor had not reached its destination. To settle this vexatious demand on the best terms attainable, agents were sent to Canton.

Auxiliaries against Pirates. Application for assistance against pirates, who from time immemorial, have been more or less troublesome to the coasts of China, were made at different epochs, to Macao. In 1719, the city consented to arm

two brigantines—" embarcaçoẽs de vigia,"—for the protection of the sea against rovers, on condition that it should in future be free from the ground rent, and the measurement of ships. In 1792, the Mandarin of Heang-shan requested "for the sake of public good and general safety, that two ships should be armed, manned, and provisioned." The following privileges, on that occasion, claimed by the Portuguese, and explained by the Mandarin, put an end to all further negociation.

PRIVILEGES *claimed by the Portuguese.*	EXPLAINED *by the Mandarin of Heang-shan.*
1st. The Portuguese lorded anciently not only over the Island from the Barrier to the Typa, but also over " Lapá, Ribeira grande and Pequena, Oitem, and Bugios"—monkey island.	1st. It does not belong to you to govern those parts; your duty is to drive away foreign ships from among the islands, and see them off.
2d. They had the right to grant permission to Chinese to reside at Macao, or to turn them out, whenever they behaved improperly.	2d. The Chinese who have ancient fixed abodes, you have no right to expel, others, who wish to reside at Macao, if they are bad, you may drive them away.
3d. They had the right to confiscate property and merchandise, in order to pay the debts of Chinese, who had failed in fulfilling their contracts with the merchants, or kept back money belonging to Christians at Macao.	3d. If a Chinese does not fulfil his contract, let the claimant make, according to custom, his petition to the nearest Mandarin.
4th. They had the right to punish a Chinese, when he was found guilty.	4th. We have our laws and by them we judge, the natural orders must not be inverted ; as you govern your people, we watch over ours.

5th. They had the right to have a Chinese, who had killed a Christian, executed at Macao.

5th. You know, that both Christians and Chinese must suffer death at Canton, by the sentence of many Mandarins, and that it was conceded to you to have the delinquent executed at Macao, because you feared that he might escape.

6th. They had a right to go to and from Canton, with a chop of the Procurator and the Senate; also to convey goods to Canton and back, paying the duty fixed by the Emperor.

6th. We never forbade you to go and come, but passing through different places our officers must examine our own chop, and determine the duties to be paid; these are the positive laws and cannot be dispensed with.

7th. They had the right by means of the Procurator, to lay complaints before the Viceroy, against any Mandarin, who had given offence, that the wrong might be redressed and justice done.

7th. You have never been oppressed by any injustice, which the Mandarins have not diligently sought to mend and make good.

That unholy race of men, who follow the criminal pursuit of attacking, plundering, and murdering peaceful fellow-creatures, whom they meet with at sea, or to whose habitations they venture to march on landing, had been greatly increased by those felons, who escaped from the rebellion of Formosa, and by those miscreants, who had taken an active part in the domestic broils of Cochin-china. Audacity grew out of accumulated means. In order that among four or five independent chieftains, neither might act in opposition to their general interest, the wretches bound themselves by a kind of confederacy, to lend one another mutual assistance, when requested. This union gave to their daring spirit, a strength and skill, that kept the coasts of seas and rivers in constant alarm, and fear of invasion. In 1801 or 1802, Macao was under the necessity of arming a brig for the protection of its environs; two years later a hired ship was added. Such

was the situation of affairs, when in 1809, a Convention was proposed by the Senate of Macao, and concluded with the provincial government of Canton.

Having read in the "Chinese Repository, Vol. III. June, 1834, No. 2," a summary of "Chinese Pirates," and a narrative of the exploits performed by the Portuguese auxiliaries in 1810, in the attack on the pirates, we determined on refraining from strictures on the veracity of the Portuguese historian, by whose assertions the compiler of the article has been greatly misled; we shall limit ourselves to a candid relation of facts, which we have witnessed, and which are on authentic records. No Viceroy of Kwang-tung and Kwang-se, ever resided at Macao three months, hardly three days; and at the time alluded to, not a single hour; he therefore could not propose to the Governor a convention. The beginning of it originated with the powerful influence of Miguel de Arriaga Brum da Silveira, Chief-justice or Minister, with the Senate of Macao. Having a suspicion, or rather a moral certainty, that the Honorable E. I. Company at Canton had given the Chinese to understand, that an aid for exterminating the pirate-hordes, might be had at Bombay, and apprehending, that a naval force might arrive early in the season of 1810, ready to act if requested, the Portuguese conceived that it would be indecorous further to delay their offering an assistance in the destruction of an enemy, who had already harassed Macao, and actually menaced it with ruin and desolation. A memorial was directed to the Viceroy of the two provinces, which, by the agency of a gentleman still living, was forwarded by means of a trustworthy Coolee, to the office of the Tsung-tŭh. It was delivered, and the reward of fifty dollars bestowed on the bearer, so soon as it was publicly known, that three Mandarins were ordered by the Viceroy to proceed to Macao, and empowered to conclude with that government an auxiliary treaty. The matter having been duly discussed, pondered and matured, a Convention containing seven articles, was signed the 23d November, 1809, by Miguel de Arriaga Brum da Silveira, and the Procurator José Joaquim Barros, and by Ken-kei-ché, Chû, Pom, Mandarins.

Macao was to furnish six ships—they were to be from one to four hundred tons burden—manned, armed, and provided

with ammunition and provisions for six months, the city to receive eighty thousand taels, and reintegration of ancient privileges. Possessing but one brig, five ships were hired, furnished with artillery, and manned with one hundred Europeans and Macao-born Portuguese, and six hundred and thirty Asiatics. In five days these six ships, by the zeal, activity, and assiduous attention of Arriaga, to whom the Senate had entrusted the management of this auxiliary concern, were ready for sea, and to act in conjunction with sixty Imperial war-boats. It must not be forgotten, that the Convention was signed on the 23d November, and that five days were taken up for getting the hired ships manned and prepared for action, and reconcile, if you can, Mr. Glasspoole's averment, "Repository, page 78,"—that "on the 29th November, terminated the boasted blockade,"—of the Pirates in the bay under Lantao—"which had lasted nine days." To us it appears, that Mr. Glasspoole made it just as much a point of depreciating, on this occasion, the valor and military talents of the Portuguese, as their countryman José Ignacio Andrade did of extolling their gallantry and prowess.* We presume, that nobody will hesitate to admit, that the victory of the rebels must be ascribed principally to the Portuguese auxiliaries, who supported the Imperial squadron.

The allied fleet hanging incessantly at the heels of the enemy, the Pirates dared not enfeeble themselves by detaching divisions on plundering expeditions, or for collecting contribution and food to appease the craving hunger of their crews, who every day bore misery with less resignation. At this conjuncture, Alcanforado the Commander-in-chief of the Portuguese squadron, availed himself, by exhorting Chang-Paou to accept the Emperor's gracious pardon and an honorable situation in the navy of China. To this proposal, he replied under date the 18th of December, 1809, that "he would never submit to the Emperor." A former friend of his, was of a different opinion; his companion in arms, Kivō-Potae, chief of a distinct squadron, determined to obtain his pardon by delivering up, in the month of January, 1810, his fleet and himself, to the Viceroy. This defection, the continued desertion of his people, the cruel want of provisions,

* Memoria sobre a destruiçaõ dos Piratos da China—Lisbon, 1824.

and still more perhaps, the loss of his oracle,—a Pagod—which the Chiefs were in the habit of consulting, through the organ of its priests, and to act as directed in all their operations, were omens, which influenced a vulgar mind. The navigating tabernacle of the idol—for this godhead and his servants were in a separate sacred Junk—fell in with a Portuguese vessel, by which it was attacked and sunk, with all the Bonzes and their God,*—Andrade assures us—in the bay under Lantao. This misfortune and an increasing scarcity of victuals, that threatened the pirate-fleet, which lay at anchor in the bay of Heang-shan, the mouth of which was blockaded by the combined allied forces, were pressing causes of treating for a capitulation. Authorized by the Viceroy "Pae," parleys had been flying between Chang, and Mr. Arriaga, in the presence of Chû and Pom, and had so far advanced, that a conference with the Tsung-tŭh was fixed, and took place near the Bogue, in the latter end of February. It was interrupted by a rumor, that the Governor of Macao had given order to Alcanforado not to let the pirates get out of the bay of Heang-shan, contrary to what had been resolved in the congress: this unexpected event so alarmed the rebel-chiefs, who were apprehensive of treachery, that they fled from the conferences, and betook themselves to their respective squadrons. The Tsung-tŭh having empowered Arriaga to settle the terms of submission, proceeded to Canton, and Arriaga to Macao. Having removed all suspicion from the mind of the Governor, he resumed the negociation, and managed it so dexterously, that Chang-Paou at last agreed to bring, by order of Tsung-tŭh, the squadrons to a place, designated by the name of "Pu-yum-xa," (Portuguese spelling.) The Viceroy came down to Heang-shan, and having received on the 12th April, 1810, the submission of the pirates, at which Mr. Arriaga was present, he delivered to them a Decree of the Emperor, in which it was announced, that "all their crimes were pardoned, and that they were henceforth to be reputed good people, and numbered among the loyal subjects of the Empire." By this act of clemency, the Emperor got rid of 22,000 enemies, possession of 360 vessels, 1,200 guns, and

* When will credulous mankind cease to be the dupes of impostors, who impiously pretend to be the organs of Divinity?

more than 7,000 fire locks and swords, as specified in the official roll, taken at the surrender of the four squadrons. In this account were not comprehended the pirates to the eastward, who also gave themselves up, nor those stragglers who fled from their employers. Mr. Glasspoole estimates the enemy's force at 70,000 men, and the vessels small and large, at 1800.

From the general pardon published at Heang-shan, 126 were excluded and beheaded, 158 banished forever, and 60 for two years.

Had the present generation, inhabiting Macao, been better acquainted with the annals of the place, where they are settled or born, they would have insisted on obtaining solid privileges, which might in future be valuable, instead of exhibiting chimerical pretensions, inherited from the ignorance of their ancestors. By documents, no foundation can be traced of the immunities which had been, it was surmised, bestowed by different Sovereigns of China, on the Portuguese nation for eminent services rendered to the Empire, a restitution could therefore not be claimed; nobody expressed, to my knowledge, the thought of securing the convenience, or furthering the extension of the sole privilege which Macao can boast of, that of a reduced measurement of their ships. Thus the sixth article, the restoration of privileges, being disposed of, the tenor of the third was curtailed, for instead of 80,000 taels, no more than 66,645.340 were disbursed. The Macao auxiliaries had not been backward in pressing the enemy : to their presence and activity must be ascribed the extinction of the rebels. The fifth conventional article fixes, that all prizes made from the pirates "are to be divided in equal parts between the ships and the Imperial squadron." By what specious argument could the Senate authorise their Proxy then—Mr. Arriaga—to depart from the plain sense of this stipulation? Considering that Macao had been forced from 1801, to keep armed vessels against the pirates, and that the expenses had from year to year grown heavier, and heaviest in 1810, one half of the booty, being 180 vessels, 600 guns, and at least 3,500 fire-locks and swords, would surely afford but a very inadequate return for the expenses which the city had, from 1804, to 1810, both inclusive, borne, for it exceeded 370,000 dollars, yet the dividend, in which Macao had a

right to share, might have been converted into means of discharging some part of the debt, which circumstances had rendered it necessary to contract. The fifty bronze and iron cannons, Mr. Arriaga forwarded as a present to the Prince Regent of Portugal, were not prize guns, though J. d Andrade tells us so; they were the very same, general opinion maintains, that had been bought for arming the hired ships, fitted out to act with the Imperial squadron against the rebels; nor were the guns put on board the Ulysses, as Andrade pretends, but on board the ship Mary I. We are told, that they were hardly esteemed worth the freight which was paid at Rio de Janeiro.

*With Japan.** Nearly two centuries have elapsed since the Portuguese lost the trade of Japan. Let us trace the cause. Two sets of adventurers were in 1542, cast on different islands of Japan, Charlevoin,† and Portuguese authors assert. Coming from Siam and bound for China, a storm drove Anthony da Mota, Francis Zeimoto, and Anthony Peixolo, into the harbor of Congoxima, in the kingdom of Saxuma. Fernaõ Mendes Pinto, Christovaõ Barralho, and Diogo Zeimoto, passengers on board a Chinese pirate, who cruized, the historian says, for Japan, were shipwrecked on the island Tanixuma, or Tacuxima, from whence Pinto penetrated to the kingdom of Bungo. At that time this archipelago was distracted by the emulation of ambitious subjects, who fought for supremacy.

Roman Catholic Mission. During the internal convulsions, Francis Xavier with his Japanese convert, Paul da Santa Fé, from Malacca, arrived 1549. They and the following Jesuits, had in Japan an uncontrolled liberty to preach their doctrine: they imparted to the Japanese a new creed, and a knowledge of foreign luxuries; both made rapid progress among all classes. Three sovereign Princes thought themselves so enamored with Christianity, that they despatched (1582) envoys, who were to wait on the King of Portugal and Spain, and to proceed to Rome, in order, it is said, to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope. At the conclusion of the civil war, Tayco-sama, a man of low birth,

* In this article, works published by Missionaries, who had resided in Japan, are preferred to the history of Kœmpfer.

† Histoire de Japan.

but high spirited and of eminent talents was recognized (1584 or 1585) by the principal feudatories, Cobo or temporal Sovereign of the island, a dignity the Däiro or spiritual Emperor conferred, though reluctantly, on him. To prevent defection, like that one of which the three Princes had been guilty, Tayco-sama, published 1586 a command that the missionaries should quit the country in twenty days; a few Jesuits departed: the greatest part was hid among the neophites. Another set of mental disturbers, friars of St. Francis, came (1593) from Manilla under the title of Ambassadors: the fraud being detected, twenty-six, some say twenty-three of the pseudo-ambassadors were on the 5th February, 1597, crucified. Tayco-sama expired 16th September, 1598.

Dayfa-sama, who usurped the throne, belonging to the son of the deceased sovereign, was not impartial to the Christians. He bore in mind the disclosure, which the Spaniards had made to Tayco-sama, "that the Portuguese, contrary to the Emperor's order, maintained Jesuits," and likewise the recrimination of the Portuguese, "accusing the Spaniards of sending first Priests to foreign countries to propagate their faith, and then of conquering them." This assertion gained some weight by the ambition of Iolate, a powerful sovereign of "Oxu," or "Voxu" in the north-eastern parts of Japan, who under the guidance of Luis Sotello, a friar, sent an embassy to Spain. This caused such a suspicion and distrust, that the temporal Emperor menaced with banishing the priests, who perverted the minds of the people, and also threatened to exterminate those of his subjects, who adhered to the European errors. This threat did not intimidate the enthusiastic zeal of apostolic adventurers, who said, they would deserve the crown of a martyr, by preaching the proscribed gospel in Japan. A decree of 1624, ordered the Portuguese and Spaniards, many of whom were settled in the country and married to Japanese women, to leave the islands; another forbade the letting of houses to strangers and Chinese, or to have any communication with either; at last, Toxongun-sama, banished in 1637, both Christianity and the Portuguese from Japan, notwithstanding the exiled found means to remain under the strictest surveillance, two years longer, penned up on the artificial island Decima, till they were, as averred by G. F. Mey-

land,* sent away in 1630. The Spaniards had been expelled in 1625.

Commercial intercourse. Before the archipelago of Japan was discovered by the Portuguese, Chinese, invited by the proximity, carried on clandestinely, an exchange of goods. They were supplanted by the Portuguese, who were in the beginning, welcomed in any port they chose to enter, because the local authorities and the petty Sovereigns reaped considerable advantage from liberal presents, and the merchants great profit from the articles of trade, becoming every day more fashionable. Whether duties on importations and exportations, or anchorage money were exacted, I am not able, fully to decide. Tayco-sama being absolute monarch, opened to all trading people, the ports of his Empire, and commanded, that no impost on importations, nor measurement should be collected, either from the Japanese or foreigners; these regulations were still in 1638, respected. When the Portuguese trade was exclusively confined to Bongo, Firando, and at last to Nangasaki, are periods which I am not prepared, in a chronological order to determine. In 1594, a treaty of friendship between Tayco-sama, and the Governor of Manila, was concluded. Spanish ships were admitted to the port of Nangasaki, and participated in the trade with Japan, till 1625. Tayco-sama having departed (1598) this life, the Dutch traded, (1611) and the English, (1613) at Firando. In the "Nào," a large ship, the merchants of Macao sent usually in the beginning from 15 to 1600 peculs of raw silk, besides silk stuffs; from Europe and India, all sorts of woolens, cotton cloth, drugs, aromatics, medicines, spices, wines, and a great variety of curiosities from all parts of the earth. They did not realize a profit of 2 to 300 per cent., as those of Liampo did; but one hundred per cent. at least Kœmpfer asserts, and a great profit on the goods they took back, consisting principally of gold, silver and copper. In 1636, the Portuguese exported in four vessels, Kœmpfer relates, 2,350 boxes with silver, or 2,350,000 taels,† and if it

* Overzight van den Handel der Europezen op Japan, Batavia, 1833. "Survey of the trade of the Europeans with Japan," a valuable work for those, who intend to make themselves acquainted with the old and modern history of that trade.

† The weight of one tael of fine silver in Japan, is worth thirty-three

be true that their trade was then reduced to one half of what it had once been, the Portuguese must in the zenith of their prosperity, have yearly taken out of Japan, about 4 1-2 millions of taels in gold and silver.*

The Dutch trading at Japan aspired like merchants at an exclusive commerce, and were jealous of the Portuguese. Rumors—on what solid ground I cannot see—are in circulation, that the Dutch, having captured a ship bound for Portugal, found a document drawn up by "Moro," a Catholic neophite, captain, diplomatist, or consul of the Portuguese trade at Nangasaki, addressed to the King of Portugal and Spain. It pretended that by the assistance of European troops and a naval force, Japan might be delivered from the yoke of idolatry, acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, and allegiance to the Sovereign of Spain. New Christians, who were very numerous, would, the writer thought, render the execution of the project, an easy matter, because they would rise under the direction of their spiritual leaders—the missionaries,—not only for the sake of protecting their faith, but for extending the sway of the gospel over the whole population. The author of the plan had forgotten to take into consideration, that the Christian community, thinly spread over many islands, and parts of the empire, could never be brought to act in concert, effectually on any part, since the then existing government of Japan was aware of a partial disaffection among its subjects. Besides, Moro ought to have known, that some important parts of the Spanish monarchy were in arms against their Sovereign, and that Spain, annoyed by the Dutch, not only in Europe, but in all her ultramarine possessions, was so weakened by an obstinately protracted warfare, that no adequate force for revolutionizing Japan, could be spared from Europe. Some one or other of the Spanish authors, I have had an opportunity to consult upon the affairs of Japan, would assuredly have given a detailed account of so vast a political conception, particularly

stuivers, Nederlandsch—*Meylan*. The Dutch factory in Canton, estimated the weight of one tael of fine silver in China, worth seventy-two stuivers, Nederlandsch.

* The computation made by Montanus, brings it near to that amount. Gezantschap aande Kejzeren van Japan. Anno 1669. "An Embassy to the Emperors of Japan."

if it originated with a person, who vaunted himself as being a Portuguese: but they are all silent on that subject. Frey Juan de Conception,* mentions a cunning renegado, Diogo de Acosta, who worked hard in expelling religion and foreigners; of Moro he does not say a word. It is thought, that Spanish haughtiness and Portuguese covetousness, and the contempt, public officers bore for the dealers of a new exotic doctrine, and for merchants, operated conjointly in denying to strangers, all intercourse with the empire.

Diplomatic Missions. Whatever might have been the motives for secluding this people from the rest of the world, several fruitless endeavors to recover this valuable trade have been made. In 1640, four citizens of distinction and experience, Luis Paes Pacheco, Rodrigo Sanches de Paredes, Siamō Vas de Payva, and Gonsalo Monteiro de Carvalho, undertook an embassy to Japan. They embarked on board Calares, and arrived at Nangasaki. These envoys, together with fifty, some say, sixty persons, were at the same time beheaded. The Japanese spared Manöel Cordozo Luçaō, the purser, and some black boys. Montanus says they were twelve, who with a Portuguese pilot, were sent back to Macao, that they might give an account of the scene they had been witnesses to. The hatches of the Calares were not opened, and the 400,000 taels, due by Màcao to the merchants of Japan, rejected. King John IV. communicated in 1644, (not 1647) to the Emperor of Japan, his accession to the throne of Portugal, through his ambassador, Gonçalo de Siqueira. The court of Meyaco directed that no harm should be done to the envoy, but that he should depart in peace. The last attempt, refers to 1685. Twelve Japanese trading from one island to another, were, by a furious storm driven out of their course, and lost on an island near Macao. These unfortunate wretches were saved. Informed by the means of an old woman, born in Japan, that the people were her countrymen, the Senate taking this chance, for a hint of Providence, that the religion and trade should be once more restored in Japan, determined to fit out the ship St. Paul, in ballast, for the sake of sending the poor Japanese home.

* Ayadado a todo su astuto renegado Diogo de Acosta, presumo (por las trazas) quo era Portuguez.—*Historia de Phillipinas, Tom. V. p.* 21.

This vessel sailed with permission of the Mandarins of Canton to Nangasaki. She came back unhurt, but brought a reinforced mandate, that no Portuguese ship should ever venture again to appear on the coasts of Japan, under any pretext soever.

With Manila. By the eight articles of peace between Spain and Portugal, and submission to Philip I. in 1583, exclusive trade with India, and all other parts of the incorporated Portuguese dominions, was reserved to the Portuguese, and free intercourse with Spain, Peru and Manila secured. The merchants of Macao aimed at a monopoly of the trade at Canton, and obtained it, because they did not scruple to do violence to any Spanish vessel steering for Canton; Macao had consequently for a length of time, to supply Manila with Indian and Chinese produce. This profitable traffic was broken off by the restoration (1640) of the family of Bragança, to the throne of Portugal. The slumbering hatred against Spaniards, made the government of Macao overstep the boundaries of prudence, by allowing an envoy, Dm. Juan Claudio, and his retinue, to be insulted, by arbitrarily cancelling debts which were due to Spaniards, and by suffering friars and laymen to be driven (1644) from Macao, proceedings which widened the breach. The port of Manila remained shut against the Portuguese, more than twenty years. The treaty of peace (1668) between Spain and Portugal, produced but a short respite to the animosity. The commerce of Macao was a third time precluded from Manila. In 1720, the Senate observed in a letter to the King of Portugal, that "though the trade exists between us and Manila, the great profit which our ships formerly made by going to that place, is lost;" yet the gain must have been very considerable, for the Senate forbade (1720) vessels, belonging to a certain class of merchants to trade to Manila, because it was one of the ports where profit might be expected. Actually, the commercial intercourse is of no great consequence, perhaps less to Macao than to Manila.

In my "Contribution," (1832) it was asserted erroneously, that, "the Chinese admit the Spanish flag from Manila, on the same condition as that of Portugal." The case is this. By order of John V. (1746) a few numbers out of the twenty five ships granted by the Chinese to Macao, are allotted to

ships from Manila. On the arrival of any in the roads of Macao, the Commander solicits the Senate to bestow on his ship a number. Assenting to this petition, a number and a name of any registered ship not in port, is assigned ; then and not before, may the Manila vessel enter the harbor under Spanish colors and begin business. She now enjoys the benefit of a reduced measurement, and has also the advantage of paying at the Portuguese Custom House, the duties which Macao ships are bound to pay. Loaded wholly with rice the Manila ship is exempt from certain charges, which an edict of Taou-kwang's IVth year, 1825, has sanctioned.

With Timor. A few deserters and vagabonds from Banda, the Moluccas and other dominions of Portugal in the East, panting for independence possessed themselves of an island, called Timor. There they built and fortified a place, denominated Koupan, from which they were (1613) driven by the Dutch. Dhellé is the actual residence of a Governor, whose authority extends over that part of Timor, to which the crown of Portugal lays a claim. Its principal produce is wax and Sandal-wood. This last article was for many years imported, and an income from it collected by the government of Macao, so considerable, that "almost all the expenses of the settlement were defrayed by this import alone." In the progress of time, the profit had fallen off greatly ; still in 1720, it yielded so sure a gain, that by a resolve of the Senate, the poorer merchants were not permitted to trade with Timor, an arbitrary resolution the court of Goa censured and abolished. By an edict of Yung-ching in 1723, the prohibition of Kang-he in 1717, was removed, and the Chinese allowed to become competitors in foreign trade. Bringing then from Timor and Batavia, a great quantity, Sandal-wood sold in Canton, and sells so cheap, that a voyage from Macao to Timor, is almost reputed a losing one. Nevertheless, a vessel must yearly be despatched for the purpose of delivering documents from Goa, and of conveying Sepoys, officers, exiles, ammunitions, &c., to Timor, and of bringing back government paper, treasure, &c., which is remitted by way of Macao to Goa.

With Batavia. Chinese merchants, in the habit of trading at Batam in Java, opened 1686, at Batavia a new market for tea and Chinese produce and industry. A decree, published 1717, in which the Government of Batavia de-

clared, Valentyn affirms, " that no Chinese Junk shall unload, unless on condition, that the Dutch company shall have all the teas at their own price," interrupted the connexion. To avoid a total ruin, the Chinese yielded reluctantly, but they took among themselves an oath, never to return. This convention, and the prohibition of Kang-he, the very same year, for Junks to navigate southward of China, afforded a temporary relief, because Kang-he excepted (1718) graciously, the inhabitants of Macao from the general restriction. The duties levied that very year, amounted to twenty thousand taels. In 1720, Chinese trade with Batavia, required seven ships and two sloops. This good fortune lasted but too short a time, for Yung-ching repealed the prohibition of his father, permitting (1723) his subjects to renew the foreign trade ; the Dutch company also began to transmit the produce of their island to China in their own ships. From this time, mercantile communication has languished, and is now kept up by the Macao ship, which must every year go on to Timor.

With Goa.—Commercially. Afonso Dalboquerque usurped the sovereignty of Ismäel Adel-chan, by corrupting Hidalean, because " his father had taken Malabar vessels in ports and places belonging to the King of Portugal." The General spoke of free navigation, but gave orders to scour the coasts and force any merchant-ship, with which the commander may fall in, to Goa. This violence caused the ruin of Calicut on the coast of Malabar, and became the source of future wealth and prosperity to Goa. Goa shared with Macao in the trade with Japan and Canton. The market of Nangasaki being interdicted, repeated disasters befel Goa. To alleviate its distress, various, though unsuccessful projects have been devised; commercial associations with Macao were proposed and declined. At present the trade is unimportant. Hardly would a ship touch at Goa, were the Senate not bound to forward every year, authentic documents, stating all occurrences at Macao, and give passage to soldiers, prisoners and travellers.

With Malacca. It is on record, that, at the period Afonso Dalboquerque assaulted and took (1511) Malacca, the inhabitants had increased to one hundred thousand, collected by the liberty, which distinguished this most famous emporium

of trade. The exertions of Sultan Mahomet to recover his dominions, and the constant vexations, which merchants experienced from the Portuguese armed vessels, induced Arabians, Guzerats, Persians, &c., to open at Patané in Siam a communication with the Chinese, Lew-kews, Javanese, &c. This infant mart was ruined by Manoël Falcaõ, who commanded a galley, and had orders to chase (1516) the ships coming from Guzerat, Coromandel, Bengala, &c., to Malacca, to which the merchants of Pegú had already resorted. A toll of ten per cent. was levied on ships passing the strait. To give a salutary check to a growing tyranny, and the covetousness of the principal officers at Malacca, Alfonso de Souza, Governor general of Portuguese India, (1542) prescribed regulations to be observed in levying the King's duties on importations and exportations. The expected effect took place; merchants from China, Japan, the Malaccas, &c., came to exchange the produce of their respective countries, for the merchandise of Persia, Hindostan, and Kingdoms on this or the other side of the Ganges. This friendly reception dwindled gradually away. The inhabitants were worn out by everlasting annoyances of the public authorities, and the strangers were not benefitted by the protecting laws. Depopulation was a natural consequence. In 1639, the peninsula, dependent on Portugal, contained no more than twelve thousand inhabitants. Of them, three thousand were settled in the city, and three hundred Portuguese among them: the rest Mongrels and Malays. Such was the state, when Malacca, according to the assertion of Dutch contemporary annalists surrendered (1641) to the Nederland Company.

With Siam.—Commercially. After the seizure of Malacca just described, merchants from India, afraid of falling in with Portuguese cruizers, stood towards Patané in the kingdom of Siam, hoping that they might escape being plundered. The result we have related. Ships from Bengal, Guzerat, Coromandel, &c., were driven into Malacca, the government of which made proposals for establishing a factory in Siam; to that, the King thought proper to assent. The Director of it and his dependents, behaved so much to the satisfaction of the Court, that, by their influence, the Dutch were for some time forbidden to settle among the Siamese. Mutual affection grew up to full confidence, for the King did not hesitate

to send (1660) to Macao, a sum of six hundred and five cattees of silver, besides goods, the growth of his country. The loan was reimbursed by degrees. An account being cast, (1717) the balance due by the city, proved to be 71 cattees, 8 taels, and a few fractions, a sum the Siamese Minister for foreign affairs, invited the Senate to pay to the captain and to the factor of the ships that were sent from Siam to Macao : the Senate could at that time pay nothing. In 1720, a remittance of somewhat more than 12 peculs of white silk of the first quality,—"de primeiro bicho,"—at 179 taels per pecul, and a few pieces of yellow damask, were delivered by captain Francis Correa Leger: the remaining debt being 21 cattees, 8 taels, was discharged in 1722, by the factor of Father Manöel Queiros Pereira, capitular treasurer of the Cathedral, who had that year despatched one of his ships to Siam. The King's cash-keeper passed a formal declaration, that the whole debt was cancelled, besides, by an order of his master, he gave notice to the Senate, that the ship of the present season, had been favored in the same manner, as the three of the preceding year had been.

Diplomatically. This affectionate intercourse was interrupted by the invasions, with which the enemies of the country, principally the Burmese, harrassed Siam. Bearing in mind, ancient commercial and political relations, the government of Portugal offered, through the medium of Goa, to relieve a friend from recurring vexations, and to assist the Siamese. We may fairly draw this conclusion, from the following extracts of a letter, dated Siam, 28th December, 1786. "The King expresses himself grateful to Queen Mary I. for her generous tender ; a signal of good will which shall never be forgotten till the end of the world. Having already, in a variety of encounters worsted the enemy, the King entertains no doubt that he shall compel the Burmese to sue for peace ; the King therefore, will not put Her Majesty to the inconvenience and expense of sending troops and ammunition to him, but he begs, that orders might be given to the government of Goa to forward in the course of 1787, three thousand muskets. Should the subjects of Her Majesty wish to establish a factory, the King is ready to grant for that purpose a piece of ground ; they may build within its precinct a church, that the Christians, who have been many years

without spiritual guides, may be comforted by the priest Her Majesty may think proper to send to Siam."

At the time when Macao was swayed by a political dictator,—a Civilian,—whose capacious imagination made him conceive, that *he* might raise that place to an eminent rank, among commercial settlements in Asia, Siam was selected to be the point on which the future prosperity of Macao should turn. A Christian, a Portuguese born in Siam, became the bearer of presents, and the proposals for a renewal of intercourse. A correspondence was opened, the contents of which, being submitted to the government of Goa, appeared in the light of a promising undertaking; to forward and mature it, the Count de Rio Pardo, viceroy, was prevailed on to appoint in 1820, a Consul general. Besides numerous liberal gifts to the King, Queen, Princes, and the first minister, credentials to the Court of Bankock, the capital, were handed to him, public and private instructions also. They were to be consulted particularly at the period, when the preliminaries, drawn up at Goa, consisting of twenty articles, should be discussed: they were the basis of a treaty of mutual alliance, amity and commerce, which was to be concluded between the King of Siam, and the Count de Rio Pardo, in the name of his master the King of Portugal. Twelve years this Consul resided in Siam, successful in nothing worth mentioning, except in obtaining permission to build houses for his own convenience, and accommodations for his assistants, servants, and future artificers. A guard, composed of a Quarter-master and four Sepoys, assigned for the protection of the consulate and factory, were allowed to parade at Bankock. Had this honorable commission been entrusted to a gentleman of respectability, honor, property, good credit, diplomatic and mercantile knowledge, the Convention would have become a matter of course. Such a factor, director or consul general, would have proved himself a friend to Siam; he would have built ships on his own account, and loaded them with the produce of the country. These speculations would have met, both in Asia and Europe with success, and encouraged many of his countrymen to embark in the same sphere of activity. The Portuguese would have formed a body of respectable merchants, who might have secured to themselves a trade, actually divided among competitors of

different nations. This disqualified man was dismissed in 1833, his successor went from Macao to continue a useless, expensive and discreditable representation.

With Cochin-china.—Commercially. Roman Catholic missionaries have set the Protestant Catholic reforming apostles an example of spreading themselves all over the world, settling "nolens volens," among people, whom they were pleased to nick-name heathen. The intruders propagated a doctrine, tending, they assured, to purify the soul, and render it proper for the enjoyment of heavenly bliss; their boast of European pre-eminence in civilization, arts and sciences, was the next theme, then followed an expatiating on the immense advantages to be expected from mutual intercourse of free trade. These apparently impartial suggestions of reverend Priests, operated on the minds of native merchants, and on those who lived in the neighborhood of Cochin-china.—Those of Macao, explored the resources of the country, and found them so rich and important, that at a general meeting (1685) it was resolved, that the ship Nossa Senhora de Monsarrat, should bring Frutuoso Gomez Leite, an envoy to Cochin-china, to please the Sovereign of Portugal, and "for the conservation of the city." Notwithstanding so vital an interest, the trade was interrupted, for what reason, and for what length of time I have not been able to trace. In 1712, the King of Cochin-china, proposed through a Jesuit, John Anthony Arnedo, that the commercial intercourse should be renewed between his subjects and the inhabitants of Macao. Arnedo's credentials were drawn up by the first minister; the presents for the Senate were from the King. In the reply, dated 13th April, 1713, the Senators inform the King, that his royal gifts had been gratefully received, and with becoming high respect accepted; that Father Arnedo had the commission to solicit from his Majesty an authentic document of such concessions, which may induce adventurous merchants to listen to his Majesty's proposal. In return for those which the Senate had received, the city sent to the King of Cochin-china by Arnedo, presents estimated at sixty taels. Further offerings and letters were exchanged in 1715, and 1719. In the Senate's reply to the last letter, it is declared, that ships cannot be licensed for Cochin-china, till the difficulties which still oppose the conclusion of a treaty, shall have been removed.

Diplomatic Mission. Be it for not having had, as a foreigner, liberty freely to use the public records; or be it from total suspension of intercourse, I have not traced any features of a continued amicable disposition of parties till the year 1786. The goverment of Cochin-china had, like many others, permitted itself to lay heavy and increased burdens on its subjects, whose groans were either unknown to the reigning dynasty, or cruelly disregarded. Ambitious men blew the flame of an incipient disaffection, and formed a plot by which the whole royal family was nearly extinguished. Tunking conquered the usurper, took the title of King of Tunking and Cochin-china. The lawful heir, Kaou-chang, fled to Siam, left it, and screened himself on the small island Palavay in the gulf of Siam. In his company was Adran, a French missionary, the tutor of his son. This priest having by a careful inquiry, ascertained that on the southern coast of Cochin-china, many of the subjects were still attached to their ancient lord, proposed to proceed with his pupil to Paris and to solicit the protection of Louis XVI. The Prince assented, and the travellers set out for France in 1787, they were back in 1790. That the dethroned monarch might be willing to grant considerable advantages to any State which had the power to reinstate him on the throne of his ancestors, must have been familiar to those who composed the Senate of Macao. In consequence, one of the principal citizens, Anthony Vicente Rosa, was empowered to treat with Kaou-chang. By his letter, dated 18th December, 1786, the King entreats the Governor general of Goa, to send him thirty armed vessels,—"embarcaçoẽs de guerra,"—ten thousand men, not including the crews, and provisions for a year; likewise ten thousand muskets, and ten thousand targets for his people. In return, the King bound himself to treat the Portuguese as the most favored nation, or rather as his own vassals. They were to possess a tract of land, with liberty to build a fortress and to have their national colors flying. Accompanied by one of the King's ministers, and by a General and sixty soldiers, A. V. Rosa, arrived (1787) at Goa. The preliminary articles were submitted to the consideration of the Governor General, Francis da Cunha e Meneyes. The succour, Kaou-chang's delegate was authorized to negociate, could at that time neither be raised nor col-

lected by the government of Portuguese India; materials for a treaty, by which the reciprocal rights of the contracting parties should be fixed, could not be found. The negociators took leave of Goa and joined their master, Kaou-chang, who was pleased to reward Rosa, by bestowing on him the honorary dignity of a Mandarin. The *ci-devant* envoy wore this distinctive robe, with embroidered emblems belonging to his class, at Macao on Court days, i. e. on the birth-day of a King or a Queen of Portugal, an occasion, at which the principal natural subjects and respectable foreigners, residing in the place, were in the habit of calling at the Governor's house, to congratulate, as it were, in his presence, his royal master or mistress.

Actual state of Trade at Macao.

We have in a circuitous tour, visited the *principal* places in Asia and the East Indies, at which the settlers of Macao were wont to trade, and to draw an immense profit from, by mutual exchange of goods. Let us now throw a glance at what remains, not of the ancient splendor, for that is nearly gone, but at the cheering hope, that the settlement may once more rise into notice. In 1831, the whole shipping consisted of sixteen ships, measuring 5331 English tons; in 1834, of fifteen ships, making 4185 tons. The greater part of the ship owners are destitute of sufficient means to lay in a suitable cargo, and to bear the charges and expenses of long voyages. Many vessels are therefore loaded in part by Chinese adventurers to Singapore, Batavia, Malacca, Pulopenang, Calcutta, Bombay, Damaun, Mauritius, &c. This accommodation is mutual, for though the freight is rather high, the property on board a Portuguese ship, is considered safer than in a Junk. Chinese and Macao merchants send also to the above mentioned places, China produce on board British ships, because the freight is cheaper, and the duty in British ports ten per cent. less, than if the goods were unloaded from

a Portuguese vessel. So material a difference, operates against the shipping business of Macao, particularly on the exportations. To secure the imports, a strong inducement is now held out. The tariff of 1784, regulating the imports on all sorts of merchandise, has suffered a judicious amendment.* Were it possible for ship-owners to manage their expenses so as to be rewarded by a freight equal to that of English, Chinese, settled abroad, would be induced to make the greater part of their remittance, by way of Macao, from whence an easy conveyance for goods to Canton and other places is open by what is called the inner passage. All sorts of merchandise may be imported, except opium, sulphur, brass and salt; saltpetre must be bought by a merchant commissioned for that trade: neither is it allowed to export gold, silver, yellow and white copper, iron and nails.

It would be odious to recite any of the instances zealous merchants of Macao, have inscribed on records, whenever a proposal was made to treat foreigners as fellow subjects, but it gives us pleasure to transcribe a few observations made to Count de Sandomil, on his commanding the Senate not to accept Yung-ching's offer to make Macao the centre of all foreign trade, with permission to levy duties on imports. They are contained in a letter, dated 20th December, 1733, and run thus: "Though some may presume that the residence of foreigners might be the cause of mischief and danger to the city, those, who have more experience, are of opinion, that their establishment in the town can never be prejudicial, on the contrary, greatly advantageous, for it is certain, that no place can be rich and opulent, but by means of commerce." Notwithstanding, regulations never to admit strangers, have been solicited, obtained and renewed. Ignorance drew up the petitions, and ministers unacquainted then with the rudiments of sound political economy, were misled by sophistical and captious arguments. Common sense is now progressing all over the earth; and no longer ought well informed men to feel reluctance at foreigners partaking in the commercial privileges which the natural subjects of Portugal are favored with. This equality will create respectable con-

* Consult J. R. Morrison's *Chinese Commercial Guide.* Canton, 1834, page 25. "Arrangements of trade at Macao,"—and page 42. "Duties on goods at Macao."

nexions, funds, and credit; it will extend shipping and trade, give employment to good and active people, and be a check on mendicity and misery.

Should ever cosmopolite sentiments like these be patronized, Macao may perhaps become the emporium of a trade, less honorable to be sure, but equally astonishing with that of Japan; we allude to opium. Of this narcotic drug, which enfeebles the faculties, both of mind and body, a few chests were imported (1720) from the coast of Coromandel. The demand for it growing yearly, the government of Goa strove to secure to Macao the exclusive market; but instead of affording conveniencies, prohibitions were issued, against taking opium on freight, or buying it from the English and French, who, roving in their ships among the islands, were forced to sell to the Chinese at such a rate, that the price of opium at Macao, became quite dull, languid, and unprofitable. The quality was for some time very unequal; in 1735, one sort fetched only 70 taels, another 225 taels, per pecul. This disadvantage ceased, when the British company resolved to take it under their own control. A further encouragement to speculation was in train, for the company limited about fifty years ago the manufacture of Patna and Benares to a little more than four thousand chests. The greatest part of it came to Macao: the ships earned a good freight, and the city, import-duties to no mean extent.

Had liberal measures been pursued at the time when the English company could no longer check the manufacture of opium in India, any quantity might now be landed at Macao; but about twenty years ago, the abuse of individual influence strained every nerve to compel foreign dealers in that drug, to submit to restrictions, to which they neither could nor would submit. The scheme failed. A convenient harbor was found at Lintin, an island where ships riding at anchor from 1st April, 1830, to 1st April, 1831, served as deposits for no less than 22,591 chests of Patna, Benares and Malacca. From 1st April, 1833, to 1st April, 1834, there were delivered from the ships at Lintin, 19,781 chests, paid with 13,056,540 dollars. To this great stock of 1830, just mentioned, we have to add an importation to Macao, of 1,883 1-4 chests of the same kind. The duty raised on them at 16

taels per chest, besides a few fractional charges, amounted to 30,132 taels.
On other items of trade were levied, 39,051 taels.

So that the income from Custom House was 69,183 taels.
In 1834, the receipts on 3,283 88 chests of opium at 8 taels per chest, with a few fractional charges, produced,
Taels, 26,536,160
Other items, 48,747,453

Taels, 75,283,613

When Macao merchants were in the habit of buying at Canton, their investments, they had learnt that the settlement of Imperial duties at that place subjected them to tedious discussions, intolerable impositions, and dilatory despatch at the season in which the owners were anxious to get their ships to sea: for that reason the merchants bethought themselves of reverting to a practice, which their ancestors had with safety pursued. In a preceding page we have showed that the Chinese brought to Macao and delivered to the early settlers, cargoes, which had been contracted for. This way of doing business, was, about the year 1800, recurred to, because several Chinese adventurers, men of property and credit, or associated with one or another of the Hong merchants at Canton, had fixed their residence at Macao. Deserving confidence, the Portuguese were induced to deal with men, from whom it was reasonable to expect, that cargoes might be furnished at the difference of duties, which are imposed on goods sent to Macao, from those heavier ones exacted by the Mandarins on shipments to Whampoa.

On Portuguese ships from Europe, though they may be numbered, the Hoppo charges, for the first class, 250 taels, for the second 240, and for the third 170 taels. Such vessels have, besides, to pay a Hong merchant at Canton a fee, termed by the Portuguese *Hanistagem*, varying by a specific agreement, from about 200 dollars on a vessel of 200 tons, to 3,500 dollars and upwards, of 500 tons or larger size.

We shall, for the sake of information, record a case, demonstrating with what cautiousness the civil government of

Macao must proceed in respect to Chinese property. In 1718, a Chinese merchant bought at Batavia a vessel, loaded it, hoisted the Portuguese colors, and arrived at Macao. The Senate had intention to charge the cargo with duties, to which the owner refused to consent; he offered his own terms, which were for the following reason acceded to. Havin a pass of the Viceroy, the Chinese may, it was argued, strike the Portuguese and hoist the Chinese flag under which the vessel may enter the port—"an act that neither the Senate nor the Captain general, can oppose, for we (the Portuguese,) are living in the land of the Emperor; nor can the Senate, from the intimation in 1717, of the will of Kang-he, lay any duties on other ships than their own."

III. Suburban Settlements.

Preliminary.

We shall now endeavor to trace, as far as our collected scanty means will assist us, the history of the habitations, settlements and pleasure grounds, which the Portuguese of Macao, are still claiming as their lawful right on the adjacent islands. To introduce some order and clearness into this obscure and bewildered subject, the author has determined to insert in the Appendix,* a Plan of Macao, apparently the most ancient in existence. That the engineer who undertook to produce the outlines of the place, and its environs never put his foot on shore is evident from his having drawn the streets at right angles, whereas by the configuration of the soil itself, they must necessarily run in crooked and distorted directions, and from hemming in a part of the city by a *Wall*, which, crossing hillocks and a dale, connects the convent of St. Francis with the fort Monte. This draught is copied from a work, the title of which, is transcribed at the bottom of the page.† We have preferred it to the more elaborate delineations, already mentioned, of Mr. Agote, a Spanish, and Mr. De Guignes, a French gentleman, and to that of 1808, of J. B. Fonceica, because it comprehends a range of hills and mounts, at the slope of which individuals of Macao formerly displayed their feats of rural activity. Not to clog the lithographic copy with names at full length,

* No. IX.

† Histor. Beschr. der Reizen VIII. Deel, C. Gravenhage, 1749. "Historical description of the Travels."

a numerical series is substituted and adapted to the places of which the denominations are removed to the bottom of the sheet. In the harbor, is the once famous Green Isle, (No. 11) at a short distance from the town; passing to the opposite bank of the river, a ridge of hills presents itself. The Portuguese of Macao call it Lapa; Horsburgh in his chart, Tweerlien-shan, and Patera island, the etymology of which we safely deduce from *Ilha dos Padres*, which means Priests' Island, as designated in the old map, owing to a piece of land at the south-eastern extremity of Lapa cultivated by Jesuits, and some other parts of the island by Dominican and Augustine friars. By orders of an Emperor, the south-eastern part was assigned for a burying ground to a Portuguese Jesuit, who had rendered service to the Chinese government. His spiritual brethren took possession of it 1645, and began to improve the waste land. The progress was such that in less than ten years the place went by the name of Priests' Island, an epithet it bore at the time the plan of Macao was drawn, probably in 1655, during the short residence of the Dutch ambassadors from Batavia, at Canton in their way to Peking: a surmise confirmed by the circumstance, that it belongs to the historical description of their voyage in China.

Comparing this map with that which a young friend Mr. W. Bramston delineated in 1834, the reader will perceive a striking difference of extent and execution in the two relative designs.*

The Senate maintains that the Portuguese anciently lorded it over Lapa, Ribeira grande e pequena, Oitem and Bugios; a right which the Portuguese never were entitled to exercise, the Mandarins pretend: to Ilha verde the city does not lay a claim.

Green Island.

The aspect of the Island could not be inviting. It was a rock with heaps of stone, a dreary wilderness where vagabonds, thieves, deserters, &c. had collected together. The

* Appendix, No. X.

ground could be cleared and rendered thriving only by the perseverance of men, who would willingly and ceaselessly attend to its advancement, and who were opulent enough to provide means for its ulterior improvement. A spirited body of missionaries, the Jesuits, undertook to civilize this savage spot of nature. They had instituted at Macao a Seminary and a College for the purpose of propagating the gospel principally in Japan and China. At this celebrated seat of learning, the number of Professors, Students, &c. was on a constant increase, and the means of accommodating them all very limited, when Alexander Valignano, Visitor and Valentino Carvalho, Rector of the College at St. Paul, began in 1603 and 1604, to introduce themselves in this barren island. A few earthen huts were erected, and a chapel built. This edifice some Chinese mistook for a fort, which was to serve in the execution of a scheme the Jesuits had, it was rumored, conceived, of making themselves masters of China. Two orders of mendicant friars, inveterate champions, had fallen out in a violent strife about the mysterious doctrine of the immaculate virgin, a nice subject, settled by the faith of orthodox christians. Of the combatants, one party was countenanced by the Vicar of the Bishopric, and the other by the Rector of the Jesuits. The citizens having espoused this obsolete scholastic cant, the weakest or the most wicked hinted to ignorant and credulous Chinese, that their country was on the eve of being invaded and revolutionized by the Jesuits, who possessed many religious institutions and great influence: to facilitate this project, foreign aid from Goa and Japan was expected. This stale fable, though in every respect contemptible, unsettled the untutored mind, and caused the thoughtless, headed by a Saracen,* a military officer, then quartered with his cohort at Macao, to rush (1606) over to the island, lay it waste and demolish the place of Christian worship. This profanation, naturally enough, incensed the Christians with enthusiastic zeal; they hurried over to assist, avenged the insult, and slew the commander. His fate did

* Some authors maintain, that the Saracens or Mahometans came in the VIIIth, others in the XIIth century as auxiliaries to China: their loyalty was so satisfactory, that permission was granted for them to remain. At the end of four generations they were indiscriminately admitted with the Chinese to all public offices.

not assuage their exalted fury; it abated at the approach of the Mandarin of Heang-shan, who fortunately calmed their agitated passions. He granted to the Jesuits permission to remain on the island, but raised a stone tablet, declaring in the vernacular language, that it constituted an integral part of the Empire.

The Tsung-tŭh of the provinces, hearing of this foul rumor, suspended by heavy penalties, all intercourse with Macao, and communicated the news to Wan-leili; meanwhile he ordered the captain general of the province, to lay siege to Macao by sea and land, invade and destroy it. The commander was, happily, a man who would not commit himself by an undertaking of such importance, before he had fully ascertained the truth or falsehood of the accusation. His spies informed him, that Macao had no thought of hostility, but that the inhabitants were at daggers-drawing on account of some private dispute. A Mandarin who had been living on intimate terms with the Jesuits at Peking, and a deputation of seven respectable citizens from Macao, to Shaou-king-foo, obliterated at last from the mind of the Viceroy all malicious suspicion; permission was granted to the Chinese to live among and trade with the Portuguese of Macao.

The Jesuits had the probity to acknowledge in an official document, (1617) that the use of it "depends on the good will and high pleasure of the King of China, and his ministers." This island offered to the inmates and pupils of the college, room for decent recreations; to the sick, persecuted or exhausted laborers in the vineyard of Christ, a retreat, a place of safety and devotion, and of rural occupation. In the above mentioned manuscript, drawn up by the order of Francis Vieira, Visitor, the author announces, that a piece of the cultivated soil produced already ananas, figs, peaches, &c., and promised an increasing harvest, from a variety of trees, that had been planted, or were about to be introduced. No pains it seems, were taken to naturalize exotic trees: this warrants surely, the supposition that many of the indigenous trees, which bring forth a variety of excellent and wholesome fruits had been carefully transplanted, and domesticated. The rising, poorer tracts were left to be stored by nature herself with a species of pine and shrubs proper for fuel. Luxuriant vegetables grow in China; they were of course

not neglected, however epicures would have been at a loss to gratify their appetite, either with potatoes, green peas, cauliflower, or other herbacious dainties, luxuries which began sixty or seventy years ago, to adorn the tables of foreigners: by an horticular taste, and the industry of a few gentlemen in the Dutch East India Company's service, this culture was first introduced in China. This island was, De Guignes assures us, a most convenient place for smuggling priests into the country. Might they not have done more good by remaining where they were born? If it be true, that in 1832 "millions of English subjects were living in total alienation from the sanctions and comforts of religion," surely occupations for priests could not be wanting in Europe two or three centuries ago.*

The Jesuits had been more than one hundred and fifty years in possession of this estate, when a thunder-bolt hurled from the Court of Lisbon, aiming at their total destruction, came in the shape of a law, dated 3d September, 1759. By this law, Joseph I. King of Portugal, "declared the members of the society of Jesus, to be notorious rebels, traitors, aggressors, and commanded that they shall be had, held, and reputed as such, * * * that they shall totally be extinguished in all the realms and dominions of Portugal * * * that neither verbal or written communication shall be kept up with them." In obedience to this law, and by order of Manoel de Saldanha de Albuquerque, Count d'Ega, Viceroy of India, the Jesuits were in 1762, transported from Macao to Goa. Like the Templars, the Jesuits were stripped of every thing they owned. Even a proclamation intimated, that every body shall in the course of twenty days, under penalty of forfeiting all he owns, give in the presence of the Governor and the municipal Judges, an account of the ready money, gold, silver, moveables, effects, he may have borrowed from

* While so many thousands are annually raised by voluntary subscription to send forth missionaries into the remotest corners of the world, we should dole out the revenue of the national church in so unequal a manner, that more than 4000 of its districts are unable to support a minister in the decent habits and respectability of a gentleman. And that while we have millions at home, who are living in total alienation from the sanctions and comforts of religion, we should "sow besides all waters," except those, whose borders have the first claim for our culture.—*Edinburgh Review, No. CXI.* 207.—Lord Henley on Church Reform.

the Jesuits on good faith, on bonds or mortgage. The command was enforced, but no part of the confiscated property used, it appears, to pay debts, which the Jesuits had contracted at Macao. One of the principal citizens, to whom the Colleges of St. Paul and St. Joseph were owing more than 6,000 taels, submitted, for the sake of having a kind of security to become the tenant of Green island. Its care and conservation he entrusted by a legal agreement, drawn up on the 15th December, 1763, and signed by the concerned to a man, whom the junto of royal revenue at Macao had appointed. By this deed we are informed, that a chapel, a vestry, a gallery leading to the choir, an habitation next to the refectory with their appurtenances most minutely detailed, were in existence; no mention is made either of a college, observatory, or botanic garden. This inventory was to serve for a rule, by which the gentleman who might become the owner of the island, should at any time restore the premises to the King of Portugal, were a reversion ever called for. In 1785, the creditor being at Goa, consented, as on authentic records, to remain with the island for 6,147 taels, 346 cash, a sum the Jesuits were owing him, and as nobody, at a posterior public auction at Macao, offered any thing for the property, orders dated Goa, 14th April, 1766, directed the Senate and its adjunct, to give up the Island to Siamō Vicente Rosa, whose claim on the two colleges was thus cancelled.

He, S. V. Rosa, and the next heir to the proprietary kept it for some time in repair, neatness and order; twice a week any person of respectability, might with permission, spend a day in amusement on the island. At length, however, in lieu of laying out some money for the stopping of an unavoidable decay, the buildings were broken down, and the materials sold: nature set at liberty, changed the epithet of the Green, to that of Desert Island. For want of protection, Chinese aided in delapidating the estate, and accelerated the devastation. At last, men of sensibility pitied the degraded state to which the island was reduced: the Professors and Priests at the Royal College of St. Joseph, became in 1828, the owners, at the cost of 2,000 dollars, I am told. They undertook to rescue this famous rock, once more from its waste solitude; they adorned the island with a chapel, they

built a house, containing a hall for the reception of strangers, and chambers for the accommodation of the Professors, who may wish to spend in the country a part of the vacation, which begins in the middle of August, and finishes on the 1st of October. A room was constructed for the overseer, and cabins for the people, who are employed in watching and improving the estate. In the premises are shelters for domestic quadrupeds, poultry, pigeons, &c.; a spacious open area is left in the middle; on the high ground many pine trees are planted; in more conspicuous spots fruit trees; of the better soil one part is turned to advantage by cultivating vegetables; another affords to young animals a grazing plot. To protect the existing and future plantations from the destructive influence of sea-water, the island must, as it anciently was, be encircled by a wall high enough to hinder the flood from dashing over it. About two-thirds of that work was,(1834) already done: the remaining will be finished soon; then the rock will have to contend only against the tyfoons and hurricanes. Over against the principal house, is a key, by which you land; to the southward of it, a basin, forming a shelter for boats: it has a gate and can be locked. On the area between the landing place and the dwelling house, many pagoda-trees are arranged. Their speedy and lofty growth, their wide and bushy branches, will in the course of a few years, create a cool, refreshing and delightful grove or bower, to the great comfort of visitors. The maintenance of an Inspector and five slave-boys at least, entrusted with the guardianship, cleanness and culture of the island, cost St. Joseph twice as much, as the produce obtained from the land is worth: expenses which the royal college submit to because it wants a place for innocent amusements and recreation.

Oitem or Oiteng.

In a preceding page, we mentioned that an Emperor of China honored the memory of a missionary for his having successfully employed himself in the discharge of public service, by assigning for the reception of his relics a distinct

place. To that end, despatches, (we quote from an official manuscript,) were directed from the supreme government of Canton, to a subaltern civil officer, that he might propose, (1644) for the interment of the meritorious Portuguese Jesuit John Rodrigues, a place on the Lapa, nearly opposite to the Green Island. The Jesuits, desiring to acquire a spot of a more promising nature, obtained an escheated waste land, the compass of which is estimated to have been more than four times that of Green Island, commencing at the foot of a mountain in the south-eastern part of the range of Lapa, denominated Oitem, and expanding itself to the very verge of the sea. It is at a short distance from the Bar-fort, at the entrance of the harbor, and almost faces Monkey island. A stream of fresh water rushing from the top of an adjacent hill, crosses the region and empties itself into the river. If Oitem did not extend to Ribeira grande, the distance between them was inconsiderable. Of this grant, Gaspar d'Amaral, Rector of the college at St. Paul, took possession by planting four poles, bearing for inscription, "this place has been given by the King of China to the Priests at St. Paul for their burying ground." These poles having been maliciously torn up, a cross on a mount, laying to the eastward of the sea-shore, was raised, but no other work undertaken till Sambiagi, or Sambiasi in 1645, arrived from Nanking with the Emperor's signature to his royal grant. Will it be amiss to suppose, that Jesuits employed in proportion, as much perseverance, industry and property in the amelioration of this new acquisition, as they had for nearly fifty years, bestowed upon a desert rock, the epithet of which had been deservedly changed into that of Green Isle? The heaps of stone ranged along the sea-coast, and some remains of walls, though dead witnesses, bear testimony of their having formerly contributed to the comfort of men and animals. On the mount where the cross had been raised, a chapel no doubt, offered a convenient place for worshipping God: the ruins still to be seen at the south-eastern extremity of Lapa, may be those of the edifice. In 1725, a lay-brother lived on the settlement, "though at the peril of his life," Caëlanohopes, a Jesuit, expresses it in his reply to a letter directed to the college of St. Paul, by the Senate's entreating the Jesuits not to give up Oitem; they were recommended to despise the clamor of

the populace, and to oppose steadily the intrigues of petty Mandarins. Constant vexations, the unproductiveness of the soil, and expenses, inclined the Jesuits to transfer Oitem to any body. The support of a Lay-brother and twelve slave boys, the charges for a boat, and the repair of the wall, which surrounded the habitations of the Jesuits on Oitem, demanded a yearly out-lay of 215 taels, the value of what the place could in a year produce, did not amount to thirty taels. Besides, it was often visited by thieves, the slaves occasionally revolted, and by the distance from the college, the reputation of the lay-brother might be in danger. These and other arguments the Jesuits laid before the Vice-provincial, requesting him to decide, whether Oitem was to be entrusted to a lay-man, paid as factor and guard of the sepulchre. In their representation, they allege that the Augustines and others, who owned settlements on the island, had abandoned them for less powerful reasons. The rest of the communication and the date is wanting, but it may, by comparing this with other manuscripts of the Jesuits, be conjectured from the autography that it was written in the years between 1737 and 1746. The Jesuits at last abandoned Oitem, but at what time, I have not been able to trace. The scene of their persevering, but ill requited activity, presents actually to the eyes of a stranger, nothing more than a few miserable huts, and a rice field in the valley of Oitem.

Sundry Lodges.

A few cursory hints, collected in turning over old manuscripts, announcing that the Dominicans and Augustines had once settlements on neighboring islands, made us entertain the hope, that the archives of their respective convents might furnish the name of the place, the title to it, the use made of it, the reasons why surrendered, the time when it was given up, but alas! these topics could not be solved by the convents. The actual regents, declared, and positively assured the friends who applied in favor of the author, for leave to have a glance at their papers, that such records were not in existence. Where historical facts are wanting, tradition may

be allowed to step in. Having turned the south-eastern point of Lapa, we enter in a broad river, running between it and Macao. A beach, a shore, or rather a valley to the left, nearly bordering on Oitem, and opposite to the Bar-fort bears the name of *Ribeira grande*. It was occupied some time or another by inhabitants of Macao. Old people assert, having heard it said, that from a printed work a rumor went about, that a Portuguese lady, had by her last will bequeathed her estate on Ribeira grande, to the convent of St. Domingo.—The ulterior prolongation of this valley, goes by the name of *Ribeira pequena:* it terminates, we may say, at the foot of the mountain, which faces the Chinese old Pagod, when we proceed in our way to the Bar-fort. Report asserts, that a chapel once stood on the Lapa: if this be true, the land about it might have been occupied by the Augustines. *Monkey Island*,—"illha dos bugios"—was granted to a Jesuit, Manöel Pereira, who entered China, (1672.) Anthony Mesquita Pimentel, Captain general of Macao, (1685) had a piece of ground in the neighborhood of the town. At what time and in what manner Maria Nunes came to the spot that bears her name, and Jorge Ribeira to his, I have not the least idea. Some of the settlements proving altogether unprofitable were left; others for want of means to cultivate and protect them. In 1711, the Senate in a letter to Joseph Pereira complains, saying, "the Mandarin of Heang-shan never leaves off teazing us with orders to evacuate our settlements, and pays no attention to the chops, which the holders present to him; his emissaries refuse likewise, to take any notice of them." The Senate entreats his Paternity to inform the Tsung-tŭh of the intolerable vexations the public officers are constantly haunted with. At last from a letter of 1764, to the supreme government at Goa, we learn, "that the gardens and country houses, which the inhabitants formerly owned on the other side of the river, had in consequence of misfortune and ruin of the occupants been abandoned and entirely left in the hands of the Chinese."

Ribeira grande is still a favorite shore, to which the Portuguese resort for the sake of the refreshing stream that crosses it; of the ascending and descending hills for bodily exercise; of taking in company of a few select friends, a frugal meal in a shade spread by nature, or under a tent more or less elegant.

Forty years ago foreigners sought recreation at this and other parts of Lapa; they usually spent a day in walking, talking, eating, drinking and rational amusements. A body of supercargoes,—commercial representatives—of six different nations or privileged companies, endeavored to keep up mutual harmony and social affection, by making up parties to this or that place, in the environs of their residence; the monopolies, being by degrees extinguished, their respective servants dispersed of course. At present travellers now and then, for gratifying their curiosity visit Lapa; the Portuguese are permitted, it appears, to loiter in all directions of the island from the river to the sea: and even northerly so far as Passang, a place in front of Casa Branca on the opposite side of the river.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND MISSIONS IN CHINA.

PRELIMINARY.

The Cross, and greedy merchants came from India, by way of Malacca to China, where misssionary insinuations proved less efficient, than soothing mercantile language and liberal offerings on the bottomless altar of self interest. They opened to the Portuguese a mart on a desert island, Macao, and an asylum for Roman apostles. The very first were two Jesuits, in company with the envoy, Gil Goys, Francis Peres, and Manöel Teïxeira; the former had (1565) on the skirt of a hill now called Monte, an habitation. Their number increased gradually; some of them went in Portuguese ships to Canton, as chaplains. One of them succeeded in so ensnaring a youth, that he consented to desert his school, and clandestinely to proceed with his seducer to Macao. This mischief having been detected, the tutor of the boy, and his relations demanded protection of the Mandarins, and claimed the restitution of the youth who was kidnapped. Menaces of using compulsory means had effect. The matter was settled, but a stamp of villany adhered to a set of men, who would sanction deeds of acknowledged iniquity.* The provoked feelings had not subsided when a Jesuit, Miguel

* Nuper enim, cum alius e nostro ordine eo (Canton) so, ad sacra ex more navigatoribus per nundiniarum dies procuranda, contulisset, ad Christi fidem adolescentulum profani Simulacrorum sacerdotis discipulum, ita pellexerat ut volentem in Amacaense oppidum, sed clam abduxerit. Id subodoratus magister apud magistratus graviter questus est, effecitque, adnitentibus etiam adolescentuli propinquis, ut magistratus eum vi extorquerent, non sine magna infamia, quasi malis artibus pueros seducerent patribusque subducerent. *De Chri. Exp. apud Sinas Auth. Nio Trigaulio.*

Ruggiero bent his mind upon procuring for religion, if possible, the protection of a powerful Mandarin. During his stay at Canton (1581) as chaplain, he insinuated himself into the affections of a sea-prefect. In 1582, Ruggiero proceeded in the capacity of interpreter with the Portuguese judge, Penella to Shaou-king-foo, where the Tsung-tŭh resided. To him, a few months later Ruggiero and Paccio, (not Passio) of them we shall further speak hereafter—presented an elegant pendulum, and a triangular prism; they then obtained leave to inhabit a Chinese temple in the very provincial capital. From thence spread gradually a missionary society, which might probably have baptized the whole of China, and introduced a species of Christianity,* had the Popes been wise enough not to bring in competition with the Jesuits, the mendicant Monks, and other ambitious collaborators.

Roman Catholic Church at Macao.

That the subsequent exposition of the Church system may be rendered more intelligible, we shall begin with a short description of the patronage.

The King's patronage. The Kings of Portugal pretend, in virtue of bulls of Gregory XIII, and Clement VIII, that no ecclesiastic shall pass from Europe to Asia, but by way of Lisbon, and with the permission of the Court, a favor it had in its power to grant or refuse. This is the first point of a privilege, denominated the King's patronage,—"e Real padreado;"—the next, that the Sovereigns of Portugal have a right to build churches, and govern those which exist within the limits of their dominions, by missionaries and Bishops, not only, but also to assign laborers and pastors to such churches as may be erected any where in the heathen-world

* To convince ourselves that the moral principles of Christianity, had by the metaphysical subtilities of the Jesuits, been vastly relaxed, letters written in 1656, by Blaise Pascal—10 *à un Provincial*—and 6 *aux R. R. P. P. Jesuites*—may be read in Oeuvres de Blaise Pascal T. 1. Or in the XII. Satire de Boileau Despréaux.

of Asia, independent of Portugal. From the time of Gregory XIII. to that of Innocent XII. these pretensions had not been brought to a test: but no sooner had Innocent decided to send Apostolic vicars to Asia, than Peter II. King of Portugal, protested against their mission, pretending that they could without his consent, exercise no such a function in India. This question was of a delicate nature: its resolution implied restrictions on the patronage of the Kings of Portugal, or on the Pope's fullness of prerogative to send "motu proprio," to any parts of the world, apostles of the Gospel. To decide this serious doubt, Peter II. was invited by the Pontiff to send an Ambassador, prepared to produce such documents as His Majesty may think conducive to substantiate his pretension to the patronage. The Envoy adduced five arguments, which were, (1680) examined by a congregation of Cardinals, appointed by Innocent XII. The Cardinals after a full scrutiny, perceived, 1st, that the Papal Bulls quoted by the Portuguese Ambassador, recorded no trace that the spiritual government of all Asia ever was conceded to any Sovereign of Portugal; they proved merely, that the King had the right to exercise his patronage in all those churches which he had endowed, still supported and protected. 2d, To hinder Priests from passing by way of the Phillippine Islands to Asia, Pontiffs had commanded that none should proceed thither without a previous license from the Court of Lisbon, but since the Spaniards, Dutch, English, French, and Danes had settlements in India, Urban VIII. revoked, as superfluous, the Bulls of Gregory XIII. and others, allowing missionaries to proceed to Asia by any way most convenient to them. 3d, It was inadmissible the King should govern christian churches in pagan countries, where he could give them no protection. 4th, The jurisdiction of the Primate of Portuguese India, was not in the least infringed by the Pope sending missionaries to any part of Asia. 5th, The Arch-bishops and Bishops, in virtue of a decree of the congregation of propaganda fide, issued 7th March, 1633, may nominate Bishops—"in partibus infidelium"—to be confirmed by his Holiness. Upon this summary, the Cardinals decided the 3d and 23d September, 1680, "*per delegationem Vicariorum apostolicorum non constare de aliquo prejudicio juribus Regum Portugalia illatæ,*" words of the same import as those

of a later decision: "*pratensum and privativum Regis Portugalio missionarios et titulares episcopos in India designandi nulla ratione niti.*" Jealous for the preservation of the Royal prerogative, an order (1688) was enacted at Lisbon, that missionaries, to prevent being expelled from Asia, must pass through the Kingdom of Portugal, and take the oath to the Universal patronage; a decree the councellors of the Vatican opposed, by commanding the very same year, that no Superior of the regular clergy shall suffer any of his subjects to take the oath; an inhibition renewed in January, 1733. Nevertheless, any Procurator of the missions, or missionary, whose residence shall be at Macao for any length of time, must for his own safety, disobey his Superiors and submit to the decree of Lisbon.

Hierarchy. Hardly had a few Portuguese adventurers got a kind of footing at Macao, when Sebastian I. King of Portugal, a young, devout enthusiast, bethought himself of placing by the nomination of Pius V. Melchior Carneiro, a Jesuit, at the head of the Church establishment. He arrived in 1568, and by permission of Gregory XIII. governed the church till 1581: he died at Macao and was buried in the collegiate church St. Paul. Sebastian solicited that Macao should be made a Bishop's see; Gregory agreed (1575) to it, on condition that the King should provide the Cathedral with ornaments, vestments, plate, books, and other utensils, required by the Catholics for the splendor of that divine service, and that he should keep the buildings in repair; in return,—private records assert,—the King should have the power to propose subjects, duly qualified for the government of the new diocese, extending to the wall that crosses the isthmus of the peninsula. It actually comprehends, by the division of Innocent XII. the provinces of Kwang-tung, and Kwang-se, and the island Hae-nan. For more than one hundred and twenty years, the diocese was presided over by "Governor of the Bishoprick;" they had neither the power of conferring holy orders, confirming, consecrating the oil used by the Catholics in baptism, confirmation, and extreme unction, or anointing Bishops; nor the right to use the crosier, the ring and the pectoral cross, which are external signs of an episcopal dignity.

A temporary vacancy in the Episcopal see, is observable for more than a century, either, because the Kings of Portugal had omitted to propose subjects, or the Pontiffs refused their confirmation. At last, in 1691, a Church-man, John de Cazal,* succeeded to the Governors, with the authority of Bishop. This situation he filled forty-three years in a period of great temporal and spiritual tribulations. His salary was limited to six hundred taels, which the Senate obstinately refused to discharge, till at length, (1732) they got an order from King John V. to bring it to account of the disbursements made by the royal chest. The Bishop has actually two thousand taels, and a spacious palace, containing a chapel. Cazal expired 1734: his body was interred with great pomp in the Cathedral. A Bishop has the power of appointing his Vicar-general, and of filling vacant places in the secular hierarchy with such clergymen as he may deem worthy to be trusted with the duties of sacerdotal functions, but his preferment must be submitted to the Court, and confirmed by his Majesty. After a lapse of nine years residence at Macao, Dm. John de Cazal instituted "a Chapter," composed of five dignitaries, viz. a Dean, who being the highest dignity, presides over the Chapter, a Chanter, a Chief-treasurer, an Arch-deacon, and a School-master, "Mestre escola." These dignitaries must, in the course of eight days, reckoned from the demise of the Bishop, choose a Capitular-vicar, who remains the head of ecclesiastical affairs till the successor of the departed has taken charge of the Bishoprick. The actual (1833) Capitular-vicar, it was decided at Goa, shall have 500 taels; as Vicar-general he has besides 200 taels. The salary of the Dean is 280 taels, the four subsequent dignitaries enjoy each 240 taels. per annum. Next to these members, rank six Canons, two sub-canons, "meio conegos," six Chaplains, and two Masters of the ceremonies. Each Canon has 200 taels, a sub-canon 100. The Chaplains and the Masters of the ceremonies are paid by the revenue of funds which the Chapter has at command. The three Curates, viz. the Canon of the Cathedral, the Vicar of St. Lawrence,

* By a law of 3d January, 1611, the Bishop takes the title *Dom;* by another of 23d January, 1789, he takes that of *Excellency*, as honorary member of His Majesty's Council. *Privil. do Nobresa, p.* 38.

and the Vicar of St. Anthony, have individually 120 taels, per annum. Adding for certain duties they attend to, perquisites which they regularly cover, the situation of a Curate is sufficiently easy and comfortable. These items are enlarged by the salary of 1,000 taels, granted to the Bishop of Nanking; 600 taels to the church of St. Joseph, and repair of the buildings belonging to the royal college; 240 taels to the Superior, and to each of the Professors, (the number of six, is not invariable;) 150 taels for every Chinese seminarist in the college, who may in all be twelve: further contribution to the collegiate church of St. Paul; to the Convent of St. Augustine; to parish churches, and to festivals and processions. In 1832, the whole hierarchical establishment cost the royal chest 8,273 taels.

Expectant individuals of the secular clergy, "clerigos extravagantes," are those, who as yet, have not been provided with an employment, office, or living in the diocese; they amounted in 1833, to five Priests. These candidates deposit previously to their receiving holy orders, the sum of four hundred taels, designated by the word "Patrimony," in the hands of the Treasurer of the Chapter, or give a security for the same, to the end that from the revenue of the said capital at 7 per cent. they may be able to appear decent in the eyes of the public.

The congregational members of the royal college at St. Joseph, have their Superior at Lisbon; these regular orders of St. Dominic, St. Augustine, St. Francis, de Assie, and the Nuns of St. Clare, are accountable to their respective Provincials, residing in Goa; nevertheless the Bishop of Macao, exercises in certain cases, a sort of syndic magistracy over them all. The Episcopal see was vacated in 1828, by the demise of Dm. Fr. Francis de Na. Sra. da Luz Cochim. Some of his predecessors grasped at the exercise of temporal power; an ambition the Prince Regent of Portugal at last reproved, and gave in 1800, to the then ruling Bishop, the fatherly admonition that "the Divine Master had authorized his disciples only to preach and baptize."

External rites. All those who believe in Christ, devoutly celebrate, in commemoration of the resurrection of Jesus, the Sunday, and yearly Christmas, Easterday, and Whitsuntide, each sect in its own way. Sullied, pious men thought,

with original sin; they easily apprehended that their thanksgivings and solicitations wanted to be commended to the Trinity in unity by some beloved inmate of heaven. Human individuals who by inspiration taught mankind revelation, and had bled as martyrs for the Christian religion, presented themselves as proper objects of veneration; they were therefore, by the primitive church, "elected by the votes of the whole people," and by consent of their congregational inspectors, presbyters or bishops, "raised to the rank of SAINTS."* In process of time, Pontiffs "motu proprio," increased considerably the number, declaring zealous evangelists endowed with the power of performing miracles, to be saints; their names are inscribed on an Album;† a catalogue of the canonized. At the head of the celestial hierarchy presides the Holy Virgin, Queen of Heaven, invoked at Macao under twenty-eight different denominations. Beside eighteen festivals distinctly consecrated to the devotion of the Holy Virgin, there are thirteen dedicated to Saints, male or female. These solemnities last nine, ten or thirteen days, and generally end by public religious processions. A flag, adorned with a conspicuous emblem, relative to the subject of veneration, is hoisted near the church: similar signals are occasionally perceived at several parishes and convents. Devout people resort to them every day and pray at the shrine of the Saint. Thirty holy days, "dias santos da guarda," are by command of the Roman See, annually and solemnly celebrated. To them, and the ceremonies above adverted to, we have still to add twenty-seven days, on which the faithful may hear mass, and now and then a sermon, in remembrance of the blessed partner in the heavenly glory.

A free association of individuals, ruled by fixed regulations, tending to bind their members to the discharge of mutual aid, and acts of benevolence and charity, constitutes a "Brotherhood." At Macao the most ancient is that of our Lady of Mercy, "Na. Sra. da Misericordia." In imitation of it, several corporations have been organized, approved by the Bishop, and sanctioned by Popes. Actually, Macao can boast of eleven Brotherhoods, besides a few in embryo,

* Luc. Ferr. Bibl. canonica verbum Sanctus.

† See Bibl. can. verb. Sanctus.

wanting animation from the Pope, exclusively of the prototype, "Misericordia." Eight of them are said to have pecuniary means more or less adequate, (arising from the interest of their respective funds,) to bear the annual expenses of the festive celebration of a peculiar saint. Each Brotherhood wears a distinctive vestment at public "Processions," of which we shall notice but a few. The Senate pays out of the royal chest the charges required for the festival and procession of "our Lady of Conception," the patroness of the Kingdom—of those "of the Guardian Angel of the Kingdom"—"of St. John the Baptist," the patron of Macao,—and "of Corpus Christi day." This ceremony ought to be graced by the professed Knights of any of the military orders of Portugal, all of them clothed in the full attire of their respective rank. The Brotherhood of our Lady of the Rosary—"Na. Sra. do Rosario,"—and that of our Lady of the Remedies—"Na. Sra. dos Remedios,"—are remarkable for the elegance, splendor, and riches displayed on the Image carried in procession. This outward pomp of religion is cheered by an accompanying numerous clergy, who are chanting the praise of the Saint, during the airing it takes in a litter, laid on men's shoulders. A detachment of the battalion with military music joins the processions, some of which are saluted by a firing of twenty-one guns from the fort Monte.—(1833)

Whether the first settlers at Macao, entrusted to St. Anthony at Lisbon, during the celebration of his feast, which lasts thirteen days, the government of the town, depends, it seems, on the uncertainty of traditional rumors; that he was in 1725, enlisted as a soldier, and got in 1783, the rank of captain, is proved by existing documents. His procession is of a military cast. The Image, accompanied as late as 1833, by the clergy, the governor, nobility, the battalion, and common people, was carried in a litter by four officers, and every morning for thirteen days, a body of soldiers waited at his church to fire a salute. On the eve of the procession, the Senate sends 240 taels,—the annual pay of a captain,—which sum the curate uses for the support of neatness, decency and grace in the divine service. St. Anthony is a favorite Saint, principally with the sailor-population. At times the devotee falls on his knees, worships, and solicits

the potent intercession of his Saint; but no sooner does the claimant fancy, that the request has been either slighted, or the favour provokingly postponed, than the image is taken from the shelf, upbraided, beaten, ill-used:—likewise, no sooner does the supplicant presume that the Saint has granted his protection, than the darling of the petitioner's heart is caressed and adored, tapers and incense burned before the image.

We shall proceed from the amusing to the most seriously melancholic procession. The Sunday of the Cross,—"Domingo da Cruz,"—to judge from the emblems exhibited in this procession, represents a transition from heathenism to Christianity. The Redeemer, an image of the size of a man, clad in a purple garment, wearing on his head a crown of thorns, and on his shoulder a heavy cross, bends one of his knees on the bottom of a bier, supported by eight of the most distinguished citizens. The bishop with the secular and regular clergy, the governor, ministers, nobility, the military, and the whole Roman Catholic population, it may be said, assist, deeply affected by a scene which prognosticates a divine sacrifice to be made for reconciling man with his Creator. Young children,—of both clear and dark shades—arrayed in fancy dresses of angels, with beautiful muslin wings at the shoulders, carry in a miniature shape, the instruments which were required at the crucifixion. This procession takes a range over almost the whole city; when finished, the image of Christ is deposited in its shrine at the convent of St. Augustine.

In 1593, the Senate reported to Philip I. King of Portugal, that Macao had "a Cathedral with two parishes, a Misericordia with two hospitals and four religious bodies, viz: Augustines, Dominicans, Jesuits and Capuchins." Though for three centuries Christians would suffer no dead body to be interred near the habitations, yet a few hundred years later, a "burying ground," was assigned in the church-yard: next, at the entrance to the church; and long before the epoch above mentioned, in the church itself. The nearer the corpse is laid to the high-altar, the shorter will be the detention of the soul, credulous people believe, in the purgatory; but the grave becomes more expensive. How long shall the faithful living, be forced to inhale the miasma of putrifying bodies, at the very moment the august ceremonies of divine

service are celebrated? In imitation of the heathen, whose sacred places were a shelter to deserters and unruly subjects, Honorius and Theodosius engrafted on the Christian churches a similar "Immunity," and Boniface IV. or according to Mosheim, Boniface V. who died 625, ordered that nobody should be apprehended in any church. It is but a few years, since assassins, deserters, and other culprits found shelter in churches and convents at Macao.

No individual of Jewish race, was ever recognized at Macao; no "Auto da fé," therefore, ever soiled the place. Nine or ten years ago, monastic gentry and the Nuns of St. Clare, amused themselves by burning in effigy a man and a woman made of paper, personifying, no doubt, Herod and his daughter, by whose entreaties St. John the Baptist lost his life: the "bonfire" went off in the evening of St. John's day. Philanthropists cannot comprehend why the Jews should be hated. Could that nation act otherwise than it did? Had the prophecies not been fulfilled, what would have become of the work of redemption?

Objections to Chinese Recreations at Macao.

Because the Albigenses had the hardihood to read and understand the contents of the Scripture in a manner different from that of the vicar of Christ, they were by Crusaders exterminated—and by the suggestion of a Canon, the patriarch of the preaching friars, St. Dominic, proposed to Innocent III. the erection of a tribunal, the duty of which should be to stop the progress of an heresy which might spread and at last shake the Papal supremacy. The plan was matured and confirmed, and according to Mosheim, Gregory IX. (1233) decided that the Dominicans should be at the head of the Inquisition or Holy office. . We do not pretend to follow the Inquisitors in the exercise of their power, nor to trouble ourselves about the period this establishment first fixed itself at Goa: we shall merely note down that the hierarchy

of Macao had commission scrupulously to watch over the purity of the faith, and in case of delinquency, to forward the dissentient to the Inquisition at Goa. This excruciating body was in 1812, extinguished by a provision of the pious Prince Regent of Portugal.

Previous to this memorable epoch, the Christians had contrived various means to free the town from offensive spectacles, which the Chinese population at Macao exhibited on their theatre, and in their processions. By the order of a Vicar-general, Francis da Rosa, a stage on which the Chinese were acting was broken down, "a provocation much to be deprecated," says the Viceroy of Goa in his letter to the Senate, (1736) in which he also "orders the Chapter to reprehend the Vicar-general, and recommend him to abstain in future from similar behavior, contenting his zeal with informing the Senate and the Governor of what to him seemed to be proper." This salutary admonition was set aside by a letter of 18th March, 1758, in which the tribunal of the Inquisition prohibits any kind of theatricals or processions to be suffered. Nevertheless, several of the Governors recollecting that the Portuguese can exercise no jurisdiction over the Chinese, had been prudent enough to connive at the fleeting recreations of the Chinese, but in 1780, at the instigation of a delegate from the Holy office then residing at Macao, the Senate gave an order to the Procurator to demolish scaffolds, which had been erected on the occasion of a solemn festival, which was to wander through the place. His zeal was frustrated: Having permission from their Mandarins to raise temporary stands, the insult of throwing them down would be resented; the Chinese advised the Portuguese not to provoke tumult by an act of intemperate zeal. Convinced that no effort of civil police would hinder a pagan festival, duly prepared, from shewing itself in the town, a Bishop resolved to try spiritual influence on his flock. His Excellency Dm. Fr. Francis de Na. Sra. da Luz Cachim, issued a pastoral admonition, which the Curates published in their respective parishes. It was dated 15th April, 1816, and breathes a fatherly exhortation, that all Christians should, for the sake of the salvation of their souls, abstain from having a peep, either through the window from behind the Venetian blinds, or in the street, at the pageants which the Chinese were going to carry through the

city. Disobedience was threatened with the penalty of the great excommunication; a punishment that could not be applied, because out of the whole population there were perhaps, not fifty adult Christians, who had resisted the impulse of curiosity: the others gratified it by looking at the gorgeous ceremonies, repeated by the Chinese during three days, and by gazing at night in the bazar, at ingenious illuminations, theatrical jests and amusements.

The actual state of the Roman Catholic Mission in the Bishoprick of Macao. "Religion descended free from Heaven, let her remain free on earth;" this is an ejaculation of tolerance, peace, harmony, and the philanthropy, which few, if any religious had a right to boast of. The Jews exterminated their neighbors, because they did not believe in Jehovah: the Mahometans, where they are masters, impress the tenets of the Koran, sword in hand. Christianity, by the command contained in St. Mark, chapter XVIth. 15,* is announced to all the world with the zeal required in St. Luke, chapter XIVth. 26.† Had the marvellous personage, called Budha or Fuh, (born, it is said, above one thousand years before Christ,) or any of his disciples, in the name of their master, enforced the precepts of Christianity alluded to, Budhism might have been the universal church, because a doctrine of impostures, three thousand years ago, was not then, as now-a-days, cast into the philosophical crucible of sense and reasoning. Two national superstitions, those of Laoukeun, otherwise called Laou-toze, and of Budha or Fuh, are recognized in China by government. With the Bonzes, spiritual servants of the last mentioned hypothetical deity, Roman Catholic Priests at their entrance in China, came first in contact. They began to quarrel about their faith. It is to be lamented, that human ingenuity should have borrowed from the Bible the ground-work of more than four hundred sects, each of them faithfully believing themselves to be in the straight road to heaven, with the exclusion of all such as are not within the pale of their confraternity: an un-

* Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every country.

† If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life, he cannot be my disciple.

charitableness, which a miracle alone, the greatest of any ever wrought, may erase from the minds of prejudiced Christians.* Until this unexpected event shall have eradicated the animosity which still rages among theologo-polemic combatants, may it not be reasonable to conclude with the King of Siam, that "the TRUE GOD takes pleasure in being glorified by myriads of living creatures, who praise him, each in his own way."† Enemies of this simple theme, refer to a doctrine, the professors of which were justly censured by Kanghe, saying, "I am astonished, that the Pontiff can believe men, who pretend to teach the same religion, though some of them affirm what others deny." Would it not be proper that concord, union, and mutual affection should constitute the character of every missionary; a consistency that might engage the attention of enlightened men, and fix in the mind of the ruder class an uncontrolled dependence on foreign judgment? This harmony seemingly presided over the demeanor of the Jesuits: it awakened curiosity, many who lent an ear to the ingenious arguments of these strangers, became their disciples and converts. This progress, however, slackened so soon as members of several congregations began to dispute about the meaning of the sacred volume. Divine truth, men of common-sense conjecture, can be but one, clear, precise, uniform, proof against the pruning knife of human metaphysics. A deviation from this essential character, turned the favorable tide of conversion against the exotic doctrine, and no effectual advancement can be looked for till from four to five hundred sectarian passions shall have had

* The sense, I, in my second contribution expressed on the subject of the variety of Christian sects and missionary societies, has been in the valuable Canton Journal, "the Chinese Repository," for November, 1834, in a sober and unoffending manner, animadverted on. Before my sentiments were announced, I had resolved to give intentionally, no offence; my humble aim was to submit them and my timid conviction to the ordeal of future, more enlightened and discreet generations. The time must come when the "fulcrum" of missionary infallibility shall fail, and the heavenly gift, "common-sense," the earliest revelation, the unerring, shall triumph over inveterate anti-rational credulity.

† Journal of an embassy to Siam and Cochin-china, by John Crawford, Esq. London 1828, Chapter XIIIth. It is a recapitulation of what happened 1685, in Siam, as related in Let. Edif. by Mosheim.

time to cool and coalesce, and Christianity be freed from the trappings of human device.*

Among all christian sects, there are no ceremonies so alluring, I presume, as those of the schismatic Greek, and Roman Catholic churches. A tinsel, say some, unworthy the dignity of pure religion! It may be so. Nevertheless, a temple seated on an elevated ground, of a chaste architecture, without and within, spacious, lofty, clean, and neatly adorned, strikes the external senses of spectators, and leaves on their minds something like an impression of sublimity: the sacred abode, being on any of the great festivals set, as it were, in a blaze by hundreds of lighted tapers skilfully arranged, filled with the harmony of vocal and instrumental notes, enlivened with the majesty of divine adoration; venerable and reverend Priests, arrayed in costly and splendid garments, celebrating the service—this enchants the soul, and presses her to join in the worship of an unknown Being. The internal sense is roused, enquiries are made, dogmas examined, mysteries weighed, a scrutiny that has led men of acknowledged intellectual strength, to abandon the faith of their forefathers. The Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg, has published fifty reasons or motives† for his quitting Lutheranism and embracing Catholicism. A spiritual food, without admixture of some external harmless cover, does not suit every palate. Protestantism, &c. &c. is too homely, too ascetic and abstruse for mankind in general.

It is now (1834) exactly two hundred and fifty years, since the first Roman Catholic missionaries were allowed to remain at Shaou-king-foo, in the province of Kwang-tung. Two Jesuits were in 1601, permitted to enter Peking, where they began clandestinely‡ to teach a doctrine, the success of which

* To us it is gratifying to quote from an American Itinerant Presbyterian missionary, the following passage: "As it respects the variety of religious opinion * * * of one thing I have long been deeply convinced—that religion is love, love to God and to men * * * the religion of the heart." *Th. Flint's Recollections*, p. 117. Boston, 1826.

† Fifty reasons or motives which induced his most Serene Highness Anthony Ulrick, Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg to abjure Lutheranism and embrace the Roman Catholic religion. London, 1804.

‡ Mathew Ricci obtained both for himself and his assistants the liberty of explaining to the people the doctrine of the gospel." Mosheim asserts from the Description de la Chine par Duhalde,(Dutch edition,) Tom. III. 84

has been various. It depended for upwards of a century on the connivance of local officers, till (1692) Kang-he enfranchised the new sect, and placed it on the same footing with those of Laou-keun and Budha. This favor Yung-ching thought proper to repeal; he prohibited (1723) in his vast dominions, the exercise of Christianity. This prohibition was further enforced in respect to Macao, by the twelfth paragraph of a convention, concluded (1749) between the government of Macao, and the provincial magistrates of Kwang-tung. These public impediments and the scanty means that could be placed at the disposal of missionaries for ingratiating themselves with the inferior Mandarins, that they might wink at the violation of the laws, have greatly retarded the labor of foreign priests. At present, no European is residing among the Christian population, which in 1830, amounted, by approximation, in the Bishoprick of Macao, to 6090 Chinese. The spiritual care is entrusted to the devotion and zeal of seven Chinese Catholic Priests, who in obedience to the direction of their Prelate, the Bishop of Macao, or his substitute, the Capitular-vicar, visit by turn the six still existing missions, viz:

Portuguese Orthog.	*English Orthog.*	*Christian Chinese.*
1. Chunte,	Shun-tih,	1250
2. Hainan,	Hae-nan,	855
3. Chaucheu,	Shaou-chow,	750
4. Chao-king,	Shaou-king,	730
5. Namhai,	Nan-hae.	1850
6. Namcheu,	———	655
		6,090
In 1833, from high clerical authority there were at Macao, Patané, Mong-ha, Lapa,		7,000
		13,090

Dulhalde must have been misinformed, for Nic. Trigauld, who wrote before 1615, his "Christiana Expeditio apud Sinas," principally from the manuscript records by Ricci, in the Italian language, of the most remarkable events, which had happened to the mission from his entrance in China, (1582) till his death at Peking, (1610) expressly mentions, page 700, "ut in

The salary of each individual is eighty-two dollars, yearly. Travelling expenses, estimated at from 40 to 50 dollars, according to the remoteness of the place the Priest is sent to, and the pay of the catechists, and various other charges are carried to separate accounts. To meet these pecuniary exigencies, the revenue of a certain capital is applied: its management is left by appointment of the Bishop to three Canons who are bound at the expiration of a year, to lay before the Prelate an accurate statement of the receipts and disbursements, referring to the fund just mentioned.*

lo loco, (the field where Ricci was interred, and his companions got permission to build a house,) ritus legis nostræ (of China) observantes, Deum pro regis ejusque parentis vita et salute atque incolumitate rogaremos." Had Wan-leih given the missionaries leave publicly to teach their tenets, he could not well order his Council of Rites to take notice of a philippic which a Mandarin of Nanking presented (1615) against the doctrine and proceedings of the foreign priests.

* The Reforming apostles, who by an intemperate zeal* of modern missionary societies, are in the XIXth century obtruded on the world, have such a striking similarity of behavior with those of Rome, who in the VIIth century propagated in the northern parts of Germany, by any means, the principles of their doctrine, that to transcribe the following from Mosheim, is a sufficient apology.

"These voyages undertaken in the cause of Christ, carry, no doubt, a specious appearance of piety and zeal; but the impartial and attentive inquirer after truth, will find it impossible to form the same favorable judgment of them all, or to applaud, without distinction, the motives that animated these laborious missionaries. That the designs of some of them were truly pious, and their character without reproach, is unquestionably certain. But it is equally certain, that this was neither the case of them all, nor even of the greatest part of them. Many of them discovered, in the course of their ministry, the most turbulent passions, and, dishonoring the glorious cause in which they were engaged, by their arrogance and ambition, their avarice and cruelty, they abused the power which they had received from the Roman Pontiffs, of forming religious establishments among the superstitious nations; and instead of gaining souls to Christ, they usurped a despotic dominion over their obsequious proselytes, and exercised princely authority over the countries where their ministry had been successful." &c. *Mosheim's Ecc. History, Vol. II.* 155. London, 1806.

* Christ gave, St. Mark says, this charitable command: Go ye, &c.; not that uncharitable one: force yourselves on the nations, steal yourselves on the people, and preach the Gospel.

Roman Catholic Mission in China.

Preliminary.

It must be left to men better qualified than I am, to investigate, whether Christianity was taught in China, in the IIId, IVth, VIth, IXth or XIth centuries; whether the first doctors came from Armenia, Persia, or from the western parts of the East Indian peninsula; and what was their theme, for sectarians no doubt they were, because the schism on the meaning of Holy Writ, is almost co-equal with Christianity. Whether the Christians in China, denominated by the heathen, "Worshippers of the Cross," were so numerous, that a reasonable suspicion might be excited against them of meditating a change in the form of government and church, and that the family of Chin-khis-khan, the dynasty of Yuen, elevated in the latter end of the thirteenth century, to the throne of China, was thereby led to persecute her Christian subjects from principles of policy or diversity of creeds: my object is to present, in a concise narrative, the most memorable events that have happened during two hundred and fifty years to the Roman Catholic mission in China.

Missionaries to China. Vasco de Gama being successful in his attempt to weather the stormy cape, now called Cape of Good Hope; to establish trade at Calicut, with the most powerful sovereign on the coast of Malabar: of carrying home to Lisbon, samples of rich produce from different parts of Asia—Paul IIId having by a Bull of 27th September,

1540, confirmed the society of Jesus, foresaw the advantages which the Holy See may derive from the exertions of Jesuits in those remote countries. Portugal offered them an easy conveyance: they embarked at Lisbon, and landed at Goa; from thence they spread themselves quickly over Asia in various directions. In our individual humble opinion, a missionary ought to know the language of the people he means to instruct: he should also make himself acquainted with their creed, in which the instructive and primordial feelings of right and wrong,—the base of all civil and social existence, are undoubtedly interwoven. On this foundation he may advance temporal happiness; and teaching pagans by his own example, to do to others what we wish should be done to ourselves; in one word, that men should be *Just*—he may win their affection and confidence. A missionary must not behave like quacks, who willingly accost people, exclaiming "you are sick." It will suffice, that he be known as a man ready to administer spiritual comfort to those who may feel desirous of enjoying it. The time is, perhaps, then approaching, when the superstructure called "faith in mysteries," for the salvation of souls,* may be raised. With these preliminary and prudential qualifications, few persons, if any, ever entered a mission. A little school-learning, a considerable stock of superstitious opinion, and an indiscreet zeal were all, the greater part of missionaries brought with them to China. Lamenting that its inhabitants had no knowledge of the revealed doctrine, did the European, for the sake of eliciting truth, encourage the heathen rationally to argue the subject? No, he perplexed the rude understanding by beginning to speak of faith, and eternal torments.† These mystical enunciations, the missionary proposed to explain, on condition that the auditory should implicitly "believe" in what he, in the name of "his" God, was going to announce. This errand brought Francis Xavier, to the southern confines of China; he landed at San-shan, where he died, (1552.) A Domini-

* The individuality of human souls was decided during the pontificate of Leo X by the bull "Apostolici," in which we read; "Non est una anima in omnibus hominibus, sed in quolibet est propria." *Bibl. can. V. Anima.*

† Quod infernus proprie dictus sit in inferioribus terræ partibus, nemo est qui dubitet. *Bibl. canon V. Infernus.* How is this to be reconciled with the revelation of St. Luke, Chap. XXI. 23?

can, Gaspar da Cruz, began (1556) to preach in China, but was expelled. The Spanish Augustines, whom Grosier in the preface of his Description of China, in English, speaks of, left the Philippine islands in company with a Chinese admiral, whose squadron had been liberally provided for at Manila, carrying from the Governor to the Viceroy of Fuhkëen a petition, and also one to the Emperor for leave to reside in the country; this being denied, the friars came back the very same year, (1575.) Four Capuchins having resolved to penetrate to China, embarked, were shipwrecked on unknown islands, saved and sent to Canton. The Tsungtŭh ordered them to return to Manila; they however, chose to stop at Macao, and settle in the hospital of Lepers, (1579.) The year before, Alexander Valignano, visitor of India and Japan, an Italian Jesuit, touched in his way to Japan, at Macao, where he spent ten months. From thence he wrote to Vincent Rodrigues, the Provincial of India, recommending him to forward to Macao, at least, one intelligent and zealous priest, to whom Valignano addressed, before his departure for Japan, instructions. The first missionaries were all Jesuits. An Italian by the name of Miguel Ruggiero, came (1579) from India, and began, by the advice of Valignano, to study Chinese. He engaged a painter, "quem minime inaptus magister patri visus est Sina pictor, qui, quod linguæ deerat, arte suppleret, quippe non raro contingebat;" the assertion of Mosheim, that Ruggiero had learnt the Chinese language before he arrived in China, is therefore inaccurate. By an unrelenting arduous application, Ruggiero made such progress, that he went (1581) as chaplain with Macao ships to Canton, where in a temporary house, erected on the border of the river, he said mass. The merchants were not permitted to pass the night on shore, but father Miguel, having procured the good will and gained the protection of the sea-prefect, was not only excused from returning at night, to the vessels, but room was assigned to him in the palace, where the bearers of the King of Siam's tribute to the Emperor usually lodged. At this place the missionary entered upon his vocation, and began converting people. Macao having resolved to send a deputy-gentleman in lieu of those who were summoned, (1582) as previously noticed, to Shaou-king-foo, with rich and valuable presents, Ruggiero was ap-

pointed to accompany him as interpreter. The Interpreter's discretion and urbanity, not only obtained from the Viceroy liberty for a few Spanish friars, who had been cast on the coast of Fuh-keen, and were then at the provincial residence to go to Macao, but he likewise drew from him a hint that he, Ruggiero, might be allowed to reside in the capital. This hint, the cunning Jesuit brought on the carpet, when he in company with Francis Paccio, an Italian, presented to the Viceroy (as before stated) an elegant Pendulum and a triangular Prism, which Mathew Ricci, an Italian, coming (1582) from India to Macao had brought with him—two things at that time great curiosities in China. To conceal their real intention, the missionaries recurred unblushingly to falsehood, assuring that their only wishes were to make themselves masters of the Chinese language, and become acquainted with the arts and sciences of the country. On this plea, the two priests were permitted to inhabit a Fane or Chinese temple; but hardly had they taken possession of it, when the immediate successor of their patron stuck up an edict, prohibiting entrance into China to all strangers, but principally to Priests, "who were troublesome and obnoxious."

In less than eight days, however, this rigor was mitigated; for the Che-foo, a Mandarin, magistrate of the department of the *foo*, or town of the first rank, invited with the tacit consent of the Tsung-tŭh, Ruggiero and Ricci, the successor of Paccio, to return to Shaou-king-foo, (1583.) The Che-foo had filled his situation so much to the satisfaction of all parties, that the Literati and the people, had determined to build him a temple, and adorn it with his figure or statue. The Emperor having consented, bestowed upon him an honorary title, corresponding to his desert. Highly delighted with the Imperial grace and public veneration, the Governor conceived that the glory might be more lasting, should Bonzes, from a foreign land preside over the Fane. At that time the missionaries dressed like Bonzes, and shaved the head and beard. The proposal having been made, the two Jesuits declined the offer, alleging that they were priests of the Lord of heaven, and could not serve idols. This frank excuse did not alter the good disposition which the Che-foo had evinced towards the strangers, for he made them a present of a piece of land, and permitted them to stray about in the country; at last he

obtained from the Tsung-tŭh,—who would never see any of them—that they might reside at Shaou-king-foo. Backed by the authority of a Che-foo, the missionaries came out triumphant from various difficulties. However, the time drew nigh that their protector should appear at Court, to perform his solemn triennial devotion to his Sovereign. Of his absence the enemies of the foreign worship availed themselves. The Priests were arraigned for using all sorts of imposture, false reasoning and impious books, to entice the rudest and most uncultivated class of the community. In consequence of this charge, the Tsung-tŭh decided, that Mathew Ricci and Anthony Almeida, a Portuguese, should be transported (1589) to Macao; a sentence so far moderated, that they could remain neither at Shaou-king-foo, nor at Kwang-tung; they were at liberty to settle at Shaou-chow-foo, where in fact they arrived in April, 1589.

Even at Shaou-chow-foo, their opponents attacked the Priests. The Literati praised the precepts, coinciding with those of Confucius. To worship the Lord of Heaven was right and just, but from want of faith, they could not help railing at the mysteries of an original sin, ratified at the council of Trent, in the fifth session, 1546: of eternal torments, of the incarnation of the Trinity, of not being allowed more than one wife. They accused the Europeans of teaching a spurious and pernicious doctrine; of building churches at the expense of their dupes; of introducing young girls to monasteries; of forgetting their parents when dead; of paying respect neither to the departed nor to Confucius, but merely to a stranger they called Jesus. That the Bonzes abused a set of foreigners, who aimed at nothing else than the subversion of the religious fabric of Fŭh, is no wonder. Their invectives and clamor did less harm than burlesque comedies. Buffoons represented Christians going to church, the sword girt, praying with a string of beads in their hand, adoring God bending one knee, disputing, wrangling; and women worshipping at the same place with men, a practice the Chinese abhor and detest.

The incredulity of many, the rancor of others, not even the queer theatrical jests were sufficient to dishearten Ricci, who by his knowledge of mathematics, experimental philosophy, &c. had means to amuse, entertain and please visiters from

many parts of China; some of them became his converts, others his protectors and friends. In 1594 he and his brother Jesuits threw off, by the advice of Valignano, the garb of Bonzes, and put on the more respected dress of Literati. In such an attire, Ricci known in China by the epithet of "Si-thai," according to Trigauld, the *Lettres edifiantes*, give him the name of Ly-ma-teou, the manuscript catalogue of missionaries, that of Lé, became a proper companion for men of rank. A military officer going to Court, took Si-thai from Shaou-chow-foo, when Nicolas Longobardi was left to govern the Church. Ricci visited a beloved neophyte at Nan-yong-foo, proceeded with recommendations to the celebrated ancient capital Nanking, entertaining the hope of raising a cross at that place. Betrayed by the features of a foreigner, who might be a Japanese spy, for China had a war with Japan; orders came that he should directly quit the capital. From thence, Ricci directed his steps to Nan-chang-foo, the capital of Keang-se, where he was permitted by the Governor to lay (1595) the foundation of a religious institution, and to leave the care of it to John Sociro, a Portuguese. Such activity and zeal was further stimulated by the dignity of Superior of all missions in China, present and future, conferred on Ricci by Valignano, in 1597, if I am not mistaken. The Governor of Nan-chang-foo, being called to fill the first place of the Council of State, Ricci in company with Lazar Cataneo, an Italian, availed himself of the opportunity to visit a second time Nanking, and proceed, if possible, to Peking. The war with Japan continued still, and the suspicious fear of strangers likewise. Neither Ricci's intimacy with the President of the Council of State, nor the patronage of friends could quiet, even at Peking, the apprehension of government. Cataneo therefore returned by water to Nanking: Ricci went by land to Soo-chow-foo, in the province of Keang-nan. A neophyte, Ignatius *Sinicè* Kui-tai-zó, the son of a respectable Mandarin, and intimate with the principal families obtained leave for Ricci (1598) to establish Christianity at that place.

At length peace being concluded with Japan, Ricci determined to appear a third time at Nanking, where he now was welcomed with that amenity, frankness and good breeding, said to be characteristic of those who inhabit the old capital of China. The reputation of a "Savant" had preceded

Ricci. His lectures on the exact sciences were listened to with rapture; they excited in the auditory a sincere wish to become acquainted with the truth of mathematics. To gratify his hearers, father Mathew translated the Elements of Euclid, and a new christian by the name of Paul, sinicé-Siu, gave them the fullness of the Chinese idiom. By this work, Ricci conciliated such an affection, that even those who were greater admirers of his philosophical than religious tenets, acquiesced in his instituting (1599) at Nanking a church, in which Lazar Cattaneo remained.

Being favored with many recommendations to men of high rank and reputation at court, and with letters patent from a great magistrate, granting him liberty to carry to the presence of the emperor, a few European curiosities, Ricci, accompanied by a Spanish Jesuit, Diogo Pantoja, set out for Peking. At Lin-tsin-chow, an Imperial toll on the grand canal, a eunuch, Mathan, administrator of the customs, tendered his services to the strangers. This Mathan is by Alvaro Senedo in his "Relatione della Cina," and by Duhalde described as their greatest enemy. Nicolas Trigauld, who composed "Christiana expeditio apud Sinas," from the manuscript records of Ricci, represents him of a friendly disposition towards the priests. Ricci declared to Mathan "that he desired to have the honor and good fortune personally to present to the emperor the insignificant trifles which he had brought, and to spend the rest of his days in the service of their common lord and master." The eunuch took the priests in one of his boats to Tëen-tsin and lodged them in the fort, that their persons might not be exposed to insult, nor their property to depredation. "Deinde reversus est (Mathan) sociis in arce (Tëen-tsin) relictis et custodibus attributis, a quibus tamen quo vellent ire minime prohibebantur." Of all this Mathan informed the emperor in a memorial, to which at the end of six months a rescript arrived, permitting the strangers to proceed to Peking, a place they entered not in 1581, as asserted by De Guignes, in his voyage to Peking, but on the 4th January, 1601. Wan-leih accepted the presents of the strangers, and commanded the council or tribunal of rites and ceremonies to lodge them, at first, at the palace where foreign envoys usually alighted, and then the prefect of the imperial palace to let them take a house at their

convenience; at last the Emperor assigned to them a fixed stipend, some say every three, others every four months.

So many signal favors gave lustre to the two Europeans, whose real intention they, their friends and abettors took pains carefully to keep the court ignorant of. Meanwhile men of the Jesuit school joined their associates, not only at Peking, but at any of the intermediate stations and their collateral branches, which Ricci had established in his progress from Shaou-chow-foo to the capital. That the collaborator might work unanimously, without discrepancy to the advancement of the mission, Ricci being the superior of all the missionaries in China, prescribed in a work "Of the Divine Law," published 1603, general rules to be observed by the propagators of the tenets. So long as the Jesuits had, by the bull of Gregory XIII, (28th January, 1585) the exclusive care of christianity in China, the undertaking went on peacefully. At Peking the masters, servants and catechumens so increased that the society petitioned (1605) for leave to buy a large house, which was granted; in after-times it was converted into a church, dedicated to St. Joseph. Thus settled the Roman Catholics at Peking, and though they had not asked permission, proud of what missionaries please to denominate "Divine command," they did not hesitate to propagate a new sect.* Some of their neophytes became men of influence; the good will of many was bought and preserved by liberal offerings on the altar of self interest. At the death of Ricci (1610) these protectors obtained of Wan-leih, a field, or rather a garden, where Si-thai was interred, and likewise permission to build a house at the same place for the habitation of Panloja and his comrades. At the time of this concession, the strangers were again reminded of their duty "to obey the laws of the empire, to pray for its preservation, and for the health and longevity of the emperor."

Men free from illusion and bribery were on the alert; they traced the progress of the mischief in all its bearings, and felt the imperative necessity of checking its growth before it got strength to set at nought the commands of government. A

* Imperator Humvius publica lege has tres sectas (that of Literati, of Füh and of Laou-keun,) stabilivit: ita tamen ut prima Eruditorum res Imperii curaret et duobus reliquis dominaretur. Atque hæc causa est cur una alteram non studeat opprimere. *Lug. Bat. by J. Nieuhoff.*

Mandarin of Nanking developed (1615) in a memorial, the criminal efforts of the new sect, depicting with true and vivid colors, the ardor with which foreign tutors inspired their disciples with contempt for the revered and sacred customs of their ancestors, substituting "Intolerance," by which the affections of the people were alienated from those, who ventured to predict the consequences of so revolting a precept. The phillipic being submitted by order of Wan-leih, to the council of rites, and they having scrupulously investigated the matter, and weighed the points of accusation, uttered the opinion that the new doctrine aimed at a change, which might in future be fraught with disturbance and danger. A decree (14th February, 1617,) proscribed "the men who preach a law, which confuses people," and commanded the Mandarins to send them from the court and provinces to Canton, that they might return to their homes. This order was but partially obeyed, for the "Persecuted," so the christians termed their priests, found shelter and protection in the families of their converts. The storm was soon spent, for Siu, known among the christians by the name of Paul, had arrived at the dignity of a Ko-lao or minister of the first rank. He, his friends and the protectors of the proscribed, made the successor of Wan-leih acquiesce in the fallacious hope, that his dynasty might, by the powerful assistance of Macao, be protected against the Manchew Tartars, should a negociation for auxiliaries be entered upon; "the Portuguese, the advisers maintained—are experienced gunners: their Priests, if admitted, will serve your majesty with their talents, and the soldiers with their valor, so that no enemy shall ever succeed in making durable impression on the empire." The deluded monarch gave his assent. A missionary sent to Macao, collected there a body of four hundred men, headed by two captains, sub-lieutenants, and adjutants; they moved and reached (1622) Nan-chang-foo: there this little corps had orders to retrace their steps. Missionaries less encumbered got the start of the military, and joined their panting hosts. New flocks of Jesuits streamed to China, among them the most noted for his missionary zeal, and knowledge in mathematics, was a German, John Adam Shal.

Disaffected subjects do not fight heartily in defence of their sovereign: of this truth the dynasty Ming, was fully aware,

at the onset of the Tartars. Internal commotions increased the embarrassment and made it necessary to bring about peace with the foreign enemy: but the negociator basely betrayed his master, who being deserted and besieged in his palace, ended voluntarily his life. The faithful remaining imperial force, unequal to contend with mighty victorious rebels, the commander-in-chief invited as auxiliaries, the Manchews to assist in subjugating the revolted. The proposition was accepted, but the Tartars finished by making themselves masters of the country; they founded (1644) the actual dynasty "Ta-tsing." The first sovereign was Shun-che, who gave Shal the commission to reform the calender; this the Jesuit did so much to the satisfaction of his master, that the Emperor appointed him president of the tribunal of astronomy. This missionary so fascinated the head of the nation, that permission was granted not only to build in the capital two churches, but likewise to repair many, which in the provinces were decaying. Shan-che also admitted a considerable number of missionaries, and permitted them to spread all over China. Among the new comers, Ferdinand Verbiest, a German, became coadjutor to Shal in his astronomical pursuits. The imperial favor lasted unimpaired all the reign of Shan-che, who expired 1661, leaving Kang-he, a young lad of eight years old, under the guardianship of four Tartars, to succeed to the throne.

These four gentlemen esteemed impartially the useful talents of Shal, and his religious profession with no peculiar regard. The infallibility of the doctrine propagated by the Jesuits had been questioned. It had become a subject of acrimonious controversies from the moment Clement VIII, Paul V, Urban VIII, and Clement X, opened by apostolic concessions to friars of all denominations a free ingress to China by any way they could find out. Mendicants, particularly Dominicans, quarrelled with the Jesuits about the signification of the word "Tëen" and "Chang-te;" about the veneration the Chinese pay to Confucius, and the deceased. This strife revealed the important secret, that the principles of their doctrine served also the purpose of contentious emulation for influence. It was remembered, that during the time missionaries existed on the islands of Japan, nothing but intrigues, schism and civil war was heard of; calamities that

might sooner or later befal China, where by the criminal eagerness of missionaries, actually spreading over the land for the sake of "enlisting" deluded people of all classes not checked. The members wore distinctive badges of medals, rosaries, crosses, &c. and were always ready to obey the call of the chiefs the moment a probability of success in subverting the existing political order and ancient worship of China should offer. This remonstrance, presented by one of the literati, to the four regents, tutors of Kang-he, was grave, and merited to be examined with the nicest impartiality and fairness. The case was tried by several tribunals, the members of which expressed (1665) their conviction, that Shal and his associates "merited the punishment of seducers, who announce to people a false and pernicious doctrine." Shal died of grief; Verbiest and others absconded; many were expelled from the capital and provinces of China.

Kang-he, having taken the reigns of government into his own hand, employed Verbiest and made him director of the tribunal of astronomy. This Jesuit resolved to put the favor of his sovereign to a test, addressing him a most respectful petition, that the missionaries banished to Canton might be authorized to join their respective churches; this request was by the special favor of the emperor granted, (1671) but the decree contained an unmeaning and nonsensical clause, "No Chinese shall embrace christianity." Had Kang-he really meant to guard his subjects against seduction, the ports of his dominions had surely not been thrown open in 1685, to all commercial nations. Free trade presents a ready conveyance to missionaries, not exclusively to such individuals, as the celebrated Colberg had in view to supply China with. His mission was to be composed of men richly endowed with a variety of knowledge in the arts and sciences, that they might investigate and examine those of China, bring the useful to France, naturalize and improve them. Ever ready and able to explain and instruct the Chinese, when requested in the European manipulations and scientific discoveries: and even when "solicited" in the christian tenets, such gentlemen might have advanced the welfare, harmony and civilization of the world; they would have been, as benefactors of mankind, welcomed every where. Missionaries of this description deserve, above all others, in my humble opinion,

public esteem, encouragement and liberal support. Marquis de Louvois dissented from this plan. He dispatched, though not the very first, four Jesuits to China, two of them Gerbillon and Bouvet, were by previous recommendation of Verbiest, admitted on their arrival (1688) at court. Next year Gerbillon and Thomas Pereira, a Portuguese, accompanied as interpreters, prince So-san, to meet on the frontiers a Russian plenipotentiary, count Theodor Alexéivich Golovin, that they might, by conciliatory means, divert an impending war. Both characters, being of an unyielding temper, were on the eve, after many conferences, of departing enemies, had not Gerbillon by his pliancy and convincing arguments persuaded them, that it was of mutual advantage to both nations to remain on good terms: a treaty of peace and amity, signed 1689, at Nip-chew, near Nerchinok, was the consequence.

This service So-san bore in mind, but did not in a dignified manner acknowledge. In the opinion of men of a cultivated and sound understanding, the foreign sect had never ceased to excite suspicion, that it might in time be the cause of dissensions, strife and schism: a reason why really good patriots always advised to drive the propagators from the country. In the beginning, interested men winked at the residence and occupation of missionaries, who, being strengthened by friends and neophytes, acquired influence, not only to elude the force of decrees, but even means to return into favor with government. The missionaries had already weathered two storms, denominated "general persecutions," each of six years duration: a third was now in progress. A Foo-yuen of the province Che-keang, determined, notwithstanding the solicitations of his friends, to draw, by a memorial, the attention of Kang-he to the inevitable disorder China was threatened with, were fanatic foreigners any longer suffered to spread a doctrine equally adverse to the existing religion and to the independence of the state. It was examined by the tribunal of rites, the members of which insinuated that no foreign creed ought to be tolerated in the empire. Greatly alarmed at this hint, the missionaries were night and day, it may be said, on their knees, worshipping a sovereign on whose clemency and partiality their existence depended. The following message, "l'empereur est surpris de vous voir si entétés de votre religion: pourquoi vous occupez vous si fort d'un monde, où vous n'êtes pas encore. Jouissez du tems present. Votre Dieu

se met bien en peine du soin que vous prenez. Il est assez puissant pour se rendre justice sans que vous vous méliez de ses intérets," could not assuage their sorrow. At length the Emperor condescended to receive from the priests, a memorial, which was transmitted to the tribunal of rites, with a command to revise the case. Finding no reason for an alteration, the tribunal abided by their former opinion. The emperor was going to conform himself to it, saying to So-san, I regret I cannot comply with the petition of the Europeans, when the prince, a cunning and subtle courtier, insinuated, that the emperor's supreme will might be intimated; Kang-he allowed himself to be misled, and So-san brought the message to the tribunal, who drew up a decree, which Kang-he signed 22d March, 1692, authorizing the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in China.

It was hinted in a previous page, that friars who came to China about fifty years later than the Jesuits, began to doubt whether the signification of certain words and ceremonies among the Chinese could be reconciled with pure orthodoxy. Though Kang-he had given an explanation of the characters in question, and a Pope had sanctioned the decision of the holy office, that the ceremonies of China were of a civil nature: an apostolic vicar of Fuh-këen, Charles Maigrot, a Frenchman, had the boldness to supersede the decree of Alexander VII, (1656) and to publish 1693, a mandate, deciding that Tëen and Chang-te do signify nothing more than the material heaven, and that the customs of venerating Confucius, and the deceased, are superstitious, an innovation the holy office adopted and Clement XI confirmed. (1704) Kang-he being not the man who would transfer to a pope and priests the right of legislating, issued (17th December, 1706,) a declaration, "that he would countenance those missionaries who preached the doctrine of Ricci, but persecute those who followed the opinion of Maigrot, bishop of Conon, and that the land might get clear of those inapt and turbulent men, the emperor commanded, that the missionaries should in July, 1707, submit to an examination." The memorial presented to the examiner was in latin, signed by the European in his own hand-writing, and sealed with his own seal; to it was affixed in Chinese characters the appellation he went by in China. The whole ran thus: J. N. from N. of such religion, such nation, such age, came to China years ago;

I have lived in such a place of such a province, I have studied philosophy and theology, and have no wish to return to Europe: in the publication of the holy doctrine, I have followed the maxims of M. Ricci." The questions put to the missionaries were, "Have you followed the maxims of Ricci? Will you continue the labor of a missionary?" If the reply was negative, the examined received an order to depart within five days for Canton and embark for Europe; did the missionary answer "yes," an imperial license in Chinese and Tartar language was handed to him; any one, who could not produce this protection was to be expelled: the new comers were bound to proceed to Peking, that they might be examined and get their letter-patent. Tournan, a titular patriarch, Clement XIth's legate, who landed (1705) at Macao, published 1st January, 1706, and 26th January, 1707, two mandates, forbidding the missionaries under pain of excommunication to enter with the examiner upon any discussion, concerning the controverted subject. These mandates being (1710) supported by a congregation of inquisitors, Clement XI commanded both Jesuits and friars of every community to obey and observe the bull, "Ex illa die." In 1715, it was converted into a law. To enforce this apostolic constitution, Clement XI sent the patriarch Mezzabarba, a legate to China: he arrived at Macao 1720. Finding that Kang-he persisted in his determination never to grant to the papal court any kind of jurisdiction over his subjects, the legate thought proper, in accordance with his power, and for the sake of saving religion from the disgrace of being banished, to concede, "Eight Permissions." They so little reconciled the contending parties, that Castorani, a Franciscan, and vicar of the bishop of Peking, proceeded to Rome, where after the intrigues and perseverance of seven years, he at length obtained that the permissions were abrogated and condemned in 1742, by a bull of Benedict XIV, commencing "Ex quo singulare." Besides, missionaries going to China take an oath scrupulously to adhere to Clement XIth's bull, ex illa die.

Kang-he had the mortification to find that the mandates of Tournan were reverently obeyed, whilst the emperor's edict of 17th December, 1706, was by the greatest number of missionaries disregarded. Tournan and Mezzabarba, papal le-

gates endeavored to transfer from Kang-he to the pontiff, the spiritual jurisdiction of those portions of China, which were "politically" in revolt against their sovereign, by admitting that a foreign priest might legislate in their native country. Their apostacy originated, Kang-he knew, in an error of judgment, though the obstinacy of refractory missionaries was grounded on a malicious design, which their zeal had as yet, found no means to bring about. That the corn may be free from tares their roots must be carefully plucked out. At last Kang-he was aware, it seems, of this truth, and prepared to root out both the mission and its tenets, when nature called him (23d December, 1722) to an eternal repose. His son, Yung-ching, less partial to christianity, told Parennin and Kagler, "vous voulez, que tous les Chinois se fussent Chrétiens; votre loi le demande, je le sais bien: mais en ce cas là, que deviendrons nous? Les sujets de vos rois? Les Chrétiens que vous faites ne reconnoissent que vous; dans un tems de trouble ils n'écouteront point d'autre voix que la votre." Yung-ching knew that many missionaries had, without an imperial license, crept into the provinces, busily employed in misleading, converting people and raising churches, thereby to increase as fast as possible, their party. A Bachelor of Arts, who had himself been a christian, published that the Roman Catholics aimed at nothing less than to throw China into a mould of European customs, faith and government. A Tsung-tŭh of the province of Fuh-keen expressed convictions of a similar nature in a memorial, soliciting the emperor to relieve the provinces from Europeans and accommodate them either at court or banish them to Macao. The council of rites, having by the command of the emperor, examined the petition, supported it, and Yung-ching confirmed it on the 23d January, 1723. A few missionaries were tolerated at Peking; those driven to Canton were exhorted to behave with docility and submission. Three hundred churches and 300,000 christians, it is said, were deprived of their rulers and priests, only a few Europeans and Chinese ecclesiastics were secretly left to have temporary care of the disheartened flocks. To approach them again many of the expelled missionaries at Canton, prevailed on their converts to trace a route, by which they might come back and continue their occupations. Out of thirty exiles at Canton, sixteen

absconded; such a defalcation created suspicion. The great Mandarins despatched therefore, with the approbation of Yung-ching, (1732) the remaining priests to Macao with a positive injunction to quit the country by the first ship that went to sea; and that the order might be duly obeyed, a general officer commanded his men to be present at their embarking and see the foreigners off. The Jesuits acted with more prudence; they did not run away. This mark of obedience and the influence of their protectors reconciled them with the court. Yung-ching appointed Ignatius Kagler, a German, president of the tribunal of astronomy, and gave him a title of honor—a degree of Mandarinship—that he might appear decent in the presence of his sovereign.

Këen-lung ascended to the throne of his father, (1736.) Antipathy, or rather animosity against the priests, who still labored secretly to entrap his subjects to the belief in a proscribed doctrine, made him search with uncommon eagerness and perseverance, the propagators of the gospel. A zealous Tsung-tŭh of Fuh-këen, having discovered christians in his province, imprisoned them, tried them, convicted them of disobedience; and Këen-lung not satisfied by driving the priests from the country,—to which they commonly returned —ratified the sentence, by which a bishop, Peter Martyr Sanz was on the 26th of May, 1747, beheaded, "quod hominum multitudinem perversa religione seduxerit;" the libel was in Chinese characters: Sanz was not the only victim in Fuh-këen. That the emperor might trace with greater certainty the odious priests and his rebellious subjects, secret orders were sent to the governors. Many missionaries were apprehended, ill-used, tortured; many churches were plundered; many families entirely ruined: the two provinces Shan-se and Shen-se suffered most. The loss of missionaries was easily retrieved, for new subjects flocked to China. Those who were not vassals of Portugal, or could not produce license from the court of Lisbon to remain in Asia, were refused admittance at Macao; but they found protection at the procurator's of propaganda fide G. della Torre, who lived in Canton. From thence he was in the habit clandestinely, of forwarding preachers to different parts of China. A zealous satellite, a Chinese, educated at Naples, in the college "della sacra familia de Gesù Christo," a priest by the name of Peter

Zay, had constantly been successful in delivering unmolested at places of their respective destination, those missionaries the procurator had entrusted to his care and foresight. Another Chinese from the same college, whose name was Philip Licu, engaged to bring at less expense, four Europeans to Se-gan-foo, the capital of Shen-se; they had reached Seang-yang-foo in the northern parts of Hoo-kwang, and were invited to alight at the house of a new christian, to whom the conductor was addressed. The missionaries rejected the offer; they were soon after assailed by a gang of Mandarin runners, headed by the perfidious christian, and stripped of every thing valuable they possessed. In the expectation that their crime might be hid and unnoticed, the gang denounced at the office of a military commander, four Europeans, who were proceeding to Shan-se, with an intention to tender their service to the Mahometans, who were in arms against government. On the revelation of the koran no less than about three hundred sects of Islamism, the learned affirm, have propped the pretended infallibility of their doctrine. Two of them were, for centuries, established in China, and distinguished by their head-dress; one sect wore a red, the other a white cap, in the shape of a sugar-loaf; a circumstance from which the Chinese deduced a nick-name, by which those Mahometans were designated. Their diversity of belief gave rise among them, to dogmatic babble, of which the government took no notice till the disputants began plotting, and influencing their Chinese neighbors; then and not before, they were treated like disturbers of the public peace, and banished from the country. The consequence of this sectarian hatred, and the ultimate ruin of the seditious are detailed in "Memoires concernant les Chinois, Tome XI, page 590, à subsequent." May a similar scene never be renewed should the reforming apostles meet Roman missionaries and be settled with them in China, at the same place! The calumniated missionaries were imprisoned, (1784) examined and sent to Peking in company with those who had undertaken to carry them to the place of their destination.

Meanwhile the principal promoter of priest smuggling, Peter Zay, took himself off. He quitted Canton, came to Macao and embarked for Goa. Few of his criminal associates could boast of so narrow an escape; some of them, when

seized, lost their fortitude at the sight of the instruments of torture, and exchanged the crown of a martyr for a contumelious, miserable life; others allured by the hope of pardon, apostatised unhesitatingly, and reverted to the worship of their ancestors: the most sly made no difficulty in letting their judges into the secret of the missionary system. This discovery, and an edict, that there was no difference between christians and mahometans, but that both co-operated to the subversion of order and good government, made it necessary minutely to examine the accusation. Upon investigating this hypothetical connection, many missionaries in disguise were found in almost all the provinces: they were imprisoned and transmitted to the jail at Peking: their coadjutors, the Chinese priests absconded, hiding themselves in dens and caverns. To mitigate the severity of the persecution and of the prison, and likewise the degree of punishment that awaited the culprits, the prelates residing at Peking, spared neither supplications, entreaties nor bribes. However, their solicitations effected no relief. Every effort to save their friends had proved inefficient, when all at once the most unexpected decree of 9th November, 1785, filled all christian hearts with consolation and gladness. Fully convinced by inquiries and proofs, that the missionaries had no other object than to teach religion, Keen-lung released twelve Europeans,* still in jail, and granted them either to remain in their respective churches in Peking, or to proceed, accompanied by a Mandarin to Canton, that they might return to Europe. Nine of them accepted the last proposal; three joined their friends at Peking. The above narrative differs in some particulars from that given by De Guignes in his voyage to Peking; ours is borrowed from a manuscript notice, which the successor of Della Torre, the reverend J. B. Marchini, procurator of propaganda fide, a gentleman and philanthropist, communicated to his superiors at Rome. To this friend, who long ago departed this life, I am obliged for many of the most correct and valuable parts of the history of the missions in China.

* Dix-huit missionaires Europeans moururent dans les prisons de Peking. "Choix des Let. edif. Tome III; 190." — M. Amiot n'en parle que de six. "Mem. conc. les Chinois. Tome XV; 378."

The steps taken by the pontiffs for the extension of their universal church, proved inefficient, the moment true philosophy, love of truth, began a century and more ago to scrutinize the chaos* of absurdities; when she has further penetrated into the intricate recesses of political and religious superstitions, and it be demonstrated, that they are the cause of human moral miseries; then shall the "divine flame,"—common sense—overrule her opponents, and convince the world, that, by respecting mutual rights, harmony, benevolence and brotherly affection, may be naturalized, and mankind taught to cherish one another as members of the most extensive and noble family on earth. The meaning of an universal church comprehends, of course, the whole world; the least progress a few missionaries made any where, subjected the country to an ecclesiastical division, of which the sovereign was generally unaware. Gregory XIII entrusted the spiritual government of all China to the bishop of Macao, and the missionary care to Jesuits and natives of Portugal. That kingdom, the population of which was always small, could not supply an extending mission in Asia with indispensable laborers; popes, therefore permitted gradually, Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustines, secular priests of the seminary of foreign missions at Paris, and those of the propaganda fide to exert their devotional zeal in various parts of China. Any institution either of them had organized was considered property by birth-right, and governed with the consent of the prelate, by members of their own body. These concessions the king of Portugal deemed derogatory to his royal claim; for were it necessary, he argued, to subduct from the bishop of Macao, any part of spiritual obedience of China, the sovereign of Portugal alone had a right to divide it, and nominate ecclesiastics, proper for the discharge of episcopal duties in any part of that vast empire. Upon this plea, Alexander VIII consented that Peter II, king of Portugal, should ap-

* May we be allowed to quote in corroboration of our assertion, from Filangieri, the following: "La dialettica delle scole . . . introdusse così nella religione como nella politica . . . una puerile nomanclatura, e fece, che la Divinità non meno che la legislazione passasse pe' fili sottilissimi delle logiche distinzione e delle metafisiche sottigliezze con una destrezza prodigiosa, ma che non serviva ad altro che a mostrare la sagacità dello spirito umano anche nel momento nel qual abusa delle sue forze." *Scien. della Legisl.*

point three bishops, and fix the limits of their respective jurisdiction. The three dioceses which Peter proposed, comprehended not only China, but also Tunkin and Cochin-china, a pretension so extravagant that the Vatican refused to sanction it. The king's claim Innocent XII annulled (1696) by the bull, "E sublimi," assigning by his sole and supreme authority to the bishopric of Peking, the provinces Pĕh-chĭh-le, Shan-tung and the Eastern Tartary; to that of Nanking the provinces Keang-nan and Ha-nan, and to that of Macao the provinces Kwang-tung, Kwang-se and the island Hae-nan; he reserved to himself to govern the rest of China, by apostolic vicars, nominated by the congregation of propaganda fide and approved by the pope. Many of the old missions are comprised in this new division, but they are all with the consent of the bishop or apostolic vicar, in whose jurisdiction they are situated, ruled by members of that community, which laid the foundation of them.

Aware that their personal security and the advancement of an illicit undertaking, depended entirely upon the connivance of the constituted authorities in the places where missionaries ventured to proclaim their tenets, every precaution was used to prevent the most distant suspicions, that foreign priests might become indiscreet witnesses of the transactions of any civil or military officer. By scrupulously abstaining from the least interference in matters which were not of their province, this discretion produced in the Mandarins a willingness to shut their eyes to missionary proceedings. Experience had strengthened mutual confidence, which would most likely have continued to this day unshaken, had the sensibility of patriotism not been roused by the arrival (1802) of British auxiliaries to Macao. Their admission it was anticipated, would be ruinous to the interest of the Portuguese, and apprehending from the laxity and dilatory conduct of the Chinese, that the provincial Mandarins were debauched and corrupt, the senate communicated in a letter to Dm. Fr. Alexander de Gouveza, bishop of Peking, their fears. He and father Joseph Bernardo Almeida respectfully informed "the governor of Europeans,"* "that the Portuguese settled

* The governor of Europeans was commonly a Ko-láo entrusted with the concerns of the missionaries at Peking, till the year 1804, when they were compelled to appear before any tribunal that summoned them, and were treated in every respect like natural subjects of China.

at Macao were in great peril * * * that they (our countrymen) have requested us to present to the emperor their actual situation." An inquiry was instituted, and though the Tsung-tŭh demonstrated that the apprehension was altogether unfounded, and merely the effect of pusillanimity, the whole body of Mandarins took the alarm, for another channel of communication with the emperor than theirs, would be inauspicious and replete with danger; it was time to prevent, or if possible, to annihilate priests meddling in the affairs of government.

An experiment was tried in a criminal case of an Italian propagandist. Adiodato, sinicè Te-tëen, had a dispute with the Portuguese about a mission in the city Teng-chow-foo and its environs. Being dissatisfied with the sentence of the bishop of Peking, he resolved to appeal to the congregation of propaganda fide; and that its members might at a glance, form a correct idea of the place in question, Adiodato had a map drawn which might even be laid under the eyes of the pontiff, and serve as a base to the decision of his holiness. The bearer of the map, letters and documents to be delivered at Macao, was detained (1804) in the province Keang-se, and transported to Hing-poo, the tribunal of crimes and punishments. Informed that the author of the map was Adiodato, the distinction of a Mandarin of the sixth order was taken from him, and the culprit sent to be examined. He confessed that he had directed the map to "the lord of the law," an epithet the popes are known by in China, with a request that his holiness might be pleased by a decree, to put an end to the dissensions of missionaries, concerning the district of Teng-chow-foo. Upon further inquiries the judges heard that Adiodato was in the habit of leaving his church, to roam abroad teaching religion, that Chinese catechists were employed in the four churches* at Peking, and in various provinces to train people up in the faith of the Europeans; that

* Two belonged to the Portuguese, one to the French, and the fourth to the Italians. The Chinese called St. Joseph, the eldest of the Portuguese churches "Tsung-tang," i. e. the eastern house. It was burnt by an accident in 1814, but permission to rebuild it could never be obtained. "Nang-tang," i. e. the southern house, the actual cathedral of the Portuguese. "Pe-tang," i. e. the northern house, within the first precinct of the imperial palace, it belonged to the French. "Se-tang," i. e. the western house, or the Italian church of propaganda fide.

among the catechists were soldiers and one woman, who catechised women; that within a few years thirty treatises of a doctrine "that perverts the heart," have been published. In the present perplexity those who apostatised, were set at liberty; "the Tartar soldiers declared unworthy of being ranked among men;" the Chinese soldiers who did not recant were sentenced to wear a heavy canga,* sinicè Kea, round the neck for three months, and go to Thibet as slaves; the woman catechist was also banished to Thibet, and given to the soldiers, but not allowed to redeem herself by money, as had before been the case with women. Adiodato the modern "hiruy emissarius," loaded with his own sins and those of his superiors, was sent to Je-ho or Zhehol to be imprisoned in the bridewell of the eleuths.

Seven years being past, another occurrence gave further vent to the resentment of the Mandarins. A Chinese Catholic priest, Stephen Chang, born in the province Shan-se, was (1811) arrested at Se-gan-foo, and transmitted to Peking. Interrogated, he boldly declared that the bishop of Peking, Dm. Fr. Alexander de Gouveza, who departed this life, (1808) had made him submit to an examination, and then conferred on him the seventh order: that on his arrival at Shan-se, another European, the apostolic vicar gave him an office in a certain place of the province. From this confession the judges inferred that the christians designate by a numerical order, the men entrusted with their secret instructions, and like the Mandarins, always disposed to act in obedience to the summons of their superiors. To secure the apostolic vicar, known by the Chinese appellation Lu, Mandarins proceeded in search of him to the churches in Peking, where on inquiry, the priests protested that they knew nothing of such a man. By this evasion the culprit's life was safe; the back-doors to the churches were by order of the emperor, walled, and the whole guard, consisting (1805) of four Mandarins and forty soldiers, centered at the principal entrance. To preserve to the Chinese christians an unmolested communication with their priests, each church had to pay to the military, (we are assured) yearly the sum

* A wooden clog or collar borne on the neck by way of punishment for divers offences.—*Rees's Cyclopedia.*

of five hundred taels. The interrogatories of Adiodato and Chang raised fresh motives for distrust. A censor, in a memorial to the emperor, described the Europeans propagating under the mask of mathematicians, a doctrine which deserved to be proscribed, and the Mandarins conniving at the transgression of the prohibitive laws, merited, he said, severe punishment. The Europeans employed in the service of the court, had room enough, he meant, in one house, and ought to live together; the suggestions being weighed and approved by the tribunal of rites, Këa-king confirmed them.

The governors (they were at that time two,) of the Europeans, intimated to the priests an order to concentrate themselves at Nan-tang, and the resolution that the members of the tribunal of mathematics might remain at Peking, on condition of not preaching their law. Convinced they could be of no further use to religion, the Italians, in all four, availed themselves of the permission and left Peking, (1811) accompanied by a Mandarin, who provided them during their journey with what they necessarily wanted, and delivered to them in Canton, one thousand taels to pay their passage to Europe. The Italian church and its premises were sold and the produce handed over to those who had full power to receive it. In 1812, the buildings were razed, and the place on which they had been seated, converted into an open field. The Portuguese and French had also an intention to quit the court, but having succeeded by solicitations and gifts, (we understand) in continuing their residence in their respective churches; and entertaining the flattering hope, that this storm, like many others, which the religion had at different periods happily weathered, might soon be over, they resolved not to abandon, at this conjuncture, their alarmed flocks. These were also at length deprived of their immediate spiritual aid, for the emperor confirmed the following propositions: "the Europeans shall not be allowed further to buy land * * * for such property is the den of christians, and the means of propagating their religion * * * a memorandum of the landed property belonging to the Europeans shall be deposited, but the papers of purchase remain in their hands, that they may sell or let the land "ad libitum:" the rent shall not be collected by them, (to prevent Europeans from having "Lai-

vang," [Portuguese orthography,] i. e. active and passive correspondence with the people,) but by a tribunal to be appointed." Thus by a temperate, though efficient measure, the government of China was attaining its object. The French lazarists having excited a strong suspicion, that they were busy in Ho-nan, with the promulgation of a proscribed doctrine, the last of them, L. M. Lamiot, who lived in the capital of the empire, was during the tribulations caused by the detention of Adiodato, imprisoned, examined, and in 1820 sent to Canton. He left at Peking the Portuguese congregation for his procurators, and received by degree the amount of sale for which the French church and other property had been sold. The remaining Portuguese realized the greatest part of their estate, and having made, (we are told,) the Russian archimandrite* at Peking, their lawful attorney, the members of the mission prepared to leave the court. The bishop of Nanking, who resided at Peking, was obliged to remain, because the weak state of his health, would not suffer him to accompany the bishop elect to Peking. Verissimo Monteiro de Serra, who landed at Macao 1827, and took his departure for Lisbon 1830.

The query whence the missionaries derived their subsistence and support, most naturally presents itself. The sovereigns of Portugal intent upon extending the sway of christianity in all parts of the pagan world, Philip I assigned (1588)

* By the fifth article of the treaty of 1728, between Russia and China, it was stipulated: "the Russians shall henceforth occupy at Peking the Kouan or court they inhabited; a church shall be built by the assistance of the Chinese government * * * four priests shall be attached to the church, and the Russians be permitted to worship their God according to the rites of their religion. Four young students and two of a more advanced age, shall be received into their house to learn the language of the country. They shall be maintained at the expense of the emperor, and shall be at liberty to return to their own country as soon as they have finished their studies." The usual term is ten years, but owing to the dilatory form of the Chinese offices, every new appointment is liable to suffer a delay of a year and upwards. The Russian mission under the guidance of George Timbowski, that entered Peking in the beginning of December, 1820, consisted of an archimandrite, five ecclesiastics of an inferior rank, and four young men destined to study the Chinese and Mongol languages.

through his viceroy of India, Dm. Duarte de Meneyes, on the royal chest at Malacca, "a reasonable yearly allowance to the mission in China," paid till 1616 inclusively. During this period a plan of economy for the mission had been digested by Alexander Valignano, who, in visiting the various stations Ricci had instituted in his zigzag tour from Shaouchow to Peking, his resting place, convinced himself that the acquisition of landed property, would more than ready money insure to the missionaries an almost certain success in their undertaking. The jesuits bound by a vow to serve religion without emolument from the Roman see, in any part his holiness thought proper to send them, had the permission to fatten by trade with the idolatrous nations whom they settled among. Charlevoix says: "Les jesuites ne faisoient autre chose que donner leur argent et en recevoir le produit." In the latter end of the sixteenth and in the beginning of the seventeenth century, this privilege was valuable; trade, we know, produced at that period an unusual profit, a portion of which the jesuits set apart to follow up the plan of Valignano, who died 1606.* This stock, considerably enlarged by the uncommon liberality, which the inhabitants of Macao invariably bestowed upon any project, tending to extend the influence of the Roman church in China, was invested in the purchase of land, on which a fixed yearly rent assured to the respective missions a regular income. The Portuguese and French jesuits had many shops and houses at Peking, and landed property in the vicinity; their order, being by the bull "dominus ac redemptor," (2d July, 1773,) of Clement XIV abolished, their property passed to the new laborers in the vineyard of the lord in China. The missionaries of the propaganda fide were less favored, they depended on remittances from Rome, and on the prudent and candid administration of their procurator at Macao.

* El visitador general Valignano accomodó à cada residencia de treinta tres al anō, despues de examinar que esta quantia bastava, asi para el sustento como para el vestido de los religiosos, que las asistiesen.—*Asia Port.*
In Siam, the allowance, a French missionary has assured me, is actually six dollars per month.

We are not able precisely to determine the actual Chinese Roman Catholic christians in China, but we shall approach the truth by borrowing from the Rev. J. B. Marchini's map of the missions, presented 1810, to the bishop of Macao.

Bishoprics Composed of Europeans.			Court Priest	Chin. Christ	Total.
Macao,	Pr. Kwang-tung, Kwang-se, isl. Haenan,	1 Bishop.	5	7,000	
Peking,	Pih-chih-le, Shan-tung, East Tartary,	1 Bishop. 11 Missions.	18	40,000	
Nanking,	Keang-nen, Ho-nen,	1 Bishop.	6	33,000	
Vicarages.					
Fuh-këen,	Fuh-këen, Che-keang, Keang se on the island Formosa,	1 bish, in pt. 1 Coadjutor. 4 Missions.	8	30,000	
Sze-chuen,	Sze-chuen, Kwei-chow, Yun-nan,	1 Bishop, 1 Coadjutor. 2 Missions.	25	70,000	
Shan-se,	Shan-se, Shen-se, Kan-suh, Hoo-kwang, and Western Tartary.	1 Bishop. 6 Missionaries,	18	35,000	215,000
Note,*					
Eastern Tunkin,	½ of the kingdom Tunkin,	1 Bishop. 1 Coadj. 6 Miss.	60	132,000	
Western Tunkin,	½ of the kingdom Tunkin,	1 Bishop. 1 Coadj. 4 Miss.	70	175,000	
Cochin China,	Cochin-china, Liam-pe, Cembodia, and Laos,	1 Bishop. 7 Miss.	15	60,000	
Siam,	Siam, Queda, Pennng, Sumatra,	1 Bishop, 3 Miss.	6	30,000	370,000
				Total	585,000
3 Bishopricks, 7 Vicarages,		10 Bishops. 4 Coadjutors. 43 Miss.			
		French 19. Spaniards 11. Italians 10. Portuguese 3.			

Note.—Dr. J. F. Gamelli Careri wrote in 1696, "there are about 200,000 christians in China."

Papal Legates to China. The reader will no doubt recollect that Miguel Ruggiero came from Goa to Macao, where he was taught the Chinese language; he went then as chaplain in merchant ships to Canton, and succeded in making at that place a few converts. His collaborator and successor, Mathew Ricci, must be considered the founder of the Roman church in China, for Ruggiero went (1582) by command of Alexander Valignano to Rome; he laid before his holiness as full an account of China, as could be expected from the man's short residence on the very confines of the empire. Valignano solicited the pontiff with many pressing arguments to send a legate to China who might prevail on the sovereign to confer protection on those Europeans, who were laboring to teach to his subjects *their* way to heaven and eternal bliss. Though Ruggiero seconded with all his might the solicited favor, all direct intercouse between Rome and Peking was put off for more than a century.

To prevent vaccillation in the system of instruction, Ricci drew up a few rules, reputed by him orthodox, and required co-operators to follow them. Scrupulous, timorous priests, or rather ambitious antagonists began to rail at the rules as idolatrous. A Spanish Dominican, John Baptiso Morales, who entered 1633, the mission, published many pamphlets against the rites and customs of China, esteemed civil and secular by Ricci, by Morales,* superstitious. As such they were condemned by the congregation of propaganda fide, and its opinion confirmed (1645) by Innocent X. A jesuit, Martin Martini, proved to the satisfaction of the tribunal of inquisition, that the rites and customs were of a civil† nature, and in that light they were approved (1656) by Alexander VII, who neglected to repeal the brief of Innocent X. Each party therefore defended, under the sanction and authority of two popes its respective elaborate opinion, till no less than twenty five missionaries‡ met at Canton, to which place they were

* The Dominicans had represented the hall of ancestors as a temple, and the whole ceremony as idolatry and sacrifice. *Mosheim.*

† Martin Martini represents to Alexander VII in a writing at large, that the Chinese customs were free from idolatry and superstition, and tended only to the peace and welfare of the empire.—*Mosheim.*

‡ Viz. 3 Dominicans, 1 Franciscan, 21 Jesuits, were sent to Canton, four others were kept at court.—*Duhalde.*

by an imperial order banished (1665.) This involuntary conjunction inspired them with the desire to fraternize by settling the sense of those questions on which they had been and were still split. Living in a seminary that had belonged to the jesuits, several meetings were held in which the matter of a controversy was without passion and animosity, we are told, discussed and weighed by philologists, learned and orthodox men. By them, forty articles, which should hereafter serve for rules to the masters of the gospel, were unanimously ratified. One of the articles runs thus: "In respect to the customs, by which the Chinese worship Confucius and the deceased, the answer of the congregation of the universal inquisition, sanctioned 1656 by his holiness Alexander VII, shall be invariably followed, for it is founded upon the most probable opinion, without any evident proofs to the contrary; and this probability being admitted, the door of salvation must not be shut against innumerable Chinese, who would abandon our christian religion, were they forbidden to attend to those things to which they may lawfully and without injury to their faith attend, and forced to give up what cannot be given up without serious consequences."

When we read that John Polanco, procurator of the Dominicans at Rome, had induced the congregation of inquisitors to resolve, and Clement IX to confirm, (20th Nov, 1669,) that the decrees of 1645, and 1656, were both in vigor, we are disposed to apprehend that the holy see foresaw with sorrow the probability, that the old acrimonious contention would be, by the concordate, signed at Canton, set entirely at rest. By Clement IXth's decree, peace and harmony vanished once more. Almost at the very moment the missionaries had by a special grace of Kang-he, permission to rejoin (1671) their respective establishments, a Spaniard, Dominic Navarette, a Dominican, hoisted (1673,) the standard of reprobation, (in spite of the convention he had signed four years before,) against the rites and customs of China. He was joined in chorus by many missionaries, who from the year 1685, had flocked to China. The new comers not being comprehended in the edict, (22d March, 1692) by which Kang-he granted to ancient residents a free exercise of their religion, the Mandarins opposed every where the project of the intruders. Many of them, however, got by the influence of the jesuits and their

friends at court, and in the provinces, leave to remain and begin the task of their mission; but it was not in the power of the jesuits to attend successfully to the pretensions of them all. Those who esteemed the favor bestowed on them unequal to their individual desert, and those who complained of a wilful neglect embraced the opinion of Navarette, and sided with Charles Maigrot, a Frenchman, apostolic vicar of Fuhkëen, who ventured "without applying to his principal at Rome, by his own authority, to supersede a decree of the holy inquisition, and that confirmed by a pope, (Alexander VII)" to issue 1693, a mandate which added fuel to the already violent dispute. Although Kang-he had (1700) declared in an edict, communicated to the pope, that the character "Tëen," means the true God, and that the "customs of China" are political, Maigrot* having denied (1693) that Tëen signifies nothing more than the material heaven, and that the Chinese customs are superstitions; this decision *four* inquisitors appointed by Innocent XII, chose to support, and Clement XI to confirm by a decree of 20th November 1704.

At Rome, expectations were entertained, that a dispute which had lasted nearly a whole century, would subside, and all classes of missionaries reverently obey and observe the said decree. To obtain the consent of Kang-he, Clement XI constituted Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournan, titular patriarch of Antioch, his commissary, apostolic visitor and legate, "a latere." Tournan embarked, in spite of the king of Portugal's claimed right of patronage, (1703) not from Lisbon. He touched at Manila, where the governor, Dm. Dominic Sabalburu received the legate, though he brought no pass from Spain, very well, an attention the court of Madrid disapproved and censured. Tournan landed (1705) on Green island at Macao: he was welcomed by Francis Pinto, provincial of Japan, and complimented by the bishop, and by the governor of the town. Mosheim describes Tournan a man "whose good disposition was under the influence

* Ce Maigrot ne savoit pas un mot Chinois.—*Voltaire's Essai sur les moeurs.* During the stay of Tourman at court Maigrot was summoned and admitted to an audience. "L'empereur lui demanda l'explication de trois caracteres en or au-dessus de son trōne. Maigrot ne put lire que deux, et Kang-he resolut de se faire expliquer par interprētes. *Siecle de Louis XIV*, T. II; 405 edition de 1784.

of a narrow spirit and weak understanding." He was numbered among those, who in the Roman Catholic church are designated by the appellation of "rigids." His antipathy to the jesuits made him doubt their submission and sincerity, though by their supplications and earnest entreaties, Kang-he at last condescended to give to the legate an audience (31st December, 1705.) Four days previously, Tournan transmitted a memorial, which Kang-he termed a paper replete with futilities, and by some other unseasonable pretensions he drew upon himself the following censure in writing. 1st. In the eyes of the emperor, Bouvet* stands acquitted. 2d. It were proper that the pope's legate intermeddled in no concerns but in those of religion. 3d. Instead of rooting out, as you pretend, the discord, it is going on extending all over the empire. 4th. Europeans, who were in the habit of living on friendly terms, are disunited since the arrival of the visitors. 5th. The emperor is forced to admit into his vast dominions no other missionaries than those who shall have previously been examined. On intimation that he should present his credentials and titles of legate, Tournan produced nothing more than one letter addressed to the bishop of Peking, and another to Maigrot, bishop of Canon "in partibus." This disclusure put an end to his representation; Tournan was commanded to leave Peking at the expiration of a few days.

Meanwhile the patriarch received from Europe the news that the opinion of the four inquisitors, concerning the controverted rites, had (26th November, 1704) been confirmed by Clement XI. This decree the apostolic visitor echoed by a mandate (1707) that no Chinese christian should ever practice the customs and usages, which the laws of China required its subjects to comply with, a piece of audacity fully resented. The legate got at first an order to quit China directly, then came another, that he should be kept in custody till the return of the two jesuits Kang-he had sent to Rome. Tournan, an exile and a prisoner, arrived 30th June, 1707, at Macao, where he had to encounter disobedience, humiliation and confinement. The reader will recollect, that the patriarch did not proceed by way of Lisbon to Asia, probably be-

* Bouvet had just been sent to Rome as envoy, with presents to the pope, a commission Tournan thought that his auditor ought to have been honored with.

cause the congregation of cardinals came in 1680, to the conclusion, that the right of an universal patronage was unfounded and nugatory. The court offended at the legate's having taken his passage to the East Indies from any other port than Lisbon, commanded Dm. Fr. Augustine da Annunciaçaõ, archbishop of Goa, to revenge this affront: he in the quality of primate of the east, ordered Dm. John de Cazal, bishop of Macao, to publish a pastoral, prohibiting any body in China to acknowledge Tournan for an apostolic visitor. By this document the public was informed, that Kang-he had as party appealed by the mission of two priests, Anthony Barros and Anthony Bouvolier, to his holiness, and that the mandate of Tournan, in direct opposition to the decree of his imperial majesty, would root out the very vestige of the law of Christ in China, and be the cause of infallible ruin to Macao. The captain general, Diego de Pinho Teixeira, acted in concert with the bishop and his vicar-general, Lawrence Gomes. They sent the judge, Lobo de Gama, to signify to the patriarch, the wish of the three orders, prelates, nobility, and commons, that he might refrain from any act of jurisdiction, hostile to the right of the royal patronage; not yielding to this petition, the legate was deprived of his liberty, shut up in a private house; not in the episcopal palace, as Mosheim pretends; and watched by rigorous, inexorable, constantly changing guards. Missionaries, who in obedience to the mandate of Tournan, did not submit to be examined (1707) at Peking, had resorted to Macao, awaiting for opportunity secretly to return to their respective hiding places; even they were refused admittance to the legate. Disgusted with the incessant vexations, Tournan resolved to handle the weapons of the Vatican; he hurled against his principal enemies, ecclesiastical censures, but they were treated with so little respect, that the bishop of Macao ventured to stick up at the very door of the hall of his excellency's residence, a monitory, in which the patriarch was exhorted under pain of excommunication to revoke within three days, his censures, and exhibit to the diocesan, evidence of his power and legateship. By these and other mortifications, faithful vassals fulfilled the commands contained in a letter, dated Lisbon, 3d April 1709; "Deveis ter entendido, que se o Cardeal pertender exercitar jurisdicçaõ alguna nos meos dominios em virtude das ordens que levou,

e das, que novamente che forem, o naõ deveis consentir, e advertoreis à todos os-prelados che naõ obedeçaõ, e ao Cardeal che mandareis intimas terdes este ordem." You must remember that if the cardinal wants to exercise any jurisdiction in my dominions by virtue of the orders he took with him, or those that may be sent, you must resist it, and inform all the prelates not to obey him, and even intimate to the cardinal that you have such orders. The dignity of a cardinal, to which Clement XI raised (1707) Tournan, could not eradicate the recollection of painful and undeserved insults, which impious men, he thought, had levelled against his sacred person, though his eminence bore with singular resignation the humiliations; sorrow hastened, no doubt, the dissolution of his bodily frame, for he expired, not as Mosheim mentions, on the 8th June, 1711, but at one o'clock, P. M. on the 8th of July, 1710. His bones, Mezzabarba, the patriarch we are going to speak of, took from Macao 1721, and brought to Rome.

Many friars, but principally jesuits, rejected the mandate of Tournan, and argued that the decision about the rites of China, being of an incalculable consequence, belonged essentially to a general council. A declaration being published (1711) by the general of the jesuits, that the members of the company of Jesus always had and would always receive with passive obedience, the decision of the holy see, Clement XI issued (1715) the bull "ex illa die," relative to the ceremonies that were to be tolerated or absolutely prohibited. Still many bishops and apostolic vicars entertained scruples, and demanded further instructions, concerning the proscribed rites. This bull, enjoying the king of Portugal's influence, because John V wanted the pope to grant his investure to the three elect bishops of Macao, Nanking and Peking, Clement XI resolved to send his legate à latere to China, Charles Ambrose Mezzabarba, patriarch of Alexandria; he took his passage on board the Portuguese ship Francis Xavier. The court of Lisbon bore the expenses of the patriarch from Lisbon to China, and the senate by commands of his majesty, those of the legate, his retinue and attendants, not only during their stay at Macao and in Peking, but also those of their return to Europe. Mezzabarba was directed to express the pope's sincere gratitude to Kang-he for

his magnanimous kindness towards the missionaries * * * to beg leave to remain in China at the head, or as superior to the whole mission * * * and to obtain from his assent, that the christians of China might submit to the decision of his holiness concerning the rites. Papers Tournan exhibited, and the brief of Clement XI, or the credentials of Mezzabarba were delivered to the tribunal of the ceremonies; credentials from a temporal sovereign, the ambassador at his first audience, presents himself to the emperor. Mezzabarba at his reception congratulated Kang-he upon the brilliant and glorious victories his armies had achieved in Thibet, a speech that could hardly fail to conciliate the good will of the victor. Kang-he distinguished the legate by peculiar affability, but altered his tone whenever the ceremonies condemned at Rome came under consideration. Arguing once this subject, the emperor made the following reflections; "how can the pope judge of the usages of China, of which he has as little knowledge as I have of the concerns of Europe," and added what we have quoted before, "I am astonished that the pontiff can believe men who pretend to teach the same religion, though some of them affirm what others deny." That Kang-he could not by theological sophistry be induced to surrender any part of his inherent authority, did not escape the sagacity of the legate; Mezzabarba therefore solicited the emperor's permission to take leave of China and return to Europe, that he might personally submit to the consideration of his holiness the ponderous reasons the emperor himself and his ministers allege against the bull "ex illa die." Kang-he agreed to the proposal. At his return to Macao the legate was prevailed upon to mitigate the severity of the bull, by granting eight permissions, dated 4th November, 1721. The jesuits were satisfied, but their antagonists succeeded after a struggle of more than twenty years in getting the permissions repealed, and condemned (1742) by the bull "ex quo singulari," of Benedict XIV. Forty-eight chests with presents from Kang-he, an imperial commissary had in charge, and deposited at the Senate house: he delivered to Mezzabarba on his arrival, those destined for Clement XI, and to father Anthony Magalhens those intended for the sovereign of Portugal.

The ship Francis Xavier, going to Europe, was burnt in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro, and nothing saved except the

coffin containing the remains of cardinal Tournan, because it happened to be on shore. The presents bestowed on Clement XI were also consumed; but Benedict XIII commissioned to Carmelites Fr. Gotardo de Santa Maria and Fr. Ildéfonso da Natividade to express, on their arrival in China, the pope's gratitude for the memorial its sovereign had honored the chief of the Roman church with. The friars arrived at Canton 1725. The Tsung-tŭh hearing of their errand, and that they were also to congratulate Yung-ching on his exaltation to the throne, anticipated the commands of his master, and transmitted the envoys to the court of Peking. Of their reception I have met with no detail. The letter from the pope was delivered. It began by acknowledging the favor of the emperor's gifts which Mezzabarba had been the bearer of; it proceeded then to beg the emperor's acceptance of a few trifles, esteemed in Europe scarce and curious; next, the pontiff solicits Yung-ching's protection for the Europeans and those Chinese who professed christianity; at last the pope promised to pray for the welfare of the emperor and his subjects. Yung-ching gave to Benedict a courteous and polite answer, accompanied with marks of esteem, consisting in various articles of Chinese industry. To the petition of the envoys, that the missionaries, exiles at Canton, might be allowed to return to their respective churches, the emperor gave the following despatch. "I cannot permit the missionaries to live in the provinces. Why does your pope wish them to be in the provinces? If I sent bonzes to Europe, how would you treat them? As fanatic disturbers of the peace and public mind deserve." The carmelites were back at Canton the 27th January, 1726; on the next day they embarked for Pondicherry.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

The following remarks on the climate of China, were written by Dr. Alexander Pearson, during his residence in the country as first Surgeon at Canton, of the honorable English East India Company.

No. III.

"In October, and usually in the early part of that month, northerly winds with cool weather prevail for a few days, in the greater number returning to the blowing from southerly points, when the heat is much increased; and under such changes, variations from 15 to 20 degrees in twenty four hours are usual, and greater ones by no means rare, the atmosphere being clear, and the air dry. Such may be stated to be also the character of the climate during the two succeeding months of November and December, changes of wind from the northerly points being of shorter duration, as the season advances into winter; and when that sets in early in the northern parts of the empire, there are occasionally bleak days with storms of wind and rain.

"From the middle of December to the end of February, the weather is more regularly and steadily cold or cool, and this period is probably the most salubrious, and certainly to European feelings, the most agreeable in the course of the year. It then freezes occasionally, but rarely, not oftener on an average than twice or thrice in the season.

"Throughout March the temperature may be stated to be nearly the same, and often bleak; the sky is clouded, and oc-

casionally much rain falls during that month. Although there is some advance of temperature, the same may be said of April ; and during both months, on the wind veering southerly, bringing much moisture into contact with the cooled earth, there are thick fogs, and much humidity is suspended in the atmosphere, which is occasionally close and sultry, more frequently towards the latter end of the period: and such continues to be the state in May, with a marked advance of temperature, but still cool, until towards the middle of the month, when its ndvance becomes quick.

"With June the hot weather commences, and continues during the whole of that and the subsequent months. Heavy rains often fall in August and September, in the latter half of which the nights become cool. The heat of this period seldom rises above 90 degrees Fahrenheit, but often approaches that, and sometimes exceeds it 2 or 3 degrees, without that alleviation from land and sea breezes, which similar and more strictly tropical climates enjoy.

"Respecting the state of the winds, their principal regulation is of course by the monsoons, the law of which they obey generally, but with considerable variation of intermediate points, especially at Macao, as is usual on the sea-coasts. The N. E. monsoon frequently draws more to the eastward than that—when it blows harder and gales are frequent, being more severe the more the wind approaches the east point. That direction exerts every unpleasant and unsalubrious influence, which is elsewhere complained of from it, especially on the valetudinary and those who have suffered from intermittents. The regularity of the monsoon varies much in different seasons, generally and more particularly in the two last months of its prevalence. Changes to the southward are frequent, of which great vicissitudes of the temperature are a necessary consequence. It may be generally stated, that the seasens, in which there are fewest of such changes, are the most salubrious, and these winters, in which there is much southerly wind, especially from E. S. E. are the most unfavorable to health.

"During the succeediag monsoon, ranging from S. E. to S. W. whenever the wind veers to westward of the last point, or becomes westerly from its reaching, after having passed over large tracts of country, it becomes a hot wind ; and such a direction of it is frequent during the whole summer months, most so in June and July ; in a perfectly regular season such westerly winds more rarely occur after the middle of the last month. Previously to the regular period for the change of this monsoon the wind occasionally shifts to the N. W. blow-

ing from and over a continent thoroughly heated by the preceding summer, it then becomes oppressively hot, and the air remarkably dry. It is from this quarter, and usually after a frequent recurrence of such weather, that the hurricanes, known by the name of typhons, commence, passing from thence easterly round the compass, usually attaining their utmost violence immediately after passing the eastward of north, and subsiding when the wind reaches at all to the west of the south point. They occur most frequently in August and September, although occasionally they have been known to happen so late as October. Nor are they regular as to frequency; a succession of seasons (particularly of the cool ones,) passing without their occurrence, while at other times, during or after dry and hot summers, they happen repeatedly in one year."

No. IV.

IN CAVERNAM UBI CAMOËNS

OPUS EGREGIUM COMPOSUISSE FERTUR.

Hic, in remotis sol ubi rupibus
Frondes per altas mollius incidit,
  Fervebat in pulchram camoenam
  Ingenium Camoëntis ardens:

Signum et pöetæ marmore lucido
Spirabat olim, carminibus sacrum,
  Parvumque, quod vivens amavit,
  Effigie decorabat antrum:

Sed jam vetustas, aut manus impia
Prostravit, eheu! Triste silentium
  Regnare nunc solum videtur
  Per scopulos, virides et umbras!

At fama nobis restat—at inclytum,
Restat pöetæ nomen—at ingeni
  Stat carmen exemplum perenne,
  Ærea nec monumenta quærit.

Sic usque Virtus vincit, ad ultimas
Perducta fines temporis, exitus
  Ridens sepulchrorum inanes,
  Marmoris et celerem ruinam!

J. F. Davis.

Macaio, MDCCCXXXI.

No. V.

POPULATION OF MACAO IN 1834.

In the Parish St. Peter.

Families. 351.

	Men.	Age.	Women.	
Whites.	145	7	171	1717.
	139	15	174	
	182	30	306	
	176	60	338	
	18	above	68	
	660		1057	
Slaves.	2	7	7	530.
	13	15	27	
	60	30	151	
	65	60	175	
	7		23	
	147		383	

Weddings 10 | Interments, 29

Total 2247, in 1834.

Signed by the Curate.

PARISH OF ST. LAWRENCE.

Families 211.

	Men.	Age.	Women.	
White.	115	7	143	1381.
	108	15	135	
	164	30	265	
	146	60	233	
	14	above	58	
	547		834	

Slaves.	From Timor	122	9	From Timor	172	562.
	Caffers,	106	"	Caffers	78	
	Different casts	28	"	Divers Casts	42	
	Enfranchised	7	"	Enfranchised	13	
		257			305	

Baptised 67.

Weddings, 14 Interments, 59

Total 1943 in 1834.

Signed by the Curate.

Parish of St. Anthony.

Families. 128.

	Men.	Age.	Women.	
White.	57	7	98	695.
	67	15	86	
	87	30	113	
	63	60	94	
	6	"	24	
	280		415	
Slaves.	3	7	5	208.
	6	15	13	
	38	30	41	
	15	60	77	
	3		7	
	65		143	

Baptised 29.

Weddings, 8 | Interments, 19

Total 903 in 1834.

Signed by the Curate.

The Portuguese population of Macao, in December, 1834, was

In the Parish of St. Peter,	White men,	660		
" "	" women,	1057		
			——1717	
In the Parish of St. Lawrence,	White men,	547		
" "	" women,	834		
			——1381	
In the Parish of St. Anthony,	White men,	280		
" "	" women,	415		
			—— 695	
				——3793
Slaves in St. Peter,	male slaves,	147		
"	female "	383		
			—— 530	
Slaves in St. Lawrence,	male "	257		
"	female "	305		
			—— 562	
Slaves in St. Anthony,	male "	65		
"	female "	143		
			—— 208	
				——1300
				Total, 5093

Memorandum. Among this population, seventy-five male individuals, born in Portugal or in its actual ultramarine dominions (except those of Asia,) they consist in a governor, one civilian, six ecclesiastics, a few officers and soldiers, the others are merchants and sea-faring people. To this number we have to add two women from Portugal. This account received in February, 1835, is due to the favor of the reverend curates of the three respective parish churches at Macao.

No. VI.

Le sage craint le *Tien* et oublie les hommes ; le méchant craint les hommes et oublie le *Tien*.

Mes livres parlent à mon esprit, mes amis à mon cœur, le Tien à mon âme ; tout le reste à mes oreilles.

L'homme qui se conduit mal, pere aussitôt la paix du cœur : c'est ce que nous apellons remords de conscience. Cette conscience est quelquefois étouffée á tel point par les passions humaines, que quoique l'homme la porte au fond de son cœur, il ne peut le ranimer : il doit donc sans cesse combattre les passions, pour que le conscience n'en soit pas la proie. Ainsi dès que vous appercevez qu' une chose est mauvaise, arretez vous sur le champ et tournez vos pas vers le chemin de la vertu. Quand vous y serez accoutumé, vos passions, vos désirs déréglés s'amortiront insensiblement.

Les ancients vouloient, " que l'homme, en toutes choses, fit tous ses efforts pour réussir, et se résignât ensuite à la volunté du ciel."

No. VII.

Measurement of Portuguese ships from Europe or Macao, since the year 1831.

Classes.

1st. Ships, the length of which, taken from the mizen to the foremast, multiplied by the breadth between the gangway, giving a product of 154 chang, (i. e. 1540 cubits,) and upwards belong to the first class, and pay for every chang, (i. e. ten cubic,) - - - - - 6 taels, 223.

2d. Those, measured by the above rule, giving 120 chang and upwards, are of the second class, and pay per chang, - - - - - 5 taels, 720.

3d. Those measuring 90 chang and upwards, are of the 3d class, and pay per chang, - - - - 4 taels.

(N. B. "By ancient regulations the following charges were added to the amount of measurement:

10 per cent. for loss in melting.
8 " for difference in weight with the scales of the imperial treasury.
17 " for reducing it to Sycee.
2 " for interpreters.")

From the year 1831, are added to the amount of measurement 37 per cent, and 70 taels expenses of Csáo-kum, "translated public hoppo treasury," formerly it was 82 taels.

Hoppo fees.

On ships from Europe,	first class, -	250 taels.
" "	second class, -	240 taels.
" "	third class, -	170 taels.

On registered ships from Macao and Manila.

First class, - - - -	50 taels.
Second class, - - - -	40 taels.
Third class, - - - -	30 taels.

Registered ships once measured, pay only one third of the original measurement: to this indulgence, ships from Europe, though measured, are not entitled.

Example of the third class.

Length, - - - - -	52 cubics.	
Breadth, - - - - -	20 "	
	104,0	
Striking off the last figure, remain	104 chang.	
at tael, - -	4 per chang.	
	taels,	416,000
37 per cent - - -		153,920
70 taels of Csáo-num, - -		70,000
		639,920
Fee to the hoppo, - - -		30,000
	Taels,	669,920

P. M. A ship from Portugal or its ultramarine dominions, pays besides, to the office of the procurator, a fee of fifty dollars.

No. VIII.

CONVENTIONAL

Twelve Articles in Chinese, of a Convention, dated Keen-lung's XIVth year, corresponding to 1749, *by which the Mandarins rule*.*

Art. I. Any Chinese of bad behavior shall be turned out of Macao. A vagrant, having once caused disturbance; the next time he must be expelled, his relations shall give to the Mandarin security for his not leaving them again; the procurator (chief of the Chinese living at Macao,) shall also be answerable to the Mandarin for any vagrant he may permit to remain at Macao. Besides, the name of any such person shall be inscribed in a chop and posted up in public places. Moreover, the chief of the Chinese at Macao, shall be bound to examine now and then, whether any of the vagabond Chinese have returned; that being the case, the vagabond and his family shall be punished, and the procurator, chief of the Chinese, likewise should he neglect giving information to the Mandarin.

Art. II. The Tanka†-boat shall be examined. All the boats belonging to the Chinese living at Macao shall be examined, and a list of them made out, which is to be handed to the Mandarin of Heang-shan, that he may mark the boats, examine the water-men or women, and require security from them for their good behavior; this pledge is to be communicated to the chief of the Chinese at Macao, that he may govern them. No water-man or woman shall rest at night any where but at the beach of the hoppo-house, and by no means in hidden places, that they may be prevented from carrying out, or bringing in prohibited goods; from conducting to Macao not only infamous Chinese, but even such who wish to embrace the law, (the Roman Catholic doctrine,) or visit the churches; and from clandestinely conveying European merchants to Canton. To put

* The Chinese original was translated in Portuguese by Francis da Canha, and the translation verified by Nieuvalle, superior general of the French mission in China, and Siqueira, all three members of the society of Jesus.

† Small boats commonly managed by women, who row on the water all round Macao.

No. VIII.

PACT.

Eleven Articles of a Convention, dated 9th November, 1749*: to them the Portuguese Government of Macao adhere.*

Art. I. All Chinese gamblers and men of bad conduct shall be turned out of the place.

Art. II. Tanka-boats and other barges shall at night-fall go to anchor at the sea shore, called "praya pequena," opposite to the hoppo-house.

a stop to all these things, the Mandarin must send every day, four soldiers duly to mark the lurking places. Should they find any boats there, the case must instantly be reported to the Mandarin, that he may punish the culprits, and the chief of the Chinese for his neglect. If the soldiers for the sake of a bribe were to connive, they shall be beaten like criminals.

Art. III. It is forbidden to sell any thing on credit. The Chinese shop-keeper must not give any thing on credit to the Caffers, but sell for ready cash; neither shall they be permited to buy any thing from them; any body breaking this order shall be punished and sent out of Macao.

Art. IV. If a Chinese be apprehended at night, &c. Henceforth, when the Chinese of Macao go out at night with a lantern, they shall not be sejzed by European soldiers, who must not maliciously put it out. Others, who might not have had time, for some pressing business, to light the lantern, or who are ignorant of the usage of Macao from having arrived but lately; and lastly those even who are going to do mischief, when other of these is apprehended, the said soldiers must directly hand him over to the procurator, chief of the Chinese, who shall send him to the Mandarin of the district to be tried and punished to the degree of his delinquency; the procurator therefore must not detain him an instant, still less punish him at his own caprice: should he act against this prohibition he shall be impeached and severely punished by his own sovereign.

Art. V. Any criminal European must infallibly be given up to be judged, &c. From this time forward, an European, who for the crime of homicide or plunder, shall deserve to be punished with death, the regulation of Këen-lung's ninth year shall be attended to. The regulations to visit and inspect the dead body and to examine the guilty. After the inquest the delinquent must be handed over to the Mandarin of Casa-branca, to be carefully secured: for this purpose he grants his bail and takes on his responsibility the prisoner; he is not transmitted to the higher Mandarins, for it is sufficient to inform them of the crime, and wait their decision: being received, the district Mandarin, accompanied by the senate, shall assist at its execution. An European being guilty of a crime, deserving banishment, shall be tried singly by the Chinese judge in a place near Macao, who, having pronounced judgment, delivers on bail the culprit to the senate, who in company with the civil Chinese magistrate, must see the sentence, confirmed by the superior Mandarins, fulfilled. Offences of less magnitude the

Art. III. The Chinese shall not sell on credit any thing to the slaves, nor buy what they offer for sale, because they are commonly all stolen goods; if they do, they shall be punished and sent from Macao.

Art. IV. No Chinese shall go out at night after nine o'clock. Those who are apprehended shall be brought to the procurator, that he may send them to their Mandarin to be punished. No body shall put out the lantern the Chinese use at night, those who do so shall be punished by the captain general of the place, not being soldiers, or under military command, by the ordinary judge.

Art. V. In respect to the proceedings to be observed in the case a christian should murder a Chinese, it is resolved, that the old practise shall be continued, and the matter referred to the king of Portugal.

senate may decide on and then inform the Mandarin, whose sanction renders the punishment of the convicted lawful.

Art. VI. It is prohibited to injure or do harm to the Chinese. Should any Chinese henceforward refuse to pay his debts to Europeans, or should he insult an European, recourse must directly be had to the Mandarin, and the man delivered that he may be examined and punished, meanwhile do not throw him in the dungeon, nor beat him at your fancy. Any body violating this command shall be punished.

Art. VII. It is prohibited to build new houses and churches. The number of houses actually existing, shall be inscribed on a list; from henceforward no new ones are allowed to be raised, the old and ancient may be repaired. Any body violating this order shall be punished like a criminal who breaks the law of the empire; the new houses shall be demolished or sold, and the amount applied to the imperial fee.

Art. VIII. Neither Chinese nor Europeans are allowed to sell sons and daughters of Chinese breed. Any body violating this regulation shall be punished in conformity to the law of Këen-lung's IXth year.

Art. IX. Things stolen by Caffers are prohibited. Hereafter when slaves shall have prevailed on Chinese to steal from Europeans, the Chinese must directly be accused and handed over to the Mandarin that he may punish and banish them from Macao: the slave boys must also in pursuance of European laws, be severely punished. Offences must not falsely be imputed to Chinese, pretending e. g. that they have induced Caffers to steal, and still less must punishment at one's own whim be inflicted on Chinese. When the slaves have stolen something from the Chinese, the senate must fairly inquire into the case; and if a judicial decision be required, the slaves must be sent to the Mandarin for trial and judgment. Having proclaimed his sentence, the Mandarin shall send the slaves back, that the senate may give it full execution. If the Mandarin advise and warn the senate against arbitrarily defending culprits, by suffering them to abscond, that they may not be brought before the Mandarin.

Art. X. It is forbidden to Europenn villains and the European public women to harbor Chinese rogues. The senate ought effectually to prohibit Europeans of vicious habits from screening at their houses mischievous Chinese; it ought also to examine and forcibly urge European women to change their manner of living, by forbidding them from sheltering in their houses young Chinese, for the sake of gambling, stealing, &c. Should any body dare act agninst this order, not only shall the Chinese be punished for their crimes, but also shall the

Art. VI. If a Chinese be indebted to christians, or if he does mischief to him, hand him over to the Mandarin of the emperor, that he may punish him, but do not thrust him in the prison of christians.

Art. VII. No edifice shall be erected on new foundations, but those dilapidated by age, may be rebuilt; if any new ones are constructed, they shall be thrown down, and the law breaker punished by the Portuguese justice.

Art. VIII. Buy no Chinese children; should any be bought, the purchaser shall be severely punished.

Art. IX. When slaves leagued with Chinese shall steal some thing, they shall be examined and punished by the ministers of the emperor and the judge of this city.

Art. X. The strictest order shall be issued to the inhabitants of this place, not to lodge at their houses any vagabond Chinese of vicious habits; those who transgress this law shall be rigorously punished, and so shall women be who harbor Chinese of the above specified description.

European who shelter them, be punished for having violated the law which forbids fornication. Those too, who transgress the positive mandates against thieving and gambling, reputed worse than fornication, shall be subjected to heavy punishment. The senate shall likewise be punished for their neglect on this point, and, lastly, shall every person be punished, who, knowing this prohibition, ventures to release a Chinese by letting him run away.

Art. XI. It is not allowed to the Europeans to ramble out of Macao. Anciently the Europeans were not permitted to go out of Macao: at present there are among them many wretches who, under the pretence of going a hunting, come to disturb the people in the country, or to solicit women; this is quite against old custom. The senate must severely prohibit similar deeds. The heads of the villages have permission to stop and seize those who break this order, and to deliver them to the Mandarin to be punished in virtue of the law, which prohibits violating those of the empire; the senate shall also be punished in proportion to their negligence.

Art. XII. It is prohibited to promulgate and follow the law of God. Though all Europeans at Macao are christians, and taught the doctrines of God, nevertheless it is not permitted to teach or induce Chinese to become converts, because it pollutes the habits and the heart; the senate and the chief of the Chinese at Macao must frequently visit the houses one after the other, prohibiting and not suffering any Chinese to become christians. Any person acting against this command; those who teach as well as those who embrace the religion, shall be banished from Macao: the chief of the Chinese, and the senate shall also be punished, either in a corresponding degree to his delinquency.

IX. Art. Christians must not go a hunting on the other side; they are only allowed to go for the sake of their trade to Canton: those who infringe the rule of this paragraph shall be severally punished by the civil authority of the place.

XIIth Article omitted.

No. 9

Plan of the Town and Port of MACAO.

By N. B. Marine Engr.

Reference

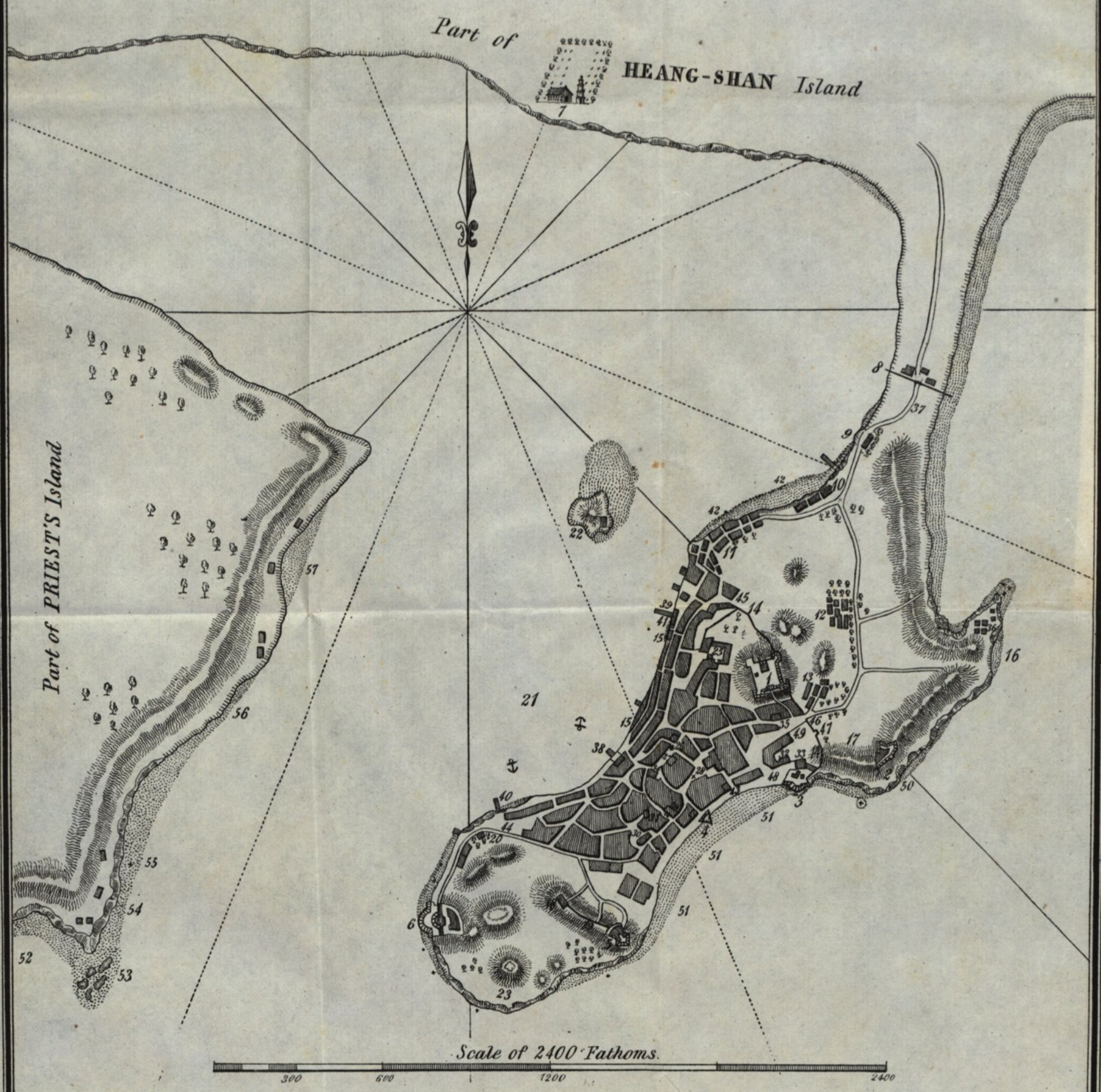
1 Caza Branca
2 Boundary
3 Fishing Ledge
4 N.E. Wall.
5 S.W. Wall.
6 Green Island
7 Oitem
8 Ribeira Grande e piquena
9 Harbour

Pendleton's Lithography. Boston.

MAP OF THE TOWN AND HARBOUR OF MACAO.

By N.B. Corrected & improved by W.B.

Pendleton's Lithography, Boston.



Nº 1 Fort of St. Paul or Monte.
2 . . Guia.
3 . . S. Francis.
4 . . S. Peter. front of Govnrs house.
5 . . Bomparto.
6 . . Bar.
7. Caza Branca. residence of a Mandarine.
8 Boundary.
9 Pegoda Nova.
10 Chinese Village of Monchion.
11 . . . Patáne.
12 . . . Monghá.
13 Village of S. Lazarus.
14 N.E. wall.
15 Bazaar.
16 Bay of Cassilha.
17 Cricket Ground.
18 Penha Hill & Church.
19 S.W. Wall.
20 Bar Pegoda.
21 Inner Harbour.
22 Green Island.

Nº 23 Mato de bom JESUS.
24 Church of S. Antonio.
25 . . S. Paul.
*26 . . S. Domingos.
27 . . Sta Caza de Mizericordia.
+ 28 . . S. Peter or Sé. the Cathedral.
‡ 29 . . S. Augustin.
30 . . S. Lawrence.
31 . . S. Joseph.
32 . . . Sta Clara.
33 . . S. Francis.
34 Senate House.
35 Hospital.
36 Fishing lodge.
37 Racing Ground.
38 Custom House.
39 Chinese Custom House.
40 Praya Manduco.
41 . Piquena.
42 . Patanes.
43 Judge's House.
44 Road of the Bar.

Nº 45 Gate of S. Antonio.
46 Gate of S. Lazarus or Campo.
47 Battery of S. John.
48 Campo of S. Francis.
49 Bishop Garden.
50 Praya of Guia.
51 . Grande.
52 Oitem.
53 Monkey Isles.
54 Ribeira Grande.
55 . piquena.
56 Lappa.
57 Pacsun.

1834. Artillery Pieces.

	Bronze.	Iron.
1. On the Monte	13	34
2. . . Guia	5	13
3. . . S. Francis	7	11
4. . . S. Peter	2	3
5. . . Bomparta	6	7
6 . . Bar.	13	16
	46	86

By W.B. Macao. China 1834.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY OF CANTON.

On native maps the name of this city is written, Kwang-tung Sang-ching, that is, "the capital of the province of Kwang-tung:" but when speaking of the city, the natives usually call it *Sang-ching*, "the provincial city," or "the capital of the province." The city is built on the north bank of the *Choo-keang* or Pearl river; it stands inland about sixty miles from the "great sea." From Hoo-mun, (the Bogue, or Bocca Tigris,) which the Chinese consider as the mouth of this river and the entrance to their inner waters, the merchantman, pursuing the best track, sails a few points to the west of north until she arrives near the "first bar;" thence her course is almost due west to the anchorage at Whampoa. From this place, after quitting your ship, you continue on without changing your course, and leaving the city close on your right, you soon reach the foreign factories. These are situated a short distance from the south-west corner of the city walls, in latitude 23 degrees, 7 minutes, 10 seconds north, and in longitude 113 degrees, 14 minutes, 30 seconds east of Greenwich, and about 3 degress and 30 minutes west of Peking. Of these factories some account will be given in the sequel.

The scenery around the city in the adjacent country is rich and diversified, but does not present any thing bold or grand. On the north and north-east of the city, the country is hilly and mountainous. In every other direction a wide prospect

opens before you. The rivers and canals, which are very numerous, abound with fish, and are covered with a great variety of boats, which are continually passing to and from the neighboring towns and villages. Southward from the city, as far as the eye can see, the waters cover a considerable portion, perhaps one third part of the whole surface. Rice fields and gardens occupy the low lands, with only here and there a few little hills and small groves of trees rising up to diversify the otherwise unbroken surface. The city itself—including all, both within and without the walls,—is not of very great extent; and though very populous, derives its chief importance from its extensive domestic and foreign trade.

The city of Canton is one of the oldest cities in this part of the empire, and since its foundations were first laid, has undergone numerous changes. It is not easy, and perhaps not possible, to determine its original site and name, or to ascertain the time in which it was first built. But although it is not important to decide either of these questions, it may be interesting to the reader to have a brief account of what the Chinese themselves narrate, respecting one of their largest and most populous and wealthy cities.

More than 4000 years ago, according to the Chinese classics, the celebrated Yaou commanded one of his ministers to repair to *Nan-keao*,—which was also called Ming-too, "the splendid capital," and govern it and the surrounding country. Nan-keaou then included the site of the present city of Canton, and belonged to the southern regions of *Yang*, which last formed one of the twelve states into which the whole world (China) was shortly after divided. These 'southern regions' seem to have been very extensive, and were subsequently known by different names, as Keaou-che, Keaou-chow, Ling-nan, Kwang-chow, Nan-hae, Nan-yue, Pih-yue, Yue, and *Yue-tung*. This latter name is often used in classical writings and official documents, at the present time, to designate the province of Canton.

During the time of the *Shang* dynasty, which fell 1123, B. C. the inhabitants of these southern regions first began to pay tribute to the emperors of China. Soon after the next, the *Chow* dynasty, took the throne, the empire was extended; many improvements were introduced; the people began to engage in agriculture; and when the "son of heaven receiv-

ed tribute from the four quarters of the earth," some of the tribes of Keaou-chow (which then included Canton,) "brought crabs and frogs, others brought snakes and crickets." These southern tribes were often very troublesome to the rulers of China. About 630 B. C. Ching-wang-yung, a virtuous and benevolent man, became master of the country of Tsoo, and sent tribute to the emperor, who directed him to subdue his disorderly neighbors on the south, that they might not disturb the tranquility of the middle kingdom. Tsoo was then a powerful state, and the tribes of the south soon submitted.

The historians of Canton are able to trace the origin of their city to the time of Nan-wang, one of the last emperors of the Chow dynasty, who reigned 2000 years ago. The city, which was then called Nan-woo-ching—"the martial city of the south," was surrounded by nothing more than a kind of a stockade composed of bamboo and mud; and perhaps was not very much unlike some of the modern "strong holds" of the Malays. It was at first of narrow dimensions, but was afterwards enlarged, and seems to have been more than once removed from one place to another; and at different times, like the country itself, it has been called by different names, which it received either from its situation or from some passing occurrence. One of its earliest names, and one which is still used in books, was *Yang-ching*, "the city of rams." This designation was obtained from the following occurrence, *viz:* Five genii, clothed with garments of five different colors, and riding on rams of five different colors, met at the capital; each of the rams bore in his mouth, a stalk of grain having six ears, and presented them to the people of the district, to whom the genii thus spake:—

> Yuen tsze hwan hwae, yung woo hwang ke:
> May famine and dearth never visit your markets.

Having uttered these words, they immediately disappeared, and the rams were changed into stone. From this same occurrence, the city is also called "the city of genii," and "the city of grain; and one of their temples is named "the temple of the five genii." This temple stands near one of the gates of the city which is called "the gate of the five genii;" and in it the five stone rams are to be seen to this day. There are many other legends interwoven with the history of the city, but we need not stop here to narrate them

During the reign of the famous Tsin-che-wang, about two centuries and a half before the christian era, the people of the south rose in open rebellion, and the emperor sent thither 500,000 men to subdue them. These soldiers were divided into five armies, one of which was stationed at *Pwan-yu.* For three full years these soldiers neither relaxed their discipline, nor put off their armor. At length however, provisions failed: the people became desperate, and made a furious onset against their invaders; the imperial troops were routed; their commander slain, and the blood flowed several tens of *les*, or Chinese miles. But these rebellious tribes shortly after submitted to the founder of the *Han* dynasty, two centuries before our era. In the time of Woo-te, Nan-yue included nine of the thirty-six keuns, or principalities, into which China was then divided; and the city of Canton was called Nan-hae-keun, "the principality of Nan-hae; and *Pwan-yu*, was a distinct heen.

In the reign of Keen-gan, A. D. 210, we first meet with *Kwang-chow,* which was then the name of an extensive territory, and is now the name of the foo district which includes the city of Canton. During the two next centuries the changes and divisions were very frequent, and too numerous to be mentioned. In the time of Teen-keen,—or Woo-te, "the martial monarch"—whose reign closed A. D. 543, the people of Canton sent a piece of *fine cloth* as tribute to the emperor; but that hardy warrior was so displeased with its luxurious softness that he rejected it, and issued a mandate forbidding the manufacture of any more cloth of so fine a quality. During the reign of the same emperor, Kwang-chow was divided; and a part of it was called Kwei-chow, which is now Kwei-lin, the capital of the province of *Kwang-se.* In this division the Chinese find the origin of the names of the two *Kwang* provinces, namely, *Kwang-tung-sang*, or "the wide eastern province;" and *Kwan-se sang*, "the wide western province." It should be observed here, that this province was not actually called Kwang-tung-sang until a subsequent period. We first meet with the name Kwang-tung in the reign of Shaou-ting, of the Sung dynasty, about 1150. During the reign of the next emperor, and so until the close of the dynasty, it was called Kwang-tung *loo;* under the Yuen dynasty it was called Kwang-tung *taou*; and

received its present name, Kwang-tung *sang* in the reign of Hung-woo, the first emperor of the Ming dynasty. It was at the same time also (about A. D. 1368,) that Kwang-chow, the principal district of the province, was first called a *foo*; previously it had been usually called Kwang-chow *loo*.

For three or four centuries previous to this time, considerable intercourse was maintained between the inhabitants of India and the people of Canton. But it was not until about A. D. 700, and in the time of the *Tang* dynasty, that a regular market for foreign commerce was opened at Canton, and an imperial commissioner appointed to receive the "fixed duties" in behalf of the government. "Extraordinary commodities and curious manufactures began to be introduced;" and in 705 the famous pass was cut by Chang-kew-ling, through the Meiling chain in order to facilitate intercourse between Canton and the more northern parts of the empire. Multitudes of trading vessels now flocked to Canton; but in 795, either because the extortions were insupportable, or from some failure in affording proper inducement to the merchants, they all deserted the place and repaired to Cochin-china. Near the close of the next century, the Cochin-chinese came by land, and made war on Canton; provisions became scarce, and large vessels were built to bring grain from the province of Fuh-keen.

After the fall of the Tang dynasty, A. D. 906, there arose, reigned and fell, all within the period of about fifty-three years, five dynasties. To the first of these the people of Canton sent tribute of gold, silver, ivory, and various other valuable commodities, to the amount of five millions of tales. In consequence of this, the emperor created Lew-yen, the principal person concerned in sending the tribute, king of Canton, under the title of *nan-hae-wang*, "king of the southern sea." The court of Canton is represented, at this time, as having been cruel and extravagant in the extreme; "criminals were boiled and roasted, and flayed, and thrown on spikes, and were forced to fight with tigers and elephants." The horrid tale of these awful cruelties shocked the founder of the *Sung* dynasty, who in the fourteenth year of his reign, A. D. 964, declared it to be his duty to rescue from evil the people of this region. A prodigy was now seen in the heav-

ens, "all the stars flowed to the north;" and in the ensuing year the people obtained peace and tranquility.

The first emperors of the Sung dynasty appear to have studied much the welfare of Canton, whose inhabitants then lived in a very barbarous state. Witches and wizards were prohibited; sorcery was interdicted; and the temples, which had been built for the practise of superstitious rites, were thrown down by order of government. The people were forbidden also "*to kill men to sacrifice to demons*;" and to relieve the sufferers from the noxious diseases which were prevalent, dispensaries of medicines were established. Useless and extravagant articles of apparel were discountenanced; and pearls and ornaments of gold for head dresses were disallowed. Government likewise forbade expeditions against Cochinchina, reprobating the idea of distressing the people from a mere covetous desire of gaining useless territory. In 1067, during the reign of the fifth emperor of this dynasty, the city of Canton was inclosed by a wall, at an expense of 50,000 taels. This wall was about two English miles in circumference, and was built for a defence against the people of Cochinchina, who had frequently invaded and plundered Canton.

The founders of the *Yuen* dynasty, who became masters of the throne in 1279, rushed in upon the south of China like bloodhounds. Towns and villages were laid in ruins, and such multitudes of the people were slain, that "the blood flowed in sounding torrents." For a time the foreign commerce of Canton was interrupted; but when peace and tranquility were restored, commerce began again to revive. In 1300, an "abundance of vessels came to Canton;" and not long afterwards the ports of the provinces of Che-keang and Fuh-keen were also opened for the reception of foreign ships.

Fernao Peres de Andrade seems to have been the pioneer in European commerce to China by the cape of Good Hope. He reached Canton in 1517, during the peaceful and most prosperous times of the *Ming* dynasty. Spanish, Dutch, and English adventurers, soon followed the Portuguese. And the ports of Canton, Macao, and Teen-pih in this province; those of Ning-po and Chusan in Che-keang; and that of Amoy in Fuh-keen, became large marts for European commerce.

We pass now to the time when the present Tartar family gained possession of the throne of China. In the third year of Shunche, A. D. 1647, the inhabitants of the city and province of Canton "had rest and tranquility;" and the divisions and government continued as they had been during the time of the preceding reign. But this quiet state of affairs was not long to be enjoyed. Yung-leih, endeavoring to revive the authority of the Ming family, raised the standard of rebellion: imperial armies, composed partly of Tartar and partly of Chinese soldiers, were dispatched from Peking; and the provinces of Fuh-keen, Kwang-se and Kwang-tung, soon submitted—excepting only the city of Canton, which resolved to try the fortune of war. The place was well prepared for defence, and the people for obstinate resistance. The river on the south, and the ditches on the east and west of the city, rendered it accessible to the enemy only on the north; for the Tartars "had neither boats nor skill to manage them, but the city had both the one and the other," and a free navigation of the river southward to the sea. The garrison of the city too was strengthened by great numbers who fled hither for safety. For more than eleven months the Tartars continued to make frequent assaults, and were as often repulsed and driven back with great slaughter. The final capture of the city is described by Martin Martini, a jesuit who was at that time in the south of China, in the following words:—

"This courage (of the people of Canton) made the Tartars fall upon a resolution of beating down the walls of the city with their great cannon, which had such an effect, that they took it on the 24th of November, 1650; and because it was remarked that they gave to a prefect of the city the same office he had before, it was suspected that it was delivered by treason. The next day they began to plunder the city; and the sackage continued till the fifth of December, in which they neither spared man, woman, nor child; but all whoever came in their way were cruelly put to the sword; nor was there heard any other speech, but *kill, kill these barbarous rebels*. Yet they spared some artificers to conserve the necessary arts, as also some strong and lusty men, such as they saw able to carry away the pillage of the city. But finally, December 6th, came out an edict, which forbade all further

vexation, after they had killed a hundred thousand *men*, besides those that perished several ways during the siege.

Native writers, while they differ very little from the above accounts, add other particulars, some of which we subjoin. The imperial troops were commanded by Shang-ko-he and Kang-ke-woo, two Tartar officers of high rank, who had orders first to subdue, and then to remain and govern the southern provinces. Of the rebels, Too-yung-ho was the commander-in-chief, who, as soon as he saw that the Tartars were victorious, deserted his men and fled by sea to Hainan. The second in command was Fan-ching-gan, the traitorous prefect, who by plotting with the enemy enabled them to enter the city. According to a manuscript account, the whole number of slain, during the siege and the plundering of the city, was 700,000; "every house was left desolate." The Tartars, after they had finished this work of death, took up their quarters in the old city, where they still live, and civil officers were appointed to reside in the new city. It is said, that in the old city only one house, built before the sacking of the city, is standing at the present time. The destruction of property, as well as life, was very great. All prospect of escaping with their treasures being cut off, many of the people dug holes in the ground and there deposited their money in earthen jars; these are sometimes found by persons when sinking wells or breaking up the old foundations of houses and temples.

From these ruins the city has gradually risen; and up to the present period, has increased in population, wealth, and influence. Bands of pirates and robbers, especially during those periods of misrule which generally attended a change of dynasties, have frequently harassed the people and embarrassed their commerce. Even to the present time, lawless rovers prowl in the neighborhood of the city, and often carry off property, and sometimes human victims; but they are too few and timid to hazard any open attack on the inhabitants. Foreigners have suffered very little from the depredations of these freebooters, and are even much more secure than the natives themselves.

Without further remarks relative to the history of this city, we now proceed to take a survey of it in its present condition. In every age of the world, and in every country, large cities

have exerted a powerful, controlling influence on the moral, political and commercial destinies of nations. This perhaps is true in its fullest extent in old and populous countries. The ancient cities of western Asia and of Egypt, and the metropolis of the Roman empire, did very much to promote civilization, and the cultivation of arts, sciences and literature. In modern Europe the influence of "*these worlds in miniature*," is very clearly seen. Take for example the cities of northern Italy. "In spite of their bloody contests with each other, and the vices to which these gave rise, they must be considered as having lighted the torch of modern civilization." Elsewhere, and in numerous instances, the same position is illustrated. Cities—comparatively speaking—rose rapidly; "and wealth, industry, knowledge and equal laws spread from them through Europe." In India the influence of large towns and cities is noticeable. In China it is more difficult for us to estimate accurately the kind and extent of power which they possess and exert. That it is very great, there can be no doubt. But whether Canton is on the whole exerting a salutary or an injurious influence on the Chinese empire, can best be determined after we have surveyed its extent, and the various institutions, resources, occupations and character of its inhabitants.

That part of the city which is surrounded by a wall is built nearly in the form of a square, and is divided by a wall running from east to west, into two parts. The northern, which is much the largest part, is called the *old city;* the southern part is called the *new city*. According to some foreign, as well as native books, the northern part was once "composed as it were, of *three* different towns, separated by very fine high walls, but so conjoined, that the same gate served to go out from the one and enter the other." These divisions ceased long ago to exist. The new city was built at a much later period than the old. The entire circuit of the wall which now includes both divisions of the city, is variously estimated by the Chinese. At a quick step we have walked the whole distance in little less than two hours, and think it cannot exceed *six* English miles. On the south side the wall runs nearly due east and west, parallel to the river, and distant from it perhaps fifteen or twenty rods. On the north, where the city "rests on the brow of the hill," the wall takes

a serpentine course; and its base at its highest point on the hill is perhaps 200 or 300 feet above the surface of the river.

The walls are composed partly of stone and partly of bricks: the former is chiefly coarse sand stone, and forms the foundation and the lower part of the walls and the arches of the gates; the latter are small and of a soft texture. In several places, particularly along the east side of the city, the elements have made such inroads on the walls as to afford satisfactory evidence, that before the prowess of a modern foe they would present but a feeble resistance. They rise nearly perpendicularly, and vary in height from twenty-five to thirty-five or forty feet. In thickness they are twenty or twenty-five feet. They are the highest and most substantial on the north side, evidently so built because in that direction hostile bands would be the most likely to make an attack. A line of battlements, with embrasures at intervals of a few feet, are raised on the top of the wall round the whole city; these the Chinese call ching-jin, literally, *city-men;* and in the rear of them there is a broad pathway. There are two "wings," or short walls, one at the south-east, and the other at the south-west corner of the city, which stretch out from the main walls; these were designed to block up the narrow space between the walls and the ditches of the city. Through each of these, there is a gate in every respect similar to those of the city.

The *gates* of the city are sixteen in number: four of these lead through the wall which separates the old from the new city; so that there are only *twelve* outer gates. Commencing on the north and passing round to the west, south and east, the following are the names of these twelve gates, *viz:*—

1. *Ching-pih mun:*—this is the principal gate on the north; before it, is a small semi-circular space surrounded by a wall similar to those of the city; it forms the entrance for government officers and the bearers of public dispatches when arriving from Peking by land: officers not unfrequently come to Canton in boats, in which case they usually make their entrance at one of the southern gates.

2. *Ching-se mun:*—this is the only gate on the west which leads into the *old* city; for a Chinese city this gate is very broad and high—perhaps fifteen feet wide and twelve high!

3. *Tae-ping mun*:—this is the only entrance into the new city on the west; it is similar to the other western gate, but not so large.

4. *Chuh-lan mun*:—this is a small gate, and the first one you find after passing round the south-west corner of the city; it is the nearest gate to the foreign factories.

5. *Yew-lan mun*:—this is near the chuh-lan gate, and like it seems designed chiefly for the conveyance of heavy merchandise into the city.

6. *Tsing-hae mun*:—this perhaps was intended to be the water gate, as both its situation and name seem to indicate.

7. *Woo-see mun*:—is "the gate of the five genii," and has nothing remarkable except its name.

8. *Yung-tsing mun*:—there is nothing around this "gate of eternal purity" that can indicate such a name, but very much to suggest an opposite one: it is moreover the gate which leads to the field of blood—the royal execution ground.

9. *Seaou-nan mun*:—this "small southern gate" is the sixth and last on the south of the city.

10. *Yung-gan mun*:—this "gate of eternal rest" leads into the new city on the east, and corresponds in every respect with the Tae-ping gate on the west.

11. *Ching-tung mun*:—this is the only gate on the east which leads into the *old* city, and it corresponds with the Ching-se mun on the west, to which it stands directly opposite.

12. *Seaou-pih mun*:—this "little northern gate" forms a convenient entrance for bringing in water and provisions, and also building materials, to supply the northern part of the city. Having now gone round the city we pass to the inner gates.

13. *Kwei-tih mun*:—reckoning from the west, this is the first gate in the wall which separates the old from the new city.

14. *Tae-nan mun*:—"the great southern gate," is the second.

15. *Wan-ming mun* is the third; and

16. *Ting-hae mun* is the fourth, and last gate.

Of these sixteen gates, the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 13th, as we have numbered them above, belong to the Nan-hae, and the other eight belong to the Pwan-yu district. A few soldiers are stationed at each of the gates, to watch them by day, and to close and guard them by night. They are shut at an early hour in the evening, and opened at dawn of day. Except on special occasions no one is allowed to pass in or out during the night watches: but a small fee will usually open the way, yet always exposes the keepers to punishment."

We must now extend our description so as to include the *suburbs;* the streets, and buildings of which, differ very little if at all, from those within the walls. On the west they spread out nearly in the form of an isosceles right angled triangle, opening to the north-west, having the river on the south, and the western wall of the city, for its two equal sides. On the south they occupy the whole space between the wall and the river. On the east they are much less extensive than on the west. There are no buildings on the north except a few small huts near the principal gate. Taken collectively, the suburbs are scarcely less extensive or less populous than the city within the walls.

The *streets* of Canton are numerous,—we have before us a catalogue containing the names of more than six hundred, among which we find the "dragon street;" the "flying dragon street;" the "martial dragon street;" the "flower street;" "the golden street;" the "golden flower street;" and among many more of a similar kind, we meet with a few which we should not care to translate. There are several long streets, but most of them are short, and crooked; they vary in width from two to sixteen feet, but generally they are about six or eight feet wide, and they are everywhere flagged with large stones, chiefly granite. The motley crowd that often throngs these streets is very great indeed. At a busy hour of the day, the stout, half naked, vociferating porters, carrying every description of merchandise, and the nimble sedan bearers, in noise and hustle make up for the deficiency of carts and carriages; these together with the numerous travellers, various kind of retailers, pedlers, beggars, &c. present before the spectator a scene which we shall not attempt to describe.

Not a few of the visitors, and not a little of the merchandise, brought together here, are conveyed into the city by means of canals, or *ditches*. There are several of these; one of the largest of them extends along the whole length of the wall on the east of the city, and another one on the west side. Between these two, and communicating with them, there is a third canal which runs along near the wall on the north side of the new city, so that boats can enter on the west, pass through the city, and out at the eastern side; and vice versa. There are other canals in the eastern and western suburbs: and one in the southern. Into these larger channels a great number of smaller ones flow: these the Chinese call the "veins of the city." There are also several reservoirs; but none of them are of great extent. Much of the water for the use of the inhabitants is supplied from the river and canals; wells are frequent; rainwater is employed also; and for tea, &c., fine, wholesome water is plentifully furnished from several springs, which break out on the north of the city, both within and without the walls. There are several bridges, some built of stone, thrown over these canals.

A MAP OF THE CITY AND SUBURBS OF CANTON.

In the absence of an accurate map of Canton, the accompanying one, executed by a native hand—we dare not say *artist*,—will afford a tolerable idea of the general plan and outline of the city. It is a facsimile of one of the best native maps, except only in the lettering, in which the Chinese character has been wholly omitted, and a few Roman letters, for convenience in reference, placed in their stead.

a a. These letters mark the situation of the *Choo-keang*, or Pearl river. A small fort, called the *French folly*, stands in the river a short distance from the south-east corner of the city; another fort, called the *Dutch folly*, stands further up the river: a little higher up are ledges of rocks, which at low water are seen above the surface. Beyond the foreign factories westward, several small canals branch off into the suburbs; but for a mile or two the river itself is nearly straight.

b. This letter points out on the map the situation of the *foreign factories* on the north bank of the river.

c. This letter marks the locality of the Mohammedan mosque, in the old city near the western gate; it stands erect, and not inclined as represented on the map.

d. A native pagoda. This stands north of the mosque, or Mohammedan pagoda, as it has often been called.

e. A lofty and conspicuous building called the five-storied pagoda; it stands on the north side of the city.

f. The Governor's house; it stands in the new city not far from the Yew-lan gate.

g. The Foo-yuen's house, which stands near the center of the old city.

h. House of the Tseang-keun or Tartar general; this is also in the old city, and not far from the two pagodas.

i. The house of the *Hoppo;* it is situated on the south side of the new city, a few rods east of the Tsing-hae gate.

k. House of the Heo-yuen, or literary chancellor of Canton; it is in the south part of the old city.

l. House of the Poo-ching-sze, or treasurer of the provincial revenue, near the center of the old city.

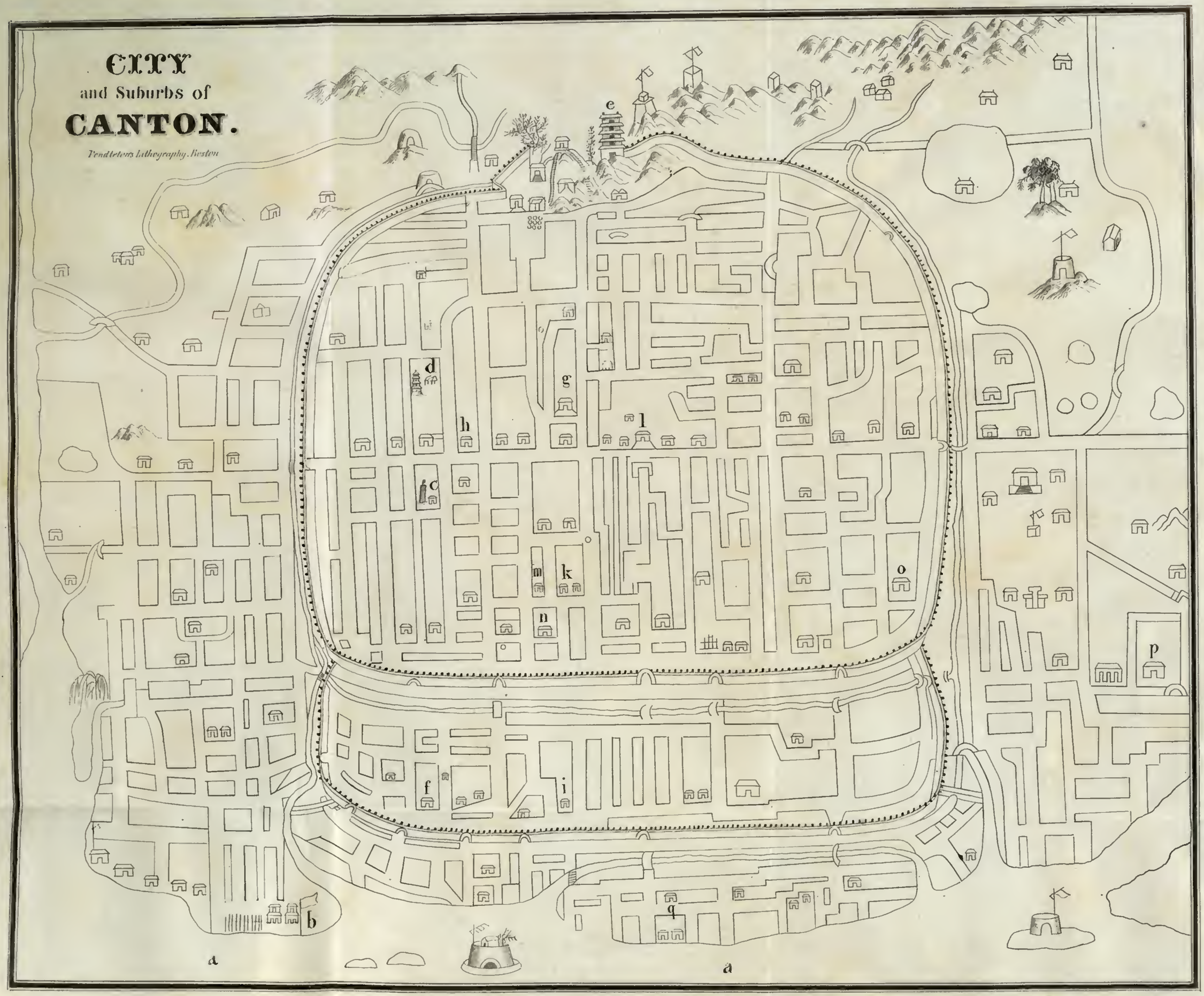
m. House of the Gan-cha-sze, or criminal judge of the province, near the house of the literary chancellor.

n. The house of the Yen-yun-sze, or superintendent of the salt department; it stands near the Kwei-tih gate.

o. Kung-yuen; a hall for the reception of literary candidates at the regular examinations; it stands near the south-east corner of the old city.

p. Yuh-ying-tang; a foundling hospital, on the east of the city, about half a mile from the walls.

q. Teen-tsze ma-taou; the execution ground; without the southern gates, near the river.


CITY
and Suburbs of
CANTON.
Pendleton's Lithography, Boston
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Necessity, which has always guided infant nations in their first efforts towards improvement, seems every where to have adapted her lessons to the circumstances of those who were to be instructed. Prompted by her suggestions, the ancient Egyptians and Greeks went on rapidly from one improvement to another; and, taking advantage of those advances, the nations of the west are at this moment moving forward with unexampled celerity and majesty, attracting universal attention, and conferring substantial good on all the families and kindreds of the earth.

It has been far otherwise with this nation. So far as necessity urged them, the Chinese went on quickly; but seldom have they ventured or desired to step beyond the limits which circumscribed the efforts of their remote ancestors; and they have been equally slow and unwilling to adopt or imitate the usages and improvements of "distant foreigners." This is a prominent characteristic of the Chinese, and one too in which they glory. Hence, without having much claim to originality, they are exceedingly unlike the nations of the west. In giving a description of this people, therefore, or of any thing that belongs to them, we are not to estimate either it or them by the criterion of European taste and usage. *Non disputandum de gustibus.* With the Chinese, the left takes precedence of the right, as the place of honor; and white instead of black is the appropriate badge of mourning. From the peculiar structure of their compass perhaps, which they call *che. nan chay*, "a chariot pointing towards the south," they do not number the cardinal points in our order, but always mention the south before the north, as in the following prosaic verse:—

> Yue nan pih, yue se tung:
> South and north, west and east.

And for north-west, &c., they say west-north, west-south. Without attempting to account for this contrariety, it is obvious to remark that the fact itself ought to be kept in mind, while surveying the various works, occupations, institutions, and habits of the Chinese.

It is generally supposed that the remote ancestors of this nation, in their migration eastward, dwelt in *tents:* their cir-

cumstances would require such habitations; and when they became stationary, their wants would prompt them to seek some more substantial covering from the heat and the storm. But the tent was the only model before them; and that they imitated it, their houses and temples and pagodas, built at the present day, afford abundant proof. The roof, concave on the upper side, and the veranda with its slender columns, show most distinctly the original features of the tent. In fact, the whole fabric of ordinary buildings is light and slender, retaining the outline of primeval simplicity. Those therefore who seek here for grand and stately edifices, built after the Grecian and Gothic models, will seek in vain. Barrow, after having visited the imperial palaces, and travelled from north to south, through the whole breadth of the empire, affirmed that all the buildings of the Chinese are "without elegance or convenience of design, and without any settled proportion, mean in their appearance, and clumsy in their workmanship." Macartney was much better pleased with their architecture; though it is "totally unlike any other, and irreconcileable to our rules," yet "it is perfectly consistent with its own, and upon the whole, it often produces a most pleasing effect; as we sometimes see a person, without a single good feature in his face, have, nevertheless, a very agreeable countenance."

In the buildings of Canton, we have doubtless as great a variety of structure and style, and as fair specimens of Chinese taste and art as can be found in the whole empire. A large part of the city and suburbs is built on low ground or flats. Special care, therefore, is requisite in order to secure for houses and temples a solid basis. Near the river, and in all the most loose or muddy situations, houses are raised on wooden piles, which make the foundation as secure as brick or stone, and perhaps even more so. In some cases the piles rise above the surface of the ground, and then the buildings, constructed of wood, rest directly on them; but in other instances the piles reach only within a few feet of the surface, and the remaining part of the foundation is made of mud, brick, or stone. When this is done, the walls of the houses are usually carried up and completed with the same material. Not a few of the houses are entirely baseless, or have only a slender foundation of mud, of which also their

walls are composed; and hence in severe rain-storms and overflowings of the river, such as have recently happened, many of the walls are prostrated.

Bricks are in most general use for the walls of houses; perhaps three-fifths of the whole city are built of this material: of the remaining part, a very large portion is constructed of mud; most of the Tartars in the old city are said to inhabit houses of this description. Stone and wood are not very extensively used for the walls of houses; the first is frequently employed about gateways and for door posts; and the second for columns, beams, and rafters. Many of the floors of houses and temples are formed of indurated mud: marble flags are sometimes used for the same purpose, and often tiles. These latter, when made very thin, are used for roofs; they are laid on the rafters "in rows alternately concave and convex, and forming ridges and furrows, luted by a cement of clay." Windows are small, and rarely supplied with glass; paper, mica, or shell, or some other similar translucent substance taking its place. Very little iron is employed in building houses.

All these materials for building are procurable here at moderate prices, and in great abundance. Wood, usually a species of the fir, is floated down the rivers, and brought to the city in large rafts. Bricks are made in the neighborhood of Canton, and are brought hither in boats, and sold at various prices from three to eight dollars a thousand. These bricks are chiefly of a leaden blue color, or of a pale brown; a few are red; these various tints are occasioned by the different modes of drying and burning them; the red bricks are the only ones that are thoroughly burnt; the leaden blue, are those which have been exposed to the action of the fire only for a short time; while those that have experienced no other heat than that of the sun, are pale brown. Excellent stone for building is found in the hill-country on the north of the province, and also in several of the islands south of the city. The stone is chiefly granite and sand-stone; of each there are several varieties.

Such is the general style, and such the usual material of the buildings of Canton. In passing through the streets of the city, the spectator is struck with the difference which he finds in its various buildings,—though this diversity does by no

means fully exhibit the relative condition and circumstances of the people. A few only are rich; and the external appearance of their houses does not at all exceed in elegance those of the middling class. Many are very poor; and the aspect of their habitations exhibits abundant evidence of their abject state. The poorest people are to be found in the extreme parts of the suburbs, along the banks of the canals, and in the northern part of the old city; their houses are mere mud hovels—low, narrow, dark, uncleanly, and without any division of apartments. A whole family of six, eight, or ten, and sometimes twice that number of individuals, is crowded into one of these dreary abodes. It is surprising that people can live, and enjoy health, and even long life, in these circumstances. To pass through the streets or lanes of such a neighborhood, is sufficient to reconcile a person to any ordinary condition of life. Neither intelligence nor industry could ever be confined in such miserable cells.

In habitations a little more spacious and cleanly than these perhaps one third part of the population of Canton have their abodes. These stand close on the streets, and have usually but a single entrance, which is closed by a bamboo screen suspended from the top of the door; within these houses there are no superfluous apartments: a single room allotted to each branch of the family, serves for a dormitory, while a third, which completes the number into which the whole enclosure is divided, is used by all the household as a common eating room. Chinese houses usually open towards the south; but in these, as also in the poorer kind, this favorite position is disregarded. Houses of this description are rented at four or five dollars a month.

Another class of dwellings, inhabited by a more wealthy but less numerous part of the community, are the residences of those in easy circumstances, who enjoy plenty, without any of the accompaniments of luxury. These houses, together with the plot of ground on which they stand, are surrounded by a wall twelve or fourteen feet high, that rises and fronts close on the street, so as completely to conceal all the buildings from the traveller as he passes by. Indeed, the prospect as you go along the narrow streets, which are lined with this description of houses, is very cheerless. But if allowed to enter some of those dwellings, more pleasing

scenes will open before you, different enough however from the home of your childhood. You would enter the outer enclosure through a large folding door into an open court, thence you would be conducted by a servant to the visitor's hall,—which is usually a small apartment furnished with chairs, sofas, tea-stands, &c. Here your host would meet you, and perhaps introduce to you the younger members of his family. These halls are open on one side; and the others are commonly ornamented with carved work, or hung with various scrolls, presenting in large and elegant characters the moral maxims of their sages, or perhaps exhibiting rude landscapes, or paintings of birds and flowers. The remaining part of the enclosure is occupied with the domestic apartments, a garden, and perhaps also a small school-room.

The houses of a few of the most opulent in Canton are in no respect inferior, except it may be in the space they occupy, to the imperial palaces. The family residences of some of those merchants who are licensed by government to trade with foreigners, furnish good specimens of this kind of buildings. The seat of the late *Consequa*, which is now half in ruins, was once superb; that of the present senior hong merchant is on a scale of great magnificence; "it is a villa, or rather palace, divided into suits of apartments, which are highly and tastefully decorated." The houses of the officers of government, and also the numerous temples of the city, need not be particularized in this place;—suffice it to remark, that they are usually more spacious than private dwelling-houses, and that at present most of them are in very ordinary condition.

Very few of the houses or temples of Canton have more than one story, the halls of which are usually of the whole height of the fabric, without any concealment of the beams or rafters of the roof. Terraces are often built above the roofs; and when surrounded by a breast-work, afford in the cool of the day a pleasant and secure retreat, where people can ascend to enjoy a purer air, to secure a wider prospect, or to witness any event that transpires in the neighborhood. These terraces are not, perhaps, very unlike the *flat roofs* of other orientals. In some other points also there is a coincidence between the houses of the Chinese and those which are noticed in sacred literature. Referring to these latter buildings,

professor Jahn, in his Biblical Archaeology says: 'the gates not only of houses, but of cities, were customarily adorned with an inscription, which was to be extracted from the law of Moses; a practice in which may be found the origin of the *modern* Mezuzaw, or piece of parchment inscribed with sacred texts, and fastened to the door-posts. The gates were always shut, and one of the servants acted the part of a porter. The space immediately inside the gate is called the porch, is square, and on one side of it is erected a seat for the accommodation of those strangers, who are not to be admitted into the interior of the house. From the porch we are introduced, through a second door into a court, which is commonly paved with marble, and surrounded on all sides, sometimes, however only on *one*, with a peristyle or covered walk, over which, if the house have more than one story, there is a gallery of the same dimensions, supported by columns and protected by a balustrade. In this court, large companies are received, at nuptials, &c. On such occasions, a large veil of thick cloth is extended by ropes over the whole court, to exclude the heat of the sun. The back part of the house is allotted to the women, and is called in Arabic, the harem, and in Hebrew by way of eminence, *the palace*. Behind the harem there is a garden, into which the women enjoy the pleasure of looking from their apartments. In the smaller houses the females occupy the upper story. This is the place assigned them also by Homer in the Iliad and Odyssey.'

Now, in the buildings of the Chinese, the various inscriptions seen on their door-posts; the porter at the outer gate, and the porch and court within; the peristyle with its columns, and perhaps a gallery above, and the palace *kin-te* or "forbidden ground" with its garden, have a striking resemblance to those in the above description. The inner apartments of the emperor are in like manner called by way of eminence, *kung-teen* or "the palace."

We pass now to notice the *government* of Canton. Here, as every where else throughout the wide dominions of the Mantchou-chinese, all power emanates from the one man, who, enthroned on the 'dragon's seat,' is honored as the vicegerent of 'high heaven.' Hence, the present line of monarchs have not been satisfied with the dignity of sove-

reigns, but have laid claim to the character of sages. "The sovereign of men," say they, "is heaven's son; nobles and statesmen are the sovereign's children; and the people are the children of nobles and statesmen. The sovereign should serve heaven as a father; never forgetting to cherish reverential thoughts, but exerting himself to illustrate his virtue, and looking upwards receive from heaven the vast patrimony which it confers; thus the emperor will daily increase in felicity and glory. Nobles and ministers of state, should serve their sovereign as a father; never forgetting to cherish reverential thoughts; not harboring covetous and sordid desires; not engaging in wicked and clandestine plots, but faithfully and justly exerting themselves; thus their noble rank will ever be preserved. The people should never forget to cherish reverential thoughts towards the nobles and ministers of state; to obey and keep the laws; not to excite secret or open sedition: not to engage in insurrection or rebellion;—then no great calamity will befall their persons."

In accordance with these views, a spacious hall, called *wan-show-kung*, is dedicated to the emperor in the capital of every province of the empire. The walls and all the appurtenances, of these halls are *yellow*, which is the imperial color. In Canton, the wan-show-kung stands near the southeast corner of the new city, within the walls. It is used solely for the honor of the emperor and his family; and annually, three days before and three days after the imperial birth-days, all the officers of government, both civil and military, together with the principal inhabitants of the city, assemble in it, and there pay him adoration. The same solemnities are required on these occasions, as would be were he present. No seats are allowed in the sacred place; and every one that goes thither takes with him a cushion, upon which he sits cross-legged on the ground. So much is done for *absent* majesty.

The principal of those officers who hold authority in the city, we will mention here in their order.

1. *Tsung-tuh*:—this officer is styled *leang kwang tsung-tuh*, or "the governor of the provinces of Kwang-tung and Kwan-se." He is clothed with high authority, and in many cases acts independently of all the other officers within the limits of his jurisdiction; usually however he acts in concert,

and confers with those, who like himself, have been commissioned and sent hither from the Capitol. He cannot originate and carry into execution any new law or regulation without the sanction of the emperor; he is required to act according to precedents and existing statutes. In certain cases, pointed out by law, he, together with the *foo-yuen*, can inflict immediate death. New regulations are frequently proposed to the emperor by the governor and his council, and when these have received the imperial sanction, (which they almost always do,) they have the force of law. The governor is, ex-officio, an honorary president of the supreme tribunal of war at Peking; and occasionally, also, a member of the imperial cabinet.

His commands are most peremptory, and his authority is never to be slighted or resisted with impunity. His responsibility too, is very great; he is held accountable to his majesty for the good management of all affairs in the two provinces—nay, almost for the prosperity of the people, and the fruitfulness of the seasons. Every calamity occasioned by fire, water, drought, earthquake, locusts, or by whatever means it may occur, he must faithfully report to the emperor and to the supreme tribunals, on penalty of being dismissed from office. Any real or supposed deficiency in his capacity or conduct, subjects him to the severest punishment. Witness the late governor *Le*; who, during the last year, for the "untoward affair" at Leen-chow, was deprived of all rank and honors, put in chains, imprisoned, condemned, and sent into remote banishment. In case of fires breaking out in the provincial city, when more than ten houses are consumed, the governor is fined nine month's pay; if more than thirty houses are burnt, he forfeits one year's salary; if three hundred are burnt, he is degraded one degree. Fires occurring in the suburbs do not subject him to the same punishment.

All the principal officers of Canton, and also a few of the most respectable private citizens, frequently wait on his excellency. These "calls" are visits of business or ceremony, according to circumstances, and more or less frequent, according to the disposition of the parties. On certain occasions, such as the arrival of a new governor, all the civil and military officers of both provinces are required to send to him "an accurate and perspicuous" account of themselves, their term

of service, and the condition of their respective districts. But "whoever of the superior or inferior officers, with their advisers, or the salt or hong merchants, or any other persons, shall represent that he is intimate with me," said one of the late governors, "and in my confidence; or if persons shall write to each other to this effect, or shall suffer themselves to be thus deceived,—they shall all be arrested and brought to trial: and those who conceal such things shall be considered equally guilty with those who commit them.

All ultimate appeals in the two provinces are made to the governor. At the gate of his palace are placed six tablets, on which are written appropriate inscriptions for those who wish to appeal to his authority; the *first* is for those who have been wronged by covetous, corrupt, or sordid officers; the *second* is for those who have suffered by thieves and robbers; the *third*, for such as have been falsely accused; the *fourth*, for those who have been injured by swindlers and gamesters; the *fifth*, for such as have suffered by wicked persons of any description; and the *sixth*, is for those who wish to give information concerning any secret schemes or machinations. On the 3d and 8th, 13th and 18th, 23d and 28th days of each month, the people are allowed to take these tablets in their hands, and to enter one of the outer apartments of the palace, where they may in person present their complaints to his excellency. This mode of procedure is seldom adopted. To send or carry up a petition to his gate, is the most common method of seeking redress from the hands of the governor. When all these means fail, an appeal may be made to Peking. This mode of appeal by entering the gates of the magistrate, is allowed also at the offices of the foo-yuen and *an-cha-sze*.

The governor's house stands in the new city, near the yew-lan gate; it is spacious and belongs to government. His salary is 15,000 *taels* annually; and it is generally believed, that his other emoluments, during the same period of time, amount to more than twelve times that sum,—although presents of every description to officers of government are disallowed. Loo-kwan, the present governor, is an aged man, and a native of one of the northern provinces. He seems to belong to that class of persons, who are fond of ease and pleasure, not very ambitious, but desirous that all

Nº 1

IHS

AQUI FOI SEPUL
TADO S. FRANCIS
CO XAVIER DAÇÃO
PANHIA DE IESUS
APLO DO ORIENTE

ESTE PADRÃO
SE LEVANTOU NO
ANNO
1639

O Padrão tem de altura seis covados Chinos pouco mais ou menos; de largura dois, de grossura quatro pontos.

大明

耶蘇會士泰西聖人範濟各沙
未爾於
嘉靖三十一年壬子之冬升天
真蹟
崇禎十二年己卯衆會友立碑

AQUI FOI SEPULTADO
SFRAN.co XAVIER DA
COMP.a DE IESUS APLO
DO ORIENTE
ESTE PADRÃO SELEVAN
TOU NO ANNO DE
1639

Pendleton's Lith. Boston

under their authority should know their places and perform their respective duties. He has about him a large number of persons; employed as advisers, secretaries, servants, &c. He has also attached to him a small number of troops, who serve for a body-guard, and at the same time constitute a part of the city police.

2. *Foo-yuen ;*—this officer, who is also called *seun-foo*, is usually styled by foreigners, 'lieut. governor;' he is second in authority in this province, to which his jurisdiction is confined. The title of *Choo*, the present foo-yuen, as it appears in governmental papers runs thus ;—*an attendant officer of the military board ; a member of the court of universal examiners ; an imperial censor ; patrolling soother of Canton ; a guide of military affairs ; and a controller of the taxes.*—Division of power, when it is to be entrusted to those who have been selected from the people, is the policy of the Mantchou family. The *foo-yuen* though second to the governor, is not under his control, and in certain cases acts independently of him. They often confer together, and in matters about which they cannot agree, they refer for a decision to Peking. He holds the *wang-ming*, 'king's order' or death warrant, by virtue of which, criminals, in cases of great emergency, can be put to the sword without a reference to the emperor. His residence is in the old city, in a palace built in the reign of Shunche by one of the Tartar generals who was sent hither to 'pacify' the rebellious subjects of the south. Choo is a native of Keang-soo, and a thorough-bred son of Han,—stern, resolute, and even obstinate ; rather careless about emoluments, a contemner of bribes, a terror to bandits, a hater of "divine vagabonds," respected by a few, and feared by all. In his person he is tall and well formed ; and his looks show that he has not "gone hither and thither" discharging the functions of public life without toil and anxiety. He rose from very humble circumstances, and has grown old in the service of his country ; he has now no family but one son, and he is a sorrow to his father. Like the governor, he has a small body of soldiers under his command, but the number of persons kept in his immediate employ is few ; and in his habits of living—we have his own word for it,—the patrolling soother is both economical and simple, and "an example to the people."

3. *Tseang-keun* :—this officer, usually denominated the Tartar general, is commandant of the Tartar troops of Canton, and is answerable for the defence of the city. In most cases he acts independently of the tsung-tuh and foo-yuen. The soldiers under his immediate command, except a small detachment stationed on the river, are quartered in the old city, where the general keeps his court and camp. He is always, we believe, a Mantchou, and not unfrequently a member of the imperial family. Subordinate to the tseang-keun there are two *foo-too-tungs*, or lieutenant-generals; and a great number of inferior officers, who rank as majors, captains, lieutenants, &c. &c. His house, which was built by Tsing-nan-wang, is said to exhibit some of the finest specimens of architecture that can be found in the provincial city.

4. *Hae-kwan keen-tuh* :—this functionary is known to foreigners, and is often addressed by them, as "*the Grand Hoppo of the Port of Canton.*" He is usually a member of the imperial household, and receives his appointment immediately from his majesty: as commissioner of customs, his jurisdiction is limited to the maratime commerce of Canton. Some further particulars of this department of government will be given when we come to speak of the commerce of the city.

5. *Heo-yuen* :—this is the highest literary officer in the province; he is usually called the literary chancellor of Canton. His office is one of very great influence and respectability, inasmuch as literary rank, of which by imperial appointment he is a judge and dispenser, is necessary for preferment to all civil offices in the state. He has a general supervision of all the public schools, and colleges, and literary examinations in the province. On some special occasions also, his authority extends to the military.

6. *Poo-ching-sze* :—this officer is the controller of the revenue of the province; and, under the foo-yuen, directs the appointment and removal of all the subordinate officers of the local government. The principal officers under him are, a *king-leih* or secretary, a *chaou-mo* or keeper of the seal, and a *koo ta-sze*, or keeper of the treasury.

7. *Gan-cha-sze*, or an-cha-sze :—this officer is criminal judge of the province; and all the principal criminal cases which occur within its limits are brought before him for trial.

Sometimes he sits in judgment alone; but in cases involving the life of the accused, he is usually assisted by the other chief officers of the province. At times also, he holds a degree of civil power in conjunction with the poo-ching-sze. The government posts, likewise, are under his control. Among other officers attached to this department of the provincial government, there is a *sze-yo*, who has the general control of the provincial prisoners; his rank and duties are similar to those of the keeper of a state prison.

8. *Yen-yun-sze*:—this officer has the superintendence of the provincial salt department. Under him there are a *yun-tung* who attends to the transportation of salt from one place to another, a secretary, a treasurer, and several other minor officers. The salt trade is a government monopoly, the duties upon which form an important branch of the imperial revenue. The trade is limited to a small number of licensed merchants, who are usually very rich, and are often called upon to make liberal grants for the support of the provincial government.

9. *Tuh-leang-taou*:—all the public granaries of the province are under the direction of this officer; and their superintendents are subject to his control and inspection. There are fourteen public granaries in and about the city of Canton. These are required to be kept filled, in order to furnish supplies for the people in times of scarcity.

10. *Kwang-chow-foo che-foo*, or magistrate of the department of Kwang-chow-foo. The title of this officer is often abridged, sometimes to Kwang-chow-foo, at others to Che-foo. *Kwang-chow* is simply the name of the foo. *Che-foo* means literally, "knower of the department (or foo,)" and denotes that it is the office or duty of this magistrate to be fully acquainted with the portion of territory over which he is placed. This foo, or portion of territory, to which we have given the name of *department*, has been otherwise translated "county." Either term is sufficient to denote, pretty nearly, what is the authority of an officer placed at the head of all the affairs of such a division of the province. There are numerous civil officers, stationed in various parts of the department, all of whom are under his immediate inspection. This officer has under his authority a *sze-yo*, whose duties, as superintendent of the prisoners of the department, are similar to those of the chief jailor of a county prison.

11. *Nan-hae-heen che-heen* :—this officer is subordinate to the che-foo ; and is to the district of Nan-hae, what the che-foo is to the department of Kwang-chow. As *che-heen*, he is required to know all the affairs of the district. The department of Kwang-chow is divided into fourteen heens or districts ; of which Nan-hae and Pwan-yu are two of the principal ones, and include the city of Canton.

12. *Pwan-yu-heen che-heen* :—the rank and duties of this magistrate are the same in the district of Pwan-yu, as the last named officer's are in the district of Nan-hae. Their titles, like that of the che-foo, are commonly abridged ; thus, when speaking of the Nan-hae magistrate, the people usually say, *Nan-hae-heen* ; and, when it is not necessary to mention the district, they say simply, *che-heen*,—designating by each of these two phrases, the magistrate of the district of Nan-hae.

We have now mentioned and characterized, as far as our limits will admit and the nature of the subject requires, the principal of those officers who exercise authority in the city of Canton. The reader will doubtless find it difficult, as we have done, to determine the exact limits of their respective spheres, which like the course of the planets, often seem to intersect each other. At the first sight of so many bodies, all in motion within so narrow limits, we feel surprised that they do not immediately come into collision, destroy each other, and carry destruction through the whole empire. On closer inspection, however, we are able to discern some of the secret laws that govern this complicated system, preserve it in being, and keep it in motion. Two influences, the one military and the other literary, are perhaps the principal forces which regulate and control the measures of the Chinese government. Religion, which often has a gigantic power over governments, is here blended with civil and state ceremonies, and exerts but a feeble, and that usually a most baneful influence on the political destinies of the nation.

All the officers enumerated in the foregoing list, excepting the two che-heens, the che-foo, and the tseang-keun, are general officers,—their jurisdiction extending to all other parts of the province, as well as over the metropolis. There are likewise two other officers, commanders-in-chief of the land and naval forces, who, like the other members of the provincial

government, act alone in certain cases, and sometimes in concert with the other general officers. The government is despotic as well as military; and so constructed that those who form the provincial government shall, while they enjoy a degree of independence, serve as mutual checks; and, at the same time, each superior officer be held responsible for those who are subordinate and accountable to himself. Even in the location of these officers there has been a cautious reference to "division and balance of power." For example; the tsung-tuh is stationed in the new city almost within a stones-throw of his majesty's most faithful "slave," the Hoppo; the foo-yuen and the tseang-keun are placed in similar position in reference to each other: and these two last are so located in the old city, that—should circumstances require, they could act against the two first in the new city.

The same principle is observable likewise, if we mistake not, in the disposition which is made of the troops. The whole land and naval force throughout the province has been estimated at *(nominally)* about 100,000 men; all of whom are with fixed limitations, under the control of the governor; he has however the immediate and sole command of only 5000; and these are stationed at a distance from the city. On all ordinary occasions, except when he goes to a distance from Canton, he is escorted by a detachment from the *kwang-chow-hee*, (the chief military officer of Kwang-chow,) which in the absence of his own troops, serves him for a body-guard, and constitutes at the same time a part of the police of the city. The foo-yuen has only 2000, at his command; while the tseang-keun has 5000, which, in an extreme case, would enable him to be master of the city. The proper seat of the governor is at Shaou-king-foo, several miles west of this city; but on account of the superior advantages of Canton, he is allowed to reside here; he cannot however bring his troops hither, lest, in conjunction with the foo-yuen, they should prove more than a match for the Tartar general-commandant and his 5000 fighting men. It should be remarked here, in passing, that no individual can hold an office in any province, department, or district of the empire, that includes the place of his nativity, or that extends within several hundred *le* of it.

The whole number of soldiers ordinarily quartered in the city does not probably exceed 7000. There are in the immediate vicinity of Canton a few small forts, and the city itself is intended to be a strong hold; but neither are in such a state that they could serve any very valuable purposes of defence. Even the late rain storm carried away one of the gates of the city, and opened a wide breach in the walls. Most of the forts are dismantled and defenceless, and present nothing more formidable than the frightful paintings of tiger's heads on the wooden lids which block up their port-holes. The two *follies*, which are situated in the river opposite to the city, are very fair specimens of the forts about Canton.—There are likewise for the defence of the city, what have been called cavalry and artillery; but of these we have heard little, and seen nothing. Of the Tartar troops, there are 200 *chosen men;* who, on state occasions, appear well clad and warlike. But generally the soldiers are badly equipped and poorly disciplined. All their armor and accoutrements, consisting of shields and helmets, bows and arrows, spears and javlins, short swords and matchlocks, seem ill fitted either for defence or attack. The heavy losses sustained by the troops of Canton, during the late highland war at Leen-chow, fully confirm these remarks; as do also recent imperial edicts, in which the soldiery are accused of idleness and lazy habits, and of "indulging in all the softness of civilians."

The police of the city is, on the whole, vigilant and efficient. Besides those who act in the capacity of constables, thief-takers, &c., and constitute the regular police, there are many neighborhoods, as well as private individuals, which make arrangements for a constant nocturnal watch. During the night, almost all the streets of the city are shut up by strong gates at each end; near one of which there is usually a guard house. The night-watches are distinguished by bells, or some similar instruments kept by the watchmen. In the winter months, when there is great danger from fire as well as thieves, watch-towers are built on bamboo poles, high above the roofs of the houses; thus constituting a double watch. When thieves are discovered, or when a fire breaks out in any part of the city, the alarm, by means of the watchmen, spreads quickly from one extremity of the city to the other. When riotous assemblies collect in the streets, they are, in most cases

speedily dissolved by a vigorous application of the bamboo or whip. Many, doubtless, "shove by justice," and to the day of their death go unpunished; yet the number who are arrested and brought to trial, annually, is very great. Justice is often administered in the most summary manner. Not unfrequently, in minor cases, the man receives the punishment and again goes free, the same hour in which he commits the crime.

The forms of trial are simple. There is no jury, no pleading. The criminal kneels before the magistrate, who hears the witnesses and passes sentence; he is then remanded to prison or sent to the place of execution. Seldom is he acquitted. When witnesses are wanting, he is sometimes tortured until he gives in evidence against himself. There are four jails in Canton; which together contain several hundred prisoners. The jail is called *te-yo*, HELL, or literally, earth's prison. All capital offenders suffer just without the southern gates, near the river. Hundreds die there annually. When brought to the fatal spot, they kneel with their faces towards the emperor's court, and bending forward in the attitude of submission and thanksgiving, suddenly expire beneath the bloody sword of the executioner.

The *literary institutions* of China, are the pillars that give stability to the government. Her military forces are utterly inadequate to hold together the numerous and extensive provinces and territories that constitute the wide dominions of the reigning dynasty. With great difficulty the Tartar troops overrun the country—conquering province after province, and gradually extending their authority over the territories on the west of China Proper. But for a long period both the discipline and the energies of the Chinese soldiery have been on the wane; and at this moment the imperial hosts presents nothing formidable but their numerical amount;—the recent insurrections of Leen-chow and Formosa have afforded the most complete evidence of this imbecility. And not only in this part of the empire, but along the whole coast up to the great wall on the north, and even beyond that in Mantchou Tartary, both the land and naval forces have become so exceedingly enervated and dissolute, that they exercise no salutary influence or control,—except it may be over a few who are equally debased with

themselves. As police-men, in the capacity of lictors, thief-takers, and executioners, they are not less detested than feared by the common people. They are in fact, for all purposes of defence, little better than *dead men;* nay, were they stricken from the catalogue of the living, we can scarcely doubt that the stability of the empire would remain unimpaired.

Many there are who look with astonishment at the magnitude of this empire, and believe it strong and immoveable as the everlasting hills. But an examination of its history and present organization, would show them that it has been frequently rent and broken by rebel chieftains, ambitious statesmen, and haughty kings; and that its present greatness is chiefly attributable to its peculiar literary institutions. These, though they are the glory and strength of the nation, are, except for mere purposes of government, amazingly deficient; and it is their relative rather than their intrinsic value, that renders them worthy of special notice. Wealth and patronage have great influence here; they often control the acts of government, stay the course of justice, cover the guilty, and confer honors and emoluments on those who deserve them not. But as a general rule, *learning*, while it is an indispensable pre-requisite for all those who aspire to places of trust and authority in the state, is sure to command respect, influence and distinction. Thus, without the dreadful alternative of overthrowing the powers that be, a way is opened to the ambitious youth, by which he may reach the highest station in the empire, the throne only excepted. Usually the most distinguished statesmen are those who have risen to eminence by intellectual efforts; and they are at once the philosophers, the teachers, and rulers of the land. These distinctions they cannot maintain, however, without yielding implicit obedience to the will of the monarch, which is most absolute and uncontrolled. Let them honor and obey the power that is over them, and they stand—dependent indeed on the one hand, but on the other—in proud and envied distinction. High rank in the state is the brightest glory to which this people aspire; and with them learning derives its chiefest value from the simple fact that it brings them within the reach of that dazzling prize.

Strict examinations, regulated by a fixed code of laws, have been instituted and designed solely to elicit from the body of the community the "*true talent*" of the people, with the ulterior intention of applying it to purposes of government. At these examinations, which are open to all, except menial servants, lictors, play-actors, and priests, it is determined who shall rise to distinction and shed glory back on their ancestors, and forward upon their posterity; and who shall live on in obscurity; and die and be forgotten. The competitors at the Olympic games never entered the arena before the assembled thousands of their countrymen, with deeper emotion, than that which agitates the bosoms of those who contest the palm at these literary combats. The days on which they are held, and their results published in Canton, are the proudest which its inhabitants ever witness. — A brief notice of them may be interesting to the reader, and at the same time enable him to understand more fully the nature and object of the schools and colleges of the provincial city.

The highest literary examinations in the empire are triennial, and take place at Peking. Beside these stated, there are also other occasional examinations, which are granted by special favor of the emperor. Up to these contests, the most distinguished scholars go from all the provinces. This privilege is not gained without long, patient, and successful endeavor; the examinations, at which it is determined who shall enjoy it, occur also triennially, and are held in the metropolis of each province. These examinations are of incomparable interest to great multitudes of the people in every department and district of the empire. High honors, rich emoluments, and, in a word, every thing that the young aspirant and his numerous kindred most esteem, are at stake. A long season of preparation has been endured; heavy expenses incurred; and now the decisive hour approaches.

Two examiners are chosen from the distinguished officers at Peking, under the immediate superintendence of the emperor. They must leave the capital within five days after they are chosen. They are allowed the use of the post-horses belonging to government. Upon those who come to Canton six hundred taels are conferred to defray their expenses while on the road; two hundred of which are paid

when they commence their journey from Peking; and the remainder, by the governor of the province, when they are about to return after the examination is completed. These are assisted by ten other examiners, who are selected from the local officers, over whom the *foo-yuen* presides. Besides these there are many inferior officers, who are employed as inspectors, guards, &c. All these, together with the candidates, their attendants, &c., amounting to 10,000 and upwards, assemble at the *Kung-yuen*, a large and spacious building designed solely for these occasions. It contains numerous apartments, so that each candidate may be seated separate from his competitors. All of the seats are numbered. The apartments are low and narrow, and have only a single entrance, and no furniture except a chair and a narrow writing desk.

The number of candidates who assemble in Canton is between seven and eight thousand. They are often attended by their friends, and continue here for several weeks, and sometimes for months; during which time the hum and bustle of the city is greatly increased, and every kind of mercantile business receives a new impulse. These candidates are always persons of some distinction, which they must have gained, either at previous examinations or by the payment of large sums of money. They are all called *sew-tsae*, — a title not unlike that of master of arts; but they are divided into several classes, and those who have purchased their degree are often despised by the others, and are generally regarded with less respect than those who have gained it by their own merits. They meet now on equal terms, and their 'true ability' is to be determined by personal efforts, which are to be made during a given period and under given circumstances.

The candidates assemble on the 8th moon; but none are allowed to enter the examination except those who have been previously enrolled by the literary chancellor of the province. The age, features, place of residence, and lineage of each candidate must be given in the chancellor's list; and a copy of it lodged in the office of the foo-yuen. They must all attend at the examinations in their native province; and those who give in a false account of their family and lineage, or place of nativity, shall be expelled and degraded; — for

no candidate can be admitted at any place, without proving that his family has been resident there for three generations.

The examination continues for several days, and each student must undergo a series of trials. The first trial is on the 9th of the moon; the second, on the 12th; and the third, on the 15th. The candidates are required to enter their apartments, on the day preceding the examination, and are not allowed to leave them until the day after it is closed. Thus they must pass two nights in close and solitary confinement. On the first day of their examination, *three* themes, which are selected from the '*Four books*,' are proposed to them, and they are required to give the meaning and scope of each; and a *fourth* theme, on which they must compose a short *poem in rhyme*. On the second day, a theme is given them from each of the '*Five classics;*' and on the third day, five questions, which shall refer to the history or political economy of the country, are given them. The themes must be sententious, and have meaning which is refined and profound. They must not be such as have often been discussed. Those which are given out for poetry, must be grave and important. In the themes for essays on political economy, the chief topics must be concerning things of real importance, the principles of which are clear and evidently of a correct nature. "There is no occasion to search and enquire into devious and unimportant subjects." All questions concerning the character and learning of statesmen of the present dynasty, as well as all topics which relate to its policy, must be carefully avoided.

The paper on which the themes and essays are written is prepared with great care; and must be inspected at the office of the poo-ching-sze. It is a firm, thick paper; and the only kind that may be used. The price of it is fixed by authority. The number of characters, both in the themes and essays, is limited. The lines must be straight; and all the characters full and fair. At the close of every paper, containing elegant composition, verses, or answers to questions, it must be stated by the student how many characters have been blotted out or altered; if the number exceeds one hundred, the writer is *tsee chuh*, 'pasted out:'—which means, that his name is pasted up at the gate of the hall, as having violated the rules of the examination, and he is forthwith excluded from that

year's examination. There are usually a hundred or more persons at every examination in Canton, subject to this punishment, for breaking this or some other of the regulations.

The candidates are not allowed "to get drunk and behave disorderly" during the examination. All intercourse of civility between the examiners and the friends and relations of the students must be discontinued; and there must be no interchange of letters, food, &c. On entering the outer gate of the *kung-yuen*, each candidate must write his name in a register kept for that purpose; and if it is afterwards discovered that the name was erroneously written, then the officer superintending the register, shall be immediately arrested and delivered over to a court of inquiry; and if it shall be ascertained that the student has employed any person to compose his essays for him, or if he is found guilty of any other similar illegality, both he and his accomplices shall be tried and punished. Moreover, the student on entering the hall of examination must be searched; and if it be discovered that he has with him any precomposed essay, or miniature copy of the classics, he shall be punished by wearing the wooden collar, degraded from the rank of sew-tsae, and forever incapacitated to stand as a candidate for literary honors; and the father and tutor of the delinquent shall both be prosecuted and punished.

All the furniture and utensils, such as the writing desks, inkstands, &c., in the apartments where the students write their essays, must be searched; and also each and all of the managers, copyists, attendant officers, servants, porters, &c. &c. If in any manner a learned person, who is to decide on the papers, be admitted to the apartments of the students, dressed as a servant, he shall be punished, and the chief examiner delivered over to a court of inquiry. A watch composed of military officers and soldiers, is maintained day and night both in the inner and outer courts of the hall; and if any of these men are guilty of conveying papers to the candidates, concealed with their food, or in any other way, they shall be punished. There are many other regulations and precautions which have been adopted to prevent fraud: but we have given enough to show something both of the interest which gathers around these examinations, and of the schemes

which are formed to gain distinction without the toil and fatigue of hard study.

Of the thousands of candidates assembled at these examinations in Canton, only seventy-one can obtain the degree of *Keu-jin;* the names of these are published by a proclamation, which is issued on or before the 10th of the 9th moon, and within twenty-five days after the examination is closed. This time is allowed the examiners to read the essays and prepare their report. The proclamation, which contains the names of the successful candidates, after it has received its appropriate signatures, is pasted up on the office of the foo-yuen. At a given hour, three guns are fired; and the foo-yuen at the same time comes forth from his palace accompanying the official paper; it is forthwith pasted up, and again a salute of three guns is fired; his excellency then advances and bows three times towards the names of the 'promoted men' (Keu-jin;) and finally retires under another salute of three guns.

Ten thousand anxious minds are now relieved from their long suspense. Swift messengers are dispatched by those who have won the prize to announce to their friends the happy result of the long trial which they have undergone; and while the *many* return with disappointment to their homes, the successful *few* are loaded with encomiums and congratulations, and their names with their essays sent up to the emperor. To crown the whole, a banquet is prepared for these newly promoted men; and the examiners, and all the civil officers of rank in the province join in these festivities. Gold and silver cups for the occasion must be provided by the provincial treasurer. The chief examiner from Peking presides; the foo-yuen, at whose palace the banquet is given, and who is present as visitor, is seated on his right, and the assistant examiner on his left. The governor of the province is also present; a train of inferior officers wait as servants, and two lads, dressed like *naiads*, holding in their hands branches of olive, grace the scene with a song from their ancient classics.

There are three other examinations in Canton, which occur twice in three years, and are attended by great numbers of aspirants. At the first, which is attended by the students of Nan-hae and Pwan-yu, the che-heens preside; at the second, which is attended by candidates from all the districts of

Kwang-chow-foo, the che-foo presides; but the third is conducted by the literary chancellor of the province, whose prerogative it is to confer the degree of *sew-tsae* upon a limited number of the most distinguished competitors. These are preparatory to the triennial examination, and inferior to it in interest; they need not therefore be further particularized. It may be remarked, however, in passing, that they are open to persons of all ages; and a case very recently occurred, where a hoary head of eighty, accompanied by a son and grandson, attended the examination; all of them were candidates for the same literary honors.

To qualify the young for these examinations, and thereby prepare them for rank and office in the state, is a leading object of the higher schools and colleges among the Chinese. But a great majority of the schools in Canton are designed only to prepare youth for the common duties of private life. These latter, as well as many of the higher schools, are *private* establishments. And though there are teachers appointed by government in all the districts of the empire, yet there are no public or charity schools for the benefit of the great mass of the community. Whatever may be his object and final destination, almost every scholar in Canton commences his course at some one of the private schools. These, among the numerous inhabitants of this city, assume a great variety of form and character, according to the peculiar fancy of individuals. The opulent, who are desirous of pushing forward their sons rapidly, provide for them able teachers, who shall devote their whole time to the instruction of two, three, or four pupils. A school of this description we have repeatedly visited, it is in a hall belonging to merchants from Ning-po, and is kept by an old man who has three lads under his care, one five, another seven, and a third, nine years old; he instructs them in the learned dialect, and the youngest has already made greater proficiency than is usually done by boys at the age of ten. Sometimes the inhabitants of a single street, or a few families who are related to each other, unite and hire a teacher and fit up a school-room, and each defrays a stipulated part of the expenses. At other times, the teacher publishes the rules and terms on which he will conduct his school, and seeks for scholars where ever he can find them.

Children are not generally sent to school until they are seven or eight years old: they enter, usually, for a whole year, and must pay for that term, whether they attend regularly or not. The wages of the teachers vary greatly: in some instances, (and they are not unfrequent in the country,) the lads pay only two or three dollars, but generally fifteen or twenty, per annum. When the teacher devotes his whole time to two or three pupils, he often receives a hundred dollars or more from each.

The ordinary school-room, with all its defects, presents an interesting scene. At the head of it there is a tablet, on which the name of the sage, "*the teacher and pattern for myriads of ages*" is written in large capitals; a small altar is placed before it, upon which incense and candles are kept continually burning. Every morning when the scholar enters the room, he bows first before the tablet and then to his teacher; the former is not merely a tribute of respect, but an act of worship, which he is taught, nay, compelled to pay to Confucius. The boys usually continue in school from six o'clock in the morning until six in the evening, except two or three hours which they are allowed for their meals. When in school they all study aloud; and each one raising his voice at the same time, and striving to out-do his fellows, the noise of the whole is very great. Upon those who are idle or disobedient, the teacher plies the *rattan* with woful severity. Every lesson must be committed perfectly to memory; and the lad who fails in this, is obliged to bow down and learn it upon his knees; and those who are the most incorrigible are made to kneel on gravel and small stones, or something of the kind, in order to enhance their punishment.

The *San-tse-king*, the famous "three character classic," is the first book which is put into the hands of the learner. Though written expressly for infant minds, it is scarcely better fitted for them, than the propositions of Euclid would be were they thrown into rhyme. But "it is not to be understood" at first; and the tyro, when he can rehearse it correctly from beginning to end, takes up the Four books and masters them in the same manner. Thus far the young learners go, without understanding aught, or but little of what they recite; and here, those who are not destined to a literary course, after having learned to write a few characters,

must close their education. The others now commence the commentary on the Four Books, and commit it to memory in the same way; and then pass on to the other classics. The study of arithmetic, geography, history, &c. forms no part of a "common-school" education.

The high schools and colleges are numerous; but none of them are richly endowed, or well fitted for the purposes of education. The high schools, which are *fourteen* in number, are somewhat similar to the private grammar schools in England and America; with this difference, that the former are nearly destitute of pupils. There are *thirty* colleges; most of which were founded many centuries ago. Several of them are now deserted, and are falling to ruins. Three of the largest have each about two hundred students, and, like the others, only one or two professors. We have sought long and diligently—but thus far in vain,—for some definite information concerning the existing discipline and regulations of these colleges; should we affirm that they are without rules and order, we should say what we do not doubt, but what we cannot prove. All those systems of instruction which have sprung up in modern times, and are now doing so much for the nations of the West, are here entirely unknown. There are, indeed, a few books in the Chinese language which contain excellent maxims on the subject of education, give numerous rules to facilitate the acquisition of knowledge, and detail systems of gymnastic exercises for the preservation of health.

Of the whole population of Canton, not more than one half are able to read. Perhaps not one boy out of ten is left entirely destitute of instruction; yet of the other sex not one in ten ever learns to read or write. There is scarcely a school for girls in the whole city. Public sentiment here is against the education of females; immemorial usage is against it; many passages in the classics are against it; and the consequence is they are left uninstructed, and sink far below that point in the scale of being, which they are fitted and ought ever to hold. The degradation into which the fairest half of the human species is here thrown, affords cause for loud complaint against the wisdom and philosophy of the sages and legislators of the celestial empire.

We do not knowingly detract from the merits of the Chinese; in comparison with other Asiatics, they are a learned and polished race. Those who have been educated are generally remarkably fond of books: and though there are no public libraries in Canton; yet the establishments for manufacturing and vending books are numerous. And to supply those who are unable to purchase for themselves the works they need, a great number of circulating libraries are kept constantly in motion. But almost all of these books are bad; this charge, however, does not lie with equal force against those works which usually constitute the text-books of literary men.

We are admirers of Greek and Roman literature, but we deprecate the practice of putting in the hands of *young* students the "master pieces" of some of their most celebrated authors. The moral tendency of many of those *heathen* writings, which, ever since the dark ages have continued to form the basis of the literary education of not a few *christian* schools, is decidedly inferior to the Chinese. An elegant English scholar has spoken well on this point. 'The Chinese student,' says he, 'not being secured from error by the light of revealed religion, can only derive his moral precepts from his school learning. He is certainly therefore fortunate in the possession of a body of ancient native literature, which, while he cultivates his taste and improves his understanding, contains nothing to inflame his passions or corrupt his heart. The Chinese are not compelled, as we are, upon the authority of great names, and for the sake of the graces of style and language, to place in the hands of their youth, works containing passages which put modesty to the blush,—works, in which the most admirable maxims of morality, are mixed and confounded together in the same page, with avowals and descriptions of most disgusting licentiousness. The Chinese press is certainly by no means free from the charge of grossness and indelicacy; but the higher class, at least, of Chinese literature, that which usually forms the library of the youthful student, is in this respect wholly unexceptionable.'

The *religious* institutions of Canton present for contemplation a dark and melancholy picture. Created in the likeness of the infinite, the high, and lofty ONE, and entrusted with the dominion of this lower world, man is fitted for sub-

lime action. His intellectual faculties capable of unlimited improvement, and his "living soul" panting after immortality, prove his origin divine, and that by the exercise of his strength he can accomplish deeds that shall associate him with glorified spirits, and make him heir to an eternal kingdom. In themselves princes are but worms; yet with a renewed spirit the humblest man on earth may rise, and, holding communion with his Maker, shed a benign influence around him that shall cause multitudes to rise up and call him blessed. The day-spring from on high has visited the earth; and millions of our race are rejoicing in the glorious liberty of the children of God. But here, alas, where "sages" have taught, and where the good and perfect gifts of the Father of lights have been richly enjoyed, the creature denies his Creator, perverts the use of talents given him for noble purposes, and bows down and pays divine homage to wood and stone. Facts shall speak for themselves: and the reader must form his own opinion on a case, the final decision of which rests not with man. Our judgment and that of the idolater is with the Almighty: soon these earthly scenes will pass away, and the great and small stand together; then gold and diadems will be worthless; then all human distinctions will vanish; and then religion—that religion which is pure and undefiled before God, will alone be valuable.

We will notice the temples or religious houses of Canton in order, (as we find them in a native manuscript,) and narrate only such facts, as are only necessary to illustrate their real character and condition.

1. *Kwang-heaou-sze*, that is 'the temple of glory and filial duty.' The Chinese are remarkably fond of splendid names, and this peculiarity is strikingly illustrated in the rich and flowery language which the Budhists have employed in naming their temples. *Sze* is one of the most common terms used to designate the temples of Budha, and the other two characters, *Kwang-heaou*, form the proper name of the temple. It is unnecessary and often difficult, to translate the names of these temples; we shall, therefore, usually write them just as they are found in native books.

The Kwang-heaou temple is one of the largest and richest in Canton; it stands within the walls, near the northwest corner of the old city. There are thirty-five hundred acres of

land belonging to it; which are rented for the support of its inmates, about two hundred in number. This temple was first built in the time of San-kwo, A. D. 250; it has often been repaired, and supplied with new *recruits* of idols, which are numerous in all its principal halls. In the records of its early history there are frequent allusions to Se-chuh and Se-yih. *Se-chuh*, also called Teen-chuh, is India; but the use of *Se-yih* seems not to be well settled. Professor Neumann in his notes on the catechism of the Shamans, says; "the meaning of these words [Se-yih] is very extensive, and changes from one century to another. All the countries within and without the northwest frontiers of China, and the northern parts of Hindostan, are now comprehended under this denomination." It denotes 'the west,' much in the same manner in which we speak of 'the east.'

2. *Tsing-hwuy-sze.* This stands near the Kwang-heaou temple, and though inferior to it in extent, is quite like it in almost all other respects. There is indeed, a very great similarity in these establishments, not only here but throughout the empire; we need not therefore repeat what is common to them all. The Tsing-hwuy temple was first built in the time of the Leang dynasty, and is remarkable chiefly for a lofty pagoda that rises within its enclosures.

3. *Hwae-shing.* This temple was built during the reign of the *Tang* dynasty, by *fan-jin*, 'foreigners;' it has a lofty dome and spire, rising one hundred and sixty feet in height; which the Chinese call *kwang-ta*, the 'unadorned pagoda.' In the time of Ching-hwa of the Ming dynasty, A. D. 1468, it was rebuilt; and *Ah-too-lah*, (Abdulla,) a civil officer, and seventeen families, resided in or near the temple. These were all, probably, Mohammedans: they now amount to about 3,000 individuals, and are distinguished from the other inhabitants, as 'persons who have no idols, and who will not eat swine's flesh.'

4—9. Hae-choo-tsze-too; Paou-to; Keae-yuen; Se-chen-kwei-fung; Se-hwa, and Tae-tung-koo.—We fear our readers will frown at these hard, and, to all but natives, very uncomely names; but they are, in fact, infinitely less unseemly, than the establishments which they designate. No habitations on earth are more to be abhorred; they are full of idols and all manner of abominations. Their outer courts

are common retreats for crowds of vagabonds and gamesters; while their inner apartments are usually inhabited by those miserable beings, who, having abandoned society, and their better reason too, drag out an ignorant, idle and misanthropic life.

10. *Chang-show gan.* *Gan* is often applied to nunneries, of which there are several in Canton. But there are no nuns in this temple. The number of priests is about one hundred, who are maintained at an annual expense of more than 7000 taels. This money is obtained by the lease of lands, which have been given to the establishment. The temple, with its various buildings and gardens, occupies three or four acres of land. Some of the halls are spacious; and one of them, which has been recently built by a member of Howqua's family, is neat and kept in a good condition. In one of the largest halls there is a fine image of Budha, in an attitude, of a half-naked, gross, well fed lounger, which does honor to the deified mortal whom it represents! Directly above him, in another apartment, stands the 'goddess of mercy,'—a well favored image, but undistinguished by any superhuman characteristics, except in the dimensions of her person, being twelve or fifteen feet in height. This temple stands without the walls of the city, about three quarters of a mile directly north from the foreign factories. It is frequently visited by Europeans; and from the upper story of one of its buildings, they may enjoy a fine view of the western suburbs.

11—13. Che-yuen; Chung-fuh; and *Hwa-lin-sze.* This last, "the flowery forest" temple, stands about a hundred rods northwest from the foreign factories. It was founded, A. D. 503, by *Ta-mo*, a teacher of the contemplative school, who came from India; "he sailed over a wide expanse, and was full three winters in completing the voyage hither." In the 11th year of Shun-che, A. D. 1755, the temple was rebuilt, and its gardens were adorned with forest trees. It has now about two hundred inmates.

14—26. Se-chuh sin-gan (the new Indian temple;) Ta-fuh; Wan-shen; Fuh-hwuy; Ching-tsew; Poo-keen; Pih-yun; Tung-shan; Hoo-kwo; Hae-kwang; Leen-tseuen; Yue-ke, and Hae-chwang-sze; this last is the far famed "*Honam jos-house*," or the

Temple of Honan. It was originally a private garden;

but afterwards, and several hundred years ago, a priest, named Che-yüe, built up an establishment, which he called "the temple of ten thousand autumns," and dedicated it to Budha. It remained an obscure place, however, until about A. D. 1600, when a priest of eminent devotion, with his pupil *Ah-tsze*, together with a concurrence of extraordinary circumstances, raised it to its present magnificence. In the reign of Kang-he, and as late as A. D. 1700, the province of Canton was not fully subjugated; and a son-in-law of the emperor, was sent hither to bring the whole country under his father's sway. This he accomplished, received the title of *Ping-nan wang*, "king of the subjugated south," and took up his head quarters in the temple of Honan. There were then thirteen villages on the island, which he had orders to exterminate for their opposition to the imperial forces. "Just before carrying into effect this order, the king, Ping-nan, a blood-thirsty man, cast his eyes on Ah-tsze, a fat happy priest, and remarked, that if he lived on vegetable diet, he could not be so fat; he must be a hypocrite and should be punished with death. He drew his sword to execute with his own hand the sentence; but his arm suddenly stiffened, and he was stopped from his purpose. That night a divine person appeared to him in a dream, and assured him, that Ah-tsze was a holy man, adding "you must not unjustly kill him." Next morning the king presented himself before Ah-tsze, confessed his crime, and his arm was immediately restored. He then did obeisance to the priest, and took him for his tutor and guide; and morning and evening the king waited on the priest, as his servant.

"The inhabitants of the thirteen villages now heard of this miracle and solicited the priest to intercede in their behalf, that they might be rescued from the sentence of extermination. The priest interceded, and the king listened, answering thus:—'I have received an imperial order to exterminate these rebels; but since you, my master, say they now submit, be it so; I must, however, send the troops round to the several villages before I can report to the emperor; I will do this, and then beg that they may be spared.' The king fulfilled his promise, and the villages were saved. Their gratitude to the priest was unbounded; and estates, and incense, and money, were poured in upon him. The king also, per-

suaded his officers to make donations to the temple, and it became affluent from that day.

"The temple had then no hall of celestial kings; and at the outer gate there was a pool belonging to a rich man, who refused to sell it, although Ah-tsze offered him a large compensation. The king conversing with the priest one day, said, 'this temple is deficient, for it has no hall for the celestial kings;' the priest replied, 'a terrestrial king, please your highness, is the proper person to rear a pavilion to the celestial kings.' The king took the hint, and seized on the pool of the rich man, who was now very glad to present it without any compensation; and he gave command, moreover, that a pavilion should be completed in fifteen days; but at the priest's intercession, the workmen were allowed one month to finish it; and by laboring diligently night and day, they accomplished it in that time."

Such is the history of the temple of Honan, the largest and best endowed religious establishment in Canton.—*Honan* is an island, and is situated, as its name denotes, (literally translated) "*south of the river;*" but the village, which for a considerable distance lines the bank of the Choo-keang directly opposite to the city, may be considered as forming a part of its southern suburbs. As the family residences of several principal Chinese merchants, and the open fields lying beyond the village, together with the attractions of the "jos-house," make Honan a place of frequent resort for strangers who visit Canton, some further particulars concerning the present extent and condition of the temple, may be acceptable.

Its buildings, which are chiefly of brick, are numerous, and occupy, with the gardens belonging to the temple, six or eight English acres. These grounds are surrounded by a high wall. Crossing the river a few rods east of the foreign factories, directly after landing you enter the outer gate, pass through a long court yard to a second, called 'the hill gate,' over which *Hae-chwang*, the name of the temple, is written in large capitals. Here, as you stand in the gateway, you see two colossal figures—images of deified warriors, stationed one on your right, the other on your left, to guard, day and night, the entrance to the inner courts. Passing further on, through another court you enter "the palace of the four great

celestial kings"—images of ancient heroes. Still advancing, a broad pathway conducts you up to the great, powerful palace. *Procul, O, procul, este profani.* You are now in the presence of "the three precious Budhas," three stately images, representing the past, the present, and the future Budha. The hall, in which these images are placed, is about one hundred feet square, and contains numerous altars, statues, &c., it is occupied by the priests while celebrating their daily vespers, usually at about 5 o'clock P. M. Further onward, there are other halls, filled with other images, among which that of the "goddess of mercy" is the most worthy of notice.

On the right side, after you have entered the temple, there is a long line of apartments; one of which is used for a printing office; and others are formed into narrow cells for the priests; or into stalls and pens for pigs, fowls, &c. These animals are brought to the temple by devout devotees, when they come to make or pay vows to the beings who inhabit the temple. On the left side, there is another set of apartments—a pavilion for Kwan-foo-tsze, a military demigod; a hall for the reception of visitors; a treasury; a retreat for *Te-tseang wang*, the king of hades; the chief priest's room; a dining hall; and a kitchen. Beyond these there is a spacious garden, at the extremity of which there is a mausoleum, wherein the ashes of the burnt priests are, once a year, deposited; also a furnace for burning their dead bodies, and a little cell in which the jars containing their ashes are kept, till the annual season of opening the mausoleum returns. There are likewise tombs for the bodies of those who leave money for their burial. There are about 175 priests now in the temple. They are supported in part by property belonging to the establishment, and partly by their own private resources. Only a few, and a *very* few, of them are well educated.

27—75. These forty-nine temples we must pass over without mentioning even their names; several of them are large, and it would require many volumes to contain all that the Chinese have written concerning them.

76—78. Yuen-meaou kwan; Woo-seen kwan, and Peih-keu kwan. These three temples belong to priests of the *Taou* sect; and their history is filled with those wild and extravagant vagaries, which are so characteristic of that order.

The first of the three was rebuilt in the fifth year of Kang-he, A. D. 1667, and very richly endowed by officers of the provincial government. The *Woo-seen kwan*, or "temple of the five genii," derived its name from the "five immortals," who, at a very early period (as already noticed,) came hither, riding upon five rams, as a token of prosperity to the inhabitants of the country. The temple is spacious, has many images, and a great number of pavilions for "the immortals."

79—86. Fow-yew; San-yuen; Fung-chin; Nan-hae-shin; Lung-wang; Kwan-te; Fung-shin; Teen-how kung. These are all temples of considerable note, to which great numbers of the people resort. The *Teen-how kung*, or "temple of the queen of heaven," is much frequented by seafaring people, of whom her ladyship is "defender and protector."

87. *Ching-hwang-meaou.* The superintendent of this temple pays $4,000 for his situation; which sum, with a large profit, is obtained again in the space of three or four years, by the sale of candles, incense, &c., to be used by worshippers.

88—124. Most of these are "temples of ancestors," and they complete the list before us; which, large as it is, does not, we believe, include the whole number of temples in Canton.

There are, moreover, a great number of public altars, which are dedicated to the gods of the land and of grain, of the wind and clouds, of thunder and rain, and of hills and rivers, &c. At these, as also in all the temples, sacrifices and offerings, consisting of various animals, fish, fowls, fruits, sweetmeats, cakes, and wines, are frequently presented, both by officers of government and private citizens. There are also in these temples, and at these altars, numerous attendants, whose whole lives are devoted to the service of the idols. On the birthday of the gods, and at other times, processions are fitted out at the different temples; and the images are borne in state, through all the principal streets of the city, attended by bands of musicians; by priests; lads on horseback; lasses riding in open sedans; old men and boys bearing lanterns, incense-pots, flags and other insignia; and by lictors with rattans, and soldiers with wooden swords. In addition to all these, the different streets and trades, have

their religious festivals, which they celebrate with illumination, bonfires, songs, and theatrical exhibitions. A great deal of extravagance is displayed on these occasions—each street and company striving to excel all their neighbors. The private and domestic altars, shrines crowded with household gods, and daily offerings of gilt paper, candles, incense, &c., together with numberless ceremonies occasioned by nuptials or the burial of the dead, complete the long catalogue of religious rites and institutions which are supported by the people of Canton.

And why, all this array of men and means? To what useful end is it devoted? Does it adorn the city? Does it enrich its inhabitants? Clothe the naked? Feed the hungry? Instruct the ignorant? Reclaim the vicious? Heal the sick? Does it, in short, bring any consolation, or any real support to the poor and afflicted? The whole number of priests and nuns, (there are said to be a thousand of the latter,) is probably not less than 3000; and the annual expense of the 124 temples, may be put down, on a moderate estimate, at $250,000. An equal sum is required to support the annual, monthly, and semi-monthly festivals, and daily rites, which are observed by the people in honor of their gods. But it is not the mere outlay, nor even the sinking of half a million annually, that makes the full amount of the evil; it is incalculable; like consumption in the human frame, it preys on the vitals, and destroys with a slow but steady step the whole system. Budhism and Taouism, with the religious doctrines of the Sage, acting conjointly for a period of more than 1700 years, have had full opportunity to exhibit their legitimate results; this they have done: and those results are too numerous and too palpable to be misunderstood. We know, and blessed be God for the assurance, that "in every nation he that feareth *Him* and worketh *righteousness*, is accepted with him;" but we challenge the abettors of idolatry to point out to us even so much as one solitary instance, where the direct results of these three religious creeds have been in the least degree salutary.

We have already alluded to the only *two pagodas* in this city, *viz:* the *Hwa-ta*, or 'adorned pagoda,' so called in contradistinction from the *Kwang-ta*, or '*unadorned pagoda*.' They both stand near the west gate of the old city; and

when approaching Canton from the east, they are the first objects that arrest the attention of the traveller. The geomancers say, the whole city is like a great junk: the two pagodas are her masts, the five story house (which rises on the hill close by the northern wall,) her stern sheets! The *Hwa-ta* was built more than thirteen hundred years ago; it has nine stories, is octagonal, and 170 feet in height. The *Kwang-ta* was built in the time of the Tang dynasty, which closed A. D. 906. It is broad at the base, and slender towards the top. Its height is 160 feet. Anciently it was surmounted by "a golden cock, which turned every way with the wind;" but that was broken down and carried off to the capital, and its place afterwards supplied by a wooden one, which long since disappeared.

The account of the *charitable institutions* of Canton is brief. They are few in number, small in extent, and of recent origin.

1. *Yuh-ying-tang*, or "the foundling hospital." This institution was founded in 1698, and it was rebuilt and considerably enlarged in 1732. It stands without the walls of the city, on the east; it has accommodations for two or three hundred children, and is maintained at an annual expense of 2,522 taels.

2. *Yang-tse-yuen*:—this is a retreat for poor, aged and infirm, or blind people, who have no friends to support them. It stands near the foundling hospital, and like it enjoys imperial patronage—receiving annually 5,100 taels. Both this sum, and that for yuh-ying-tang, are received, in part, or wholly from duties paid by those foreign ships which bring rice to Canton. Every such ship must pay the sum of 620 taels, which by imperial order, is appropriated to these two hospitals. The number of "rice ships" last year was 28, yielding the sum of 17,360 taels. What became of the surplus, 9738 taels, does not appear from any statements, which we have obtained.

3. *Ma-fung-yuen*, or 'the hospital for lepers.' This is also on the east of the city; the number of patients in it, is 341, who are supported at an expense of 300 taels per annum!

Some centuries ago, a public dispensary was set up, in order to furnish the indigent sick with medicines; but for a

long time the establishment has been closed. Small plots of ground, situated on the east and north of the city, have been appropriated as burying places for those who die friendless and moneyless. There are, we believe, no tombs or places of interment within the walls of Canton. But the hills beyond, and in every direction round the city, are covered with monuments and hillocks which mark the places of the sleeping dead; thither the lifeless bodies of the poor, are carried out and buried, usually, we believe, at the public charge.—All the above named appropriations are under the care of government, and are meted out with a sparing hand. The condition of the three hospitals, if such they may be called, is wretched in the extreme. The foundlings, are often those infants which have been exposed; and who when grown up are often sold, and not unfrequently for the worst of purposes. Such is a specimen of the benevolent institutions of the celestial empire!

The situation of Canton and the policy of the Chinese government, together with various other causes, have made this city the scene of a very extensive *domestic and foreign commerce.* With the exception of the Russian caravans which traverse the northern frontiers of China, and the Portuguese and Spanish ships which visit Macao, the whole trade between the Chinese empire and the nations of the west, centres in this place. Here the productions of every part of China are found, and a very brisk and lucrative commerce is driven by merchants and factors from all the provinces. Here also merchandise is brought from Ton-quin (Tung-king,) Cochinchina, Camboja, Siam, Malacca, or the Malay peninsula, the eastern archipelago, the ports of India, the nations of Europe, the different states of North and South America, and the islands of the Pacific. We shall, as briefly as possible, notice the several branches of this extensive commerce; enumerate some of the principal commodities which are brought to this city, as well as those which are carried from it: and add, in the same connection, such remarks concerning the situation and circumstances of the trade and those who conduct it, as seem necessary to exhibit its full magnitude and importance.

Concerning the *domestic* commerce we can do little more than mention the articles which are here bought and sold for the several provinces; each of which provinces we shall no-

tice separately, that we may at the same time, by taking a view of their position and number of inhabitants, see to what advantage the present trade is conducted, and what is the probability of its future increase or diminution. We commence with the maratime provinces: then notice those on the northern, western and southern frontiers; and finally those in the centre of China Proper. The colonial trade we do not bring into the account. We give the population in round numbers, according to the Ta-tsing hwuy-teen for the year 1812.

From the province of *Kwang-tung* are brought to the metropolis, silks, rice, fish, salt, fruits, vegetables, and various kinds of wood; silver, iron, and pearls in small quantities: also cassia and betel-nut; and in return a small amount of almost all the imports, whether from foreign countries or from the other parts of China, are sent out from Canton through the province. The population, amounting to *nineteen* millions, consumes a large amount of foreign imports, and might under better regulations, furnish a much greater supply of exports.

From *Fuh-keen* come the black teas; also camphor, sugar, indigo, tobacco, paper, lacquered ware, excellent grass-cloth, and a few mineral productions. Woolen and cotton cloths of various kinds, wines, watches, &c. are sent to that province; which, with its population of *fourteen* millions, might in different circumstances receive a far greater amount of foreign manufactures and productions in exchange for its own. The trade of the province is carried on under great disadvantages. It has been shown by an accurate and detailed comparison between the expense of conveying black teas from the country where they are produced, to Canton; and of their conveyance from thence to the port of Fuh-chow in Fuh-keen, that the privilege of admission to the latter port, would be attended with a saving to the East India Company of £150-000 annually, in the purchase of black teas alone. This opinion, given by Mr. Ball, formerly inspector of teas in China, and quoted by Sir G. T. Staunton, is deserving of consideration.

Che-keang sends to Canton the best of silks and paper; also fans, pencils, wines, dates, "golden flowered" hams, and *lung-tsing-cha*—an excellent and very costly tea. This

province has a population of *twenty-six* millions, and makes large demands for foreign imports; these, however, by way of Canton, go to that province at no small expense to the consumer.

Keang-nan, which is now divided into the two provinces *Keang-soo* and *Gan-hwuy*, with a population of *seventy-two* millions, has the resources as well as all the wants of a kingdom. And notwithstanding its distance from this city, large quantities of produce are annually sent hither and exchanged for the productions and manufactures of the western world. Green teas and silks are the principal articles of traffic which are brought to Canton; and they usually yield the merchant a great profit.

From *Shan-tung*, fruits, vegetables, drugs, wines, and skins are brought down the coast to Canton: and coarse fabrics for clothing are sent back in return. The carrying of foreign exports from Canton to Shun-tung, whether over land or up the coast in native vessels, makes them so expensive as to prevent their use among the great majority of the inhabitants, who are very poor and very numerous—amounting to *twenty-eight* millions.

From *Chih-le*, ginseng, raisins, dates, skins, deer's flesh, wines, drugs, and tobacco are sent hither; and cloths of various kinds, also clocks, watches, and sundry other foreign imports go back in return. The population, amounting to *twenty-seven* millions, is in a great degree dependent on the productions of other provinces and countries for the necessaries of life.

Shan-se sends skins, wines, ardent spirits, and musk. Among its *fourteen* millions of inhabitants, there are many capitalists who come to Canton to get gain by loaning money. Various kinds of cloths, European skins, watches, and native books are sent up to the province of Shan-se.

Shen-se also supports a large money trade in Canton; and sends hither likewise brass, iron, precious stones, and drugs; and takes back woolen and cotton cloths, books, and wines. The population is about *ten* millions.

Kan-suh sends hither gold, quicksilver, musk, tobacco, &c., and receives in return, for its *fifteen* millions of inhabitants, a small amount of European goods.

Sze-chuen sends gold, brass, iron, tin, musk, and a great variety of other drugs; and receives in exchange European cloths, lacquered ware, looking glasses, &c. Sze-chuen is the largest of the eighteen provinces, and has a population of *twenty-one* millions.

Yun-nan yields, for the shops of Canton, brass, tin, precious stones, musk, betel-nut, birds, and peacock's feathers; and receives from Canton silks, woolen and cotton cloths, various kinds of provisions, tobacco and books. The population is *five* millions.

Kwang-se has a population of *seven* millions, and furnishes this market with large quantities of rice and cassia: also iron, lead, fans, and wood of various kinds; and takes in return many native productions and most of the articles that come to Canton from beyond sea. We now turn to the central provinces.

From *Kwei-chow* are brought gold, quicksilver, iron, lead, tobacco, incense, and drugs; and a few articles, chiefly foreign goods, find their way back to that province. Its population is *five* millions.

From the two provinces, *Hoo-nan* and *Hoo-pih*, come large quantities of rhubarb, also musk, tobacco, honey, hemp, and a great variety of singing birds; the number of inhabitants is *forty-five* millions, and they make very considerable demands on the merchants of Canton, both for native productions and foreign imports.

Keang-se sends to this market coarse cloths, hemp, china ware, and drugs; and takes in return woolens, and native books. The population is *twenty-three* millions. *Ho-nan* has an equal number of inhabitants, and sends hither rhubarb, musk, almonds, honey, indigo, &c.; and woolens, and a few other foreign goods are received in return.

This account of the *domestic commerce* of Canton is taken from a native manuscript. We have sought long, but in vain, for some official document which would show at once the different kinds and the amount of merchandise which is annually brought from, and carried to, the several provinces of the empire. The account which we have given, must be regarded only as an approximation to the truth. Some articles have doubtless been omitted which ought to have been noticed; and vice versa. One commodity in particular which is known

to be carried into all the provinces, and used to the amount of more than $12,000,000 annually, is not even mentioned. Still the statements, which we have brought into view, show that there is in every part of the empire, a greater or less demand for foreign productions,—a demand which, so long as the commerce is confined to this port, will be supplied very disadvantageously both for the foreigner and the native; but while it does remain thus restricted, there is reason to suppose that it will, under all its disadvantages, gradually increase; and even if the northern ports of the empire should be immediately thrown open, it will not soon cease to be important.

Though the merchants and factors from the other provinces enjoy a considerable share of the commerce of Canton, yet they do not confine themselves to the domestic trade; they participate largely in that to Tung-king, Cochinchina, Siam, and the islands of the eastern archipelago. The whole number of Chinese vessels, annually visiting foreign ports south of Canton, is not, probably, less than one hundred; of these one third belong to Canton: six or eight go to Tung-king; eighteen or twenty to Cochinchina, Camboja, and Siam; four or five visit the ports of Singapore, Java, Sumatra, and Penang; and as many more find their way to the Celebes, Borneo, and the Philippine islands. These vessels never make but one voyage in the year, and always move with the monsoon. Many of the vessels from Fuh-keen and the northern ports of China, which go south, touch at Canton both when outward and homeward bound. But the whole amount of trade to foreign ports, carried on by the Chinese merchants of Canton, is not very great; not so, however, that which is in the hands of foreigners, and which we now proceed to notice. Portugal, Spain. France, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, England, and the United States, have all shared in the commerce of Canton.

The *Portuguese* ships led the way to China. Raphael Perestrello arrived here in 1516; and the next year eight ships, four Portuguese and four Malay, under the command of Fernäo Peres de Andrade arrived on the coast; six of these anchored near St. John's island, and the other two came into the port of Canton. From that early period the trade of the Portuguese began to increase rapidly; but difficulties soon arose, and the adventurers were restricted to

Macao; to which place they have ever since been limited, except at short intervals, when they have been allowed, with other foreigners, free access to all the ports of the empire.

Spanish ships also, are excluded from this port; but are allowed the privilege, which they neglect to improve, of trading at the port of Amoy.

The *French* reached the port of Canton in 1520; but their trade has never been very extensive, though it has be encontinued to the present time. During the last few years they have employed annually two, three, or four ships in this trade. In the season 1832—33, there were three French ships in port.

The *Dutch* trade commenced, if we may rely on native authority, in 1601; it had to struggle, in its origin, with very many difficulties; and during its progress through more than two centuries has fluctuated exceedingly. Its present prospects are improving; a few years ago there were only three or four ships annually employed in this trade. During the year 1832, there were *seventeen* Dutch vessels which came to China; these were all from Holland and Java. The value of imports was $457,128, exports, $656,645,—not including the private trade of the commanders.

Sweden has never, in one season, we believe, sent more than two or three ships to China. This trade opened in 1732; and during its first fifteen years, 22 ships were dispatched to China, of which four were lost. Peter Osbeck, who was here in 1750–51, as chaplain of the *Prince Charles*, a Swedish East-Indiaman, relates, that there were that season, *eighteen* European ships in port, *viz:* one Danish, two Swedish, two French, four Dutch, and nine English. For the last fifteen years no Swedish ships have visited China.

The *Danes* seem to have come to China earlier than the Swedes; but the year in which their trade began we cannot ascertain. During twelve years, commencing in 1732, they sent 32 ships to China, of which only 27 returned. Their trade has never been very great, though it has been continued to the present time.

The *English* did not reach the coast of China till about 1635. It is stated, on good authority, that queen Elizabeth in 1599, sent John Mildenhall from Constantinople over land to the court of the great *Mogul* in order to obtain cer-

tain privileges for the English, for whom she was then preparing a charter. Mildenhall was long opposed by the arts and presents of the Spanish and Portuguese jesuits at that court; and it was some years before he entirely "got the better of them." It is also recorded that the same wise princess wrote strong recommendatory letters to the *emperor of China* to be delivered by the chiefs of an expedition intended for this country; but misfortunes at sea, prevented the ships from reaching the place of their destination. In 1634, a "*truce and free trade*" to China, and all other places where the Portuguese were settled, was agreed to betweeen the viceroy of Goa and several English merchants, to whom a license for trading to the East Indies had been granted by king Charles I. Several ships were fitted out by these grantees, under the command of captain Weddell, who thought it sufficient, in consequence of the agreement made at Goa, to bring letters for the governor of Macao, in order to be effectually assisted in his projected intercourse with the Chinese at Canton. The account of this first enterprise is curious and interesting. We subjoin a few extracts which are found in the works of sir George Staunton.

"The procurador of Macao soon [after the fleet arrived] repaired on board the principal ship of the English, and said, that for matter of refreshing, he would provide them; but that there was a main obstacle to their trading, which was the non consent of the Chinese, who, he pretended, held the Portuguese in miserable subjection. The English, however, determined to discover the river of Canton; and fitted out a barge and pinnace, with above fifty men, which, after two days came in sight of the mouth of the river, being a very goodly inlet, and utterly prohibited to the Portuguese by the Chinese, who do not willingly admit any strangers to the view of it, being the passage and secure harbor for their best junks, both of war and merchandise; so that the Portuguese traffic to Canton, was only in small vessels, through divers narrow shoal straits, among many broken islands adjoining the main. The barge anchoring for a wind and tide to carry them in, a fishing boat was descried early in the morning, which Thomas Robinson followed, [a tedious chase by reason of their many oars,] hoping to have found some one on board who might serve, either as pilot or interpreter; but finding neither, having used them with all courtesy, dismissed them contrary to their timorous expectations; and afterwards, for the same causes, and with the same success, spake with another: but after a delay of several days, a small boat made towards the pinnace; and having sold some refreshments, signs were made to carry some of the English to Canton, and bring them to the speech of the mandarins, which the boatmen accepted of; but the next day, the pinnace being under sail with a fair wind and tide, after having passed by a certain desolate castle, a fleet of about twenty sail of tall junks, commanded by an admiral, passing down from Canton, encountered the English; and, in courteous terms, desired

them to anchor, which accordingly they did; and presently J. Mounteney and T. Robinson went on board the chief mandarin, where were certain negroes, fugitives of the Portuguese, that interpreted.

"At first, the Chinese began somewhat roughly to expostulate; what moved them to come hither and discover the prohibited goods and the concealed parts and passages of so great a prince's dominions? Also, who were their pilots? T. Robinson replied; that they were come from Europe, to treat of such capitulation as might conduce to the good of both princes and subjects, hoping that it might be lawful for them, as well as for the inhabitants of Macao, to exercise a free commerce, paying duties as the others; and as for pilots, they had none; but every one was able by his art, to discover more difficult passages than they had found. The Chinese hereafter began to be more affable, and in conclusion, appointed a small junk to carry up whomsoever they pleased to Canton, if the English would promise that the pinnace would proceed no further; for though each of these vessels was well armed, yet they durst not oppose her in any hostile way. The same night, captain Carter, T. Robinson and J. Mounteney left the pinnace, with orders to expect their return; and, being embarked in a small junk of thirty tons, proceeded towards Canton, with intent to deliver to the viceroy a petition, for obtaining permission to settle a trade in those parts. The next day they arrived within five leagues of Canton, whither it seems the rumor of their coming, and the fear of them, was already arrived; so that they were required, in a friendly manner, to proceed no further, but to return to their own ships, with promise of assistance in the procuring of license for trade, if they would seek it at Macao by the solicitations of those they should find there, and instantly abandon the river; the which, (having satisfied themselves with this discovery, and willing to remove the anxiety which their long absence might occasion in the rest of the fleet,) they readily performed. In a little time, the Portuguese fleet of six small vessels set sail for Japan; upon whose departure it was expected the permission to trade would have been granted; but being then freed of their conceived fear lest captain Weddell and his men should have surprised their vessels, they sent the English a flat denial.

"The same day, at a consultation called on board the admiral (Weddell,) captain Carter, J. Mounteney, and T. Robinson delivered to the whole council, together with a draught of the river, the sum of their attempts, success and hopes; which being well pondered, it was generally consented that the whole fleet should sail for the river of Canton. They arrived in a few days before the forementioned desolate castle; and being now furnished with some slender interpreters, they soon had speech with divers mandarins in the king's junks, to whom the cause of their arrival was declared, viz: to entertain peace and amity with them, to traffic freely as the Portuguese did, and to be forthwith supplied for their monies, with provisions for their ships; all which those mandarins promised to solicit with the prime men resident at Canton; and in the mean time, desired an expectation of six days, which were granted; and the English ships rode with white ensigns on the poop. But their perfidious friends, the Portuguese, had in all that time, since the return of the pinnace, so beslandered them to the Chinese, reporting them to be rogues, thieves, beggars, and what not, that they became very jealous of the good meaning of the English; insomuch, that in the night time they put forty-six cast iron ordnance into the fort lying close to the brink of the river; each piece being between six and seven hundred weight, and well proportioned; and after the end of four days, having, as they thought, sufficiently fortified themselves, they discharged divers shot, though without hurt, upon one of the barges passing by them, to find out a convenient watering place. Herewith the whole fleet, being instantly incensed, did, on the sudden, display their bloody

ensigns; and weighing their anchors, fell up with the flood, and berthed themselves before the castle, from whence came many shot; yet not any that touched so much as hull or rope. Whereupon, not being able to endure their bravados any longer, each ship began to play furiously upon them with their broadsides; and after two or three hours, perceiving their cowardly fainting, the boats were landed with about one hundred men; which sight occasioned them, with great distraction, instantly to abandon the castle and fly; the boats' crews, in the mean time entering the same, and displaying his majesty's colors of Great Britain upon the walls, having the same night, put aboard all their ordnance, fired the council house, and demolished what they could. The boats of the fleet also seized a junk laden with boards and timber, and another with salt. Another vessel of small moment was surprised, by whose boat a letter was sent to the chief mandarins at Canton, expostulating their breach of truce, excusing the assailing of the castle, and withal, in fair terms, requiring the liberty of trade. This letter, it seems, was delivered; for the next day, a mandarin of no great note, some time a Portuguese Christian, called Paulo Noretty, came towards the ships in a small boat with a white flag, to whom the English having laid open the injuries received, and the sincere intent they had, to establish a fair trade and commerce, and were no way willing, (but in their own defence,) to oppose the Chinese, presented certain gifts, and dismissed him to his masters, who were some of the chief mandarins, and who being by him duly informed thereof, returned him again the same night, with a small junk and full authority to carry up such persons as should be appointed to Canton, there to tender a petition, and to conclude further upon the manner of their future proceedings."

The English had now gained their point: two individuals proceeded to Canton and were favorably received by officers of high rank in the city; and arrangements, which were agreeable to both parties, were soon made. Such was the commencement of a commercial intercourse which, though always important, may very soon command a far more extensive and salutary influence than it has ever before exerted. The British trade with China forms a very important item of the commerce of the world. It is divided into two branches; that which is carried on directly with Great Britain, i. e. the Company's trade; and that which is carried on between China and the British possessions in India, nearly the whole of which is in the hands of private individuals.

The whole number of vessels which arrived in China under the British flag, during the year 1832, was *seventy-four;* seven of these made *two* voyages; and three of them made *three* voyages, during the twelve months: and one of these last, the *Red Rover*, captain CLIFTON, made her three voyages from Calcutta; she arrived in China on the 28th Feb., 5th June, and 6th October. The whole number of arrivals was eighty-seven; 9 from London; 31 from Bombay; 24

from Calcutta; 2 from Madras; 5 from Singapore, (most of the English ships to or from China touch at this port); 3 from Sourabaya; 1 from Batavia; 1 from N. S. Wales; 8 from Manila; 1 from the east coast of China; 1 from Lewchew; and 1 from the straits of Malacca. Of these ships, there arrived in Jan., 2; in Feb., 2; March, 4; April, 2; May, 10; June, 16; July, 5; Aug., 15; Sep., 17; Oct., 8; Nov., 3; Dec., 2. There were 14 departures in Jan.; 2 in Feb.; 5 in March; 2 in April; 5 in May; 4 in June; 11 in July; 4 in August; 11 in Oct; 17 in Nov.; 9 in Dec.;—and two or three vessels remained stationed at Lintin.

These vessels brought to China, broadcloths; long ells; camlets; British calicoes; worsted and cotton yarn; cotton piece goods; Bombay, Madras and Bengal cotton; opium; sandal-wood; black-wood rattans; betel-nut; putchuck; pepper; cloves; cochineal; olibanum; saltpetre; skins; ivory; amber; pearls; cornelians; watches, and clocks; lead; iron; tin; quicksilver; shark's fins; fish-maws; stock-fish &c. Returning from China they were laden with teas, silk, silk piece goods, sugar, cassia, camphor, vermilion, rhubarb, alum, musk, and various other articles. The value of these exports and imports is exhibited in the following table.

Seasons.	Imports.	Exports.
1828–29.	$21,313,526	$19,360,625
1829–30.	22,931,372	21,257,257
1830–31.	21,961,754	20,446,699
1831–32.	20,536,227	17,767,486
1832–33.	22,304,753	18,332,760

The *American* trade to China is of very recent origin; it commenced shortly after the revolutionary war. The first recorded facts which we are able to obtain, carry back the trade only to the season 1784–5; in which season *two* American ships were laden at Canton; they carried to America, with their other cargo, 880,100 *lbs.* of tea: in the next season there was only *one* vessel, which exported 695,000 *lbs.* In 1786–7 there were *five* ships engaged in the trade; they exported 1,181,860 pounds of tea; one of these ships was the "*Hope*;" other ships which were in port during this, and the following season were the "Washington," the "Asia,"

and the "Canton;" the two last were from Philadelphia. The number of American vessels which arrived in China during the season of 1832–33 ending June 1833, was *fifty-nine*; some of these, however, did not take in cargoes at this port. These ships brought quicksilver, lead, iron, South American copper, spelter, tin plates, Turkey opium, ginseng, rice, broad-cloths, camlets, chintzes, long ells, long cloths, cambrics, domestics, velvets, bombazettes, handkerchiefs, linen, cotton drillings, cotton yarn, cotton prints, land and sea otter skins, fox skins, seal skins, pearl shells, sandal-wood, cochineal, music boxes, clocks, watches, and sundry other articles; and in return were laden with teas, silks, cassia, camphor, rhubarb, vermilion, china ware, &c.; these articles of merchandise were carried to the United States, Europe, South America, Sandwich Islands, and Manila. The following table will afford some idea of the progress of the trade, and show its present amount.

Seasons.	Imports.	Exports.
1805—06.	$5,326,358	$5,127,000
1815—16.	2,527,500	4,220,000
1825—26.	3,843,717	4,363,788
1830—31.	4,223,476	4,344,548
1831—32.	5,531,807	5,999,731
1832—33.	8,362,971	8,372,175

From the foregoing statements it appears that the *China trade*, employing annually 140 first rate vessels and a large amount of capital, constitutes a very important branch of modern commerce. But the trade has always been carried on, and still exists, under circumstances peculiar to itself; it is secured by no commercial treaties; it is regulated by no stipulated rules; mandates and edicts not a few, there are "on record," but these all emanate from one party: still the trade lives, and, by that imperial favor which extends to "the four seas," flourishes and enjoys no small degree of protection. All vessels arriving on the coast of China, are, unless destined for the harbor of Macao or the port of Canton, considered by Chinese authorities as intruders, and as such "must instantly be driven away." Year after year, however, vessels have found a safe and convenient anchorage at Lintin and vi-

cinity; where a large amount of business, including nearly the whole of the opium trade, is transacted. Those vessels that are to enter the Bogue, must procure a permit and a pilot at the Chinese custom-house near Macao; and the pilot, having received license to act, must proceed on board immediately and conduct the vessel to the anchorage at Whampoa.

As soon as the ship is officially reported at Canton, arrangements are made for discharging and receiving cargo, the whole business of which is sometimes accomplished in three weeks, but usually in not less time than two or three months. But before this business can proceed, the consignee or owner of the ship must obtain for her a *security merchant, a linguist, and a comprador*, and a written declaration must be given for every ship, except those of the E. I. Company, that she has on board no opium.

The security merchant, or individual who gives security to government for the payment of her duties and for the conduct of her crew, must be a member of the *co-hong*; at present this company is composed of twelve individuals, usually called *hong merchants*: some of these men rank among the most wealthy and respectable inhabitants of Canton; they pay largely for the privilege of entering the co-hong, and when they have once joined that body, they are seldom allowed to retire from their station, and are at all times liable to heavy exactions from the provincial government. Formerly the whole, or nearly the whole, foreign trade was in their hands; within a few years, it has extended to others who are not included in the co-hong and who are commonly called *outside merchants*. The linguists, so called, hold the rank of interpreters; they procure permits for delivering and taking in cargo, transact all business at the custom-house, keep account of the duties, etc. The comprador provides stores, and all necessary provisions, for the ship while she remains in port.

The *port charges* consist of measurement duty, cumsha, pilotage, linguist's and comprador's fees. The *measurement duty* varies; on a vessel of 300 tons it is about $650; and on vessels of the largest size, say 1300 tons it is about $3000; the tonnage of the vessel however, affords no fixed criterion for the amount of measurement duty. But for all ships, of whatever size, the *cumshaw, pilotage, linguist's and comprador's fees* are the same, amounting to about $2,573. Those

vessels that enter the port *laden only with rice* are not required to pay the measurement duty and cumshaw, but are liable to other irregular fees amounting to nearly $1000.—The management and general supervision of the port charges are entrusted to an imperial commissioner, who is sent hither from the court of Peking. In Chinese he is called *hae-kwan keen-tuh;* but by foreigners is usually styled the Hoppo; his regular salary is about 3000 taels per annum, but his annual income is supposed to be not less than $100,000.

The arrangements between the native and foreign merchants of Canton for the transaction of business are on the whole convenient, and pretty well calculated to promote despatch and secure confidence in the respective parties. The Chinese merchants have a well earned reputation for shrewd dealers; generally they have but little confidence in each other, and every contract of importance must be "fixed"—made sure, by the payment of a stipulated sum: but they place the most unlimited confidence in the integrity of their foreign customers. Only a small part of the trade is in the hands of the *outside* merchants; and their number being unlimited, there is often among them a great deal of competition. The whole of the E. I. Company's business, and a large portion of the English private trade and that of other foreigners, is confined to the hong merchants and those who transact business in connection with them. The establishments of the principal hong merchants are extensive they have numerous and convenient ware-houses, in which they store their goods, and from whence export cargoes are conveyed in lighters to the shipping at Whampoa.

The *foreign factories*, the situation of which we have already noticed, are neat and commodious buildings. The plot of ground on which they stand is very limited, extending about sixty rods from east to west, and forty from north to south; it is owned, as are also most of the factories, by the hong merchants. The factories are called *shih-san hang*, "the thirteen factories;" and with the exception of two or three narrow streets, they form one solid block; each factory extends in length through the whole breadth of the block, and has its own proper name, which if not always appropriate is intended to be indicative of good fortune; the 1st, commencing on the east, is *e-ho hang*, the factory of 'justice and

peace;' by foreigners it is called the creek factory; the 2d is the Dutch; it is called *tseih-e hang*, 'the factory of collected justice;' 3d, is the British factory, which is called *pâou-ho hong*; 'the factory that ensures tranquility;' a narrow lane separates this from the 4th, which is called *fung-taé hang*, 'the great and affluent factory;' 5th, is the old English factory, called *hung-shun hang*: 6th, the Swedish factory, called *Suy hang*: 7th is *ma-ying hang*, commonly called the Imperial factory: 8th, *paou-shun hang*, the 'precious and prosperous factory:' the 9th the American factory, called *kwang-yuen hang*, 'the factory of wide fountains;' a broad street, called China street, separates kwang-yuen hang from the 10th, which is occupied by one of the hong merchants; the 11th, is the French factory: the 12th is the Spanish; the 13th and last is the Danish factory; the 12th and 13th are separated by a street occupied by Chinese merchants, and usually called New China street. Each factory is divided into three, four or more houses, of which each factor occupies one or more according to circumstances. The factories are all built of brick or granite, two stories high, and present a rather substantial front; and with the foreign flags which wave over them form a striking, and to the stranger, a pleasing contrast with the national banner and architecture of the celestial empire.

The style of living in Canton, we speak of the foreign society, is similar to that of India, except in the important particular, that here a man is deprived of that "*help*," appointed to him by a decree which no human authority can justly abrogate, and enjoyed by him in every other land but this. A gentleman, fitting up an establishment in Canton, must first obtain a *comprador*; this is an individual who is permitted by special license to act as head servant; he has the general superintendence of the domestic affairs of the house, procures other servants, purchases provisions, &c., according to the wishes of his employer. Visitors to Canton usually speak in high terms of the domestic arrangements of the residents.—But this place presents few objects of much interest to the mere man of pleasure. Considering the latitude, the climate is agreeable and healthy; provisions of good quality and variety are abundant; but the want of a wider range and a purer

air than are enjoyed in the midst of a densely populated metropolis, to which the residents are here confined, often makes them impatient to leave the provincial city.

The *manufactories and trades* of Canton are numerous. There is no machinery, properly so called, and consequently there are no extensive manufacturing establishments, similar to those which, in modern times and under the power of machinery, have grown up in Europe. The Chinese know nothing of the economy of time. Much of the manufacturing business required to supply the commercial houses of Canton is performed at Fuh-shan, a large town situated a few miles westward of this city; still the number of hands employed and the amount of labor performed here, are by no means inconsiderable. There are annually about 17,000 persons, men, women and children, engaged in weaving silk; their looms are simple, and their work is generally executed with neatness. The number of persons engaged in manufacturing cloth of all kinds, is about 50,000; when there is a pressing demand for work, the number of laborers is considerably increased; they occupy about 2,500 shops, averaging usually twenty in each shop. We have heard it said, that some of the Chinese females, who devote their time to embroidering the choicest of their fabrics, secure a profit of twenty, and sometimes even twenty-five dollars per month! The shoemakers are also numerous, and they support an extensive trade; the number of workmen is about 4,200. Those likewise who work in wood, brass, iron, stone, and various other materials, are numerous; and those who engage in each of these respective occupations form, to a certain degree, a separate community, and have each their own laws and rules for the regulation of their business. The book trade of Canton is important; but we have not been able to obtain particulars concerning its extent.

The *barbers* of Canton form a separate department, and no one is allowed to discharge the duties of tonsor until he has obtained a license. According to their records, the number of the fraternity in Canton, at the present time, is 7,300.

There is another body of men here, which we must not pass over in silence, but which we know not how to designate or to describe; we refer to the *medical community*. That these men command high respect and esteem whenever they show

themselves skillful in their profession, there can be no doubt; it is generally admitted also, that individuals do now and then by long experience and observation become able practitioners; but as a community they are any thing, rather than masters of "the healing art." They are very numerous, amounting, probably, to not less than 2,000.

No inconsiderable part of the multitude which composes the population of Canton *live in boats*. There are officers appointed by government to regulate and control this portion of the inhabitants of the city. Every boat, of all the various sizes and descriptions which are seen here, is registered; and it appears that the whole number, on the river adjacent the city, is *eighty-four* thousand. A very large majority of these are *tan-kea* (egg-house) boats; these are generally not more than twelve or fifteen feet long, about six broad, and so low that a person can scarcely stand up in them: their covering, which is made of bamboo, is very light and can be easily adjusted to the state of the weather. Whole families live in these boats; and in coops lashed on the outside of them, they often rear large broods of ducks and chickens, designed to supply the city markets. Passage boats, which daily move to and from the neighboring villages and hamlets; ferry-boats which are constantly crossing and re-crossing the river; huge canal-boats, laden with produce from the country; cruisers; pleasure boats, &c., complete the list of these floating habitations, and present to the stranger a very interesting scene.

The *population* of Canton is a difficult subject, about which there has been considerable diversity of opinion. The division of the city, which brings a part of it into Nan-hae and a part into Pwan-yu, precludes the possibility of ascertaining the exact number of inhabitants. The facts which we have brought into view in the preceding pages, perhaps, will afford the best data for making an accurate estimate of the population of the city. There are, we have already seen, 50,000 persons engaged in the manufacture of cloth, 7,300 barbers, and 4,200 shoemakers; but these three occupations, employing 61,500 individuals, do not probably include more than one fourth part of the craftsmen of the city; allowing this to be the fact, the whole number of mechanics will amount to 246,000. These we suppose are a fourth part of the whole population, exclusive of those who live on the river. In each of the

84,000 boats there are not, on an average, less than three individuals, making a total of 252,000. If now to these we add four times 246,000 (which is the number of mechanics) we have a total of 1,236,000, as the probable number of inhabitants of Canton. This number may be far from the truth; no one, however, who has had opportunity of visiting the city, of passing through its streets, and viewing the multitudes that throng them, will think of its being much less than 1,000,000.

It only remains now, in conclusion, to remark briefly concerning the influence which Canton is exerting on the character and destinies of this nation. Intelligent natives admit that more luxury and dissipation and crime exist here, than in any other part of the empire; at the same time, they maintain that more enterprise, more enlarged views, and more general information prevail among the higher classes of the inhabitants of Canton, than are found in most of their other large cities: these bad qualities are the result of a thrifty commerce acting on those who are not guided by high moral principles: the good, which exist in a very limited degree, result from an intercourse with 'distant barbarians.' The contempt and hatred which the Chinese authorities have often exhibited towards foreigners, and the indifference and disdain with which the nation generally has looked down upon every thing not their own, ought to be strongly reprobated; on the other hand, the feeling which foreigners have often cherished, and the disposition and conduct which they have too frequently manifested towards this people, are such as should never have existed; still, notwithstanding all these disadvantages, we think that the intercourse between the inhabitants of the western world and the Chinese has been beneficial to the latter. Hitherto this intercourse has been purely commercial; and science, literature, and all friendly and social offices, have been disregarded; but men are beginning to feel that they have moral obligations to discharge, and that they are bound by the most sacred ties to interest themselves in the mental improvement of their fellow-men. But concerning the future influence and destiny of this city, we cannot proceed to remark.

APPENDIX.

On preceding pages we have given the population of the several provinces of China, in round numbers. We now give it in exact numbers, for the 17th year of Kea-king, A. D. 1812, according to a new edition of the *Ta-tsing hwuy-teen*, which was published by imperial authority at Peking, in the 8th year of Taou-kwang, A. D. 1828.

Names of the eighteen Provinces.	Population in the 17th year of Kea-king.	Sq. miles in each Province.	Eng. acres in each Province.	Pop. on a square mile.
Chihle,	27,990,871	58,949	37,727,360	644
Shantung,	28,958,764	65,104	41,666,560	368
Shanse,	14,004,210	55,268	35,371,520	488
Honan,	23,037,171	65,104	41,666,560	384
Keangsoo,	37,843,501	92,961	59,495,040	344
Ganhwuy,	34,168,059			
Keangse,	23,046,999	72,176	46,192,640	263
Fuhkeen,	14,777,410	53,480	34,227,200	280
Chekeang,	26,256,784	39,150	25,056,000	536
Hoopih,	27,370,098	144,770	92,652,800	187
Hoonan,	18,652,507			
Shense,	10,207,256	154,008	98,565,120	195
Kunsuh,	15,193,125			
Szechuen,	21,435,678	166,800	106,752,000	162
Kwangtung,	19,174,030	79,456	50,851,840	264
Kwangse,	7,313,895	78,250	50,080,000	128
Yunnan,	5,561,320	107,969	69,100,160	74
Kweichow,	5,288,219	64,554	41,314,560	140
	360,279,897	1,297,999	830,719,360	257

This census for the year 1812, besides the population of the eighteen provinces as given above, includes also the inhabitants of Shingking, Keihlin, Turfan, and Lobnor, and the Island of Formosa, in all 1,413,932; there are also to be added 188,326 families on the west and north of China Proper, which allowing only four individuals to a family amounts to 753,304.—These two last sums added to that of the eighteen provinces, gives as the total population of the Chinese empire, THREE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-TWO MILLIONS, FOUR HUNDRED AND FORTY-SEVEN THOUSAND, ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-THREE.

Those who wish to investigate this subject for themselves, may find a variety of facts and statements in support of the census given above, in the first volume of the Chinese Repository: where they may also find references to the principal authors who have written on the subject.

CHINESE WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

The Chinese weigh all articles that are bought and sold that are weighable; as money, wood, vegetables, liquids, &c. This renders their dealings simpler than those of other nations who buy and sell commodities with more reference to the articles themselves. Their division of weights and measures, are into *money* and *commercial weights*, and *long*, *land measures*, &c.

1. MONEY WEIGHTS.

The circulating medium between foreigners and the Chinese is broken Spanish dollars, the value of which are usually computed by weight. Dollars bearing the stamp of Ferdinand have usually borne a premium of 1 to 1½ per cent., while those of Carolus have risen as high as 7 or 8 per cent., but are subject to a considerable variation, according to the season and different times of the season. Those coins bearing the stamp of the letter G. are not received by the Chinese except at a discount. Mexican and United States' dollars do not pass among the Chinese, but are taken *at par* by foreigners. Every individual coin has the mark of the person through whose hands it passes stamped upon it; and as the number of these marks soon becomes very numerous, the coin is quickly broken in pieces; and this process of stamping being continually repeated, the fragments gradually become very small. The highest weight used in reckoning money is the *tael*, which is divided into *mace*, *candareens* and *cash*. The relative value of these

terms, both among the Chinese and in foreign money can be seen by the following table.

Tael.	Mace.	Caud.	Cash.	Ounce tr.	Grs. tr.	Sterg.	Dollars.
1	10	100	1000	1,208	579,84	6*s*. 8*d*.	1,389*a*1,396
	1	10	100		57,984	8*d*.	
		1	10		5,7984	,8*d*.	

The value here given for the tael, in sterling money and dollars, is not the exact value; and it is difficult to ascertain it, owing to the ignorance of the Chinese of such money among other nations. The value given to the tael in sterling money is that which is found on the books of the East India Company: that given to the dollar is the extremes of its value, as different transactions have a different estimate for its value.

The only coin of the Chinese is called *cash* (or *tseen*,) which is made of 6 parts of copper and 4 of lead. The coins are thin and circular, and nearly an inch in diameter, having a square hole in the centre for the convenience of tying them together, with a raised edge both around the outside and the hole. Those now in use have the name of the emperor stamped upon them in whose reign they were cast. Notwithstanding their little value they are much adulterated with spelter; yet on account of their convenience in paying small sums and for common use, they generally bear a premium, and but 850 can commonly be obtained for a tael. The use of silver coin, however, appears to be increasing among the Chinese, as by recent accounts we learn that silver dollars have been made in Fuhkeen and other places, contrary to the laws of the empire.

Bullion is rated by its fineness, which is expressed by dividing the weight into a hundred parts, called touches. If gold is said to be 94 or 98 touch, it is known to have 6 or 2 parts of alloy: the remainder is pure metal. Silver is estimated in the same manner; and without alloy, or nearly so, is called *sycee*, which bears a premium according to its purity. It is cast into ingots, (by the Chinese called shoes, from their shape,) stamped with the mark of the office that issued them, and the date of their emission. It is used to pay government taxes and duties, and the salaries of officers. The ingots weigh from ½ to 100 taels, and bears a value accordingly. Sycee silver is the only approach among the Chinese to a silver currency. Gold ingots are made, weighing ten taels each, and are worth between $22 and $23 each; but neither gold ingots nor doubloons, nor any other gold coin, are used as money among the Chinese.

2. Commercial Weights.

The only weights in use among the Chinese, other than money, are the *pecul* (tan,) *catty* (kin,) and *tael* (leang.) The proportion these bear to each other and to English weights, can be seen by the following table.

Pecul.	Catties.	Taels.	Lbs avr.	Cwt.	Lbs. troy.
1	100	1600	133⅓	1,0,21⅓	162,0,8,1.
	1	16	1⅓		

Usage has established a difference between the tael of commercial weights, which, at the rate of 133⅓ pounds to the pecul weighs 583½ grains troy, and the tael of money weight, of which the old standard is 579.84 grains troy. By the above table it appears that one ton is equal to 16 peculs and 80 catties: one cwt. is the same as 84 catties, and one pound avoirdupois equals ¾ of a catty. The Portuguese at Macao have a pecul for weighing cotton and valuable articles; a second for coarse goods; and again a different one for rice. But the Chinese among themselves know no difference either in the weight of a pecul for different articles, or in the tael, whether used for money or goods.

3. Measures.

The principal measures in use among the Chinese are three, namely, long measure, land measure, and dry measure; each of these we notice separately.

Long Measure. The principal measure of length is the *covid (chih)* which is divided into ten *punts (tsun.)* The covid varies considerably, according as it is used for measuring cloths, distances or vessels. That determined upon by the mathematical tribunal is 13,125 English inches; that used by tradesmen at Canton is about 14,625 inches; that employed by engineers for public works is 12.7 inches; while the one by which distances are usually rated is 12.1 inches nearly. The *le* or mile is also an uncertain measure, varying more than the covid or foot. Its common measure is 316¼ fathoms, or 1897½ English feet, and it is the usual term in which length is estimated.—The Chinese reckon 192½ *le* for a degree of latitude and longitude; but the Jesuits divided the degree into 250 *le*, each *le* being 1826 English feet, or the 10th part of a French league, which is the established measure at present. A le, according to this measurement is a little more than one-third of an English mile.

Land Measure. This also has varied considerably, but is at present established by authority. By this rule, 1200 covids make an acre or *mow*, which contains about 6600 square feet.

Dry Measure. Rice or paddy is the only article measured in vessels the dimensions of which have been fixed by law or usage; but as even rice and paddy are usually weighed when sold in large quantities, the vessels for measuring these commodities are but little used.

To perform their calculations, the Chinese have a kind of arithmetical board or abacus called *swan-pan* or *counting board*, on which, by constant practice, they will perform calculations in numbers with surprising facility. It consists of an oblong frame of wood, having a bar running lengthwise, about two-thirds its width from one side. Through this bar at right angles, are inserted a number of parallel wires having moveable balls on them, five on one side and two on the other of the bar. The principle on which computations are made is this: that any ball in the larger compartment, being placed against the bar and called unity, decreases or increases by tenths, hundredths, &c.; and the corresponding balls in the smaller division by fifths, fiftieths, &c.; if one in the smaller compartment is placed against the middle bar, the opposite unit or integer, which may be any one of the digits, is multiplied by five.

A DESCRIPTION

OF THE PRINCIPAL IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF CANTON.

Agar-agar. This is a species of sea-weed, of which the Chinese make the gum used in the manufacture of their transparent lanterns. It is incomparable as a paste; and is not liable to be eaten by insects. It is extensively employed in making silks and paper; and when boiled forms a sweet, glutinous compound which is used in sweetmeats. It is brought from New Holland, New Guinea and other adjacent islands; between 400 and 500 peculs are imported annually by the Chinese at the prime cost of $1½ to $2 per pecul. Its cheapness and admirable qualities as a paste, render it worthy the attention of other countries.

Alum. This salt is exported by the Chinese in considerable quantities to the Indian archipelago. It is probably found in the same geological positions in this, as in other countries, namely in a slate, known as *alum shale.* The supply seems to be abundant from the quantities brought to market. It is commonly much adulterated with other substances, as gypsum, lime, &c.; the taste is not so sharp as that of European alum; but the pieces are large and transparent. Great quantities of alum are employed by the Chinese in purifying the water of their rivers, which they use for culinary purposes. The duty on the article when exported is 5 taels per pecul, and its value in market is from $2 to $3 per pecul.

Amber. This fossil is found on the shores of several islands of the Indian archipelago, and in some small quantities on the coast of China and Tung-king (Tonquin.) A considerable part of the amber in the markets of the east comes from the eastern coast of Africa; and as far as investigation has gone

it is found in greater or less quantities on all extended lines of sea-coast, having been brought from the shores of Europe, America, Africa, and all the islands of the eastern part of Asia. Its value was formerly very great in those countries of the east where it was used for ornaments and incense; but other substances, cheaper and more odoriferous, have superseded it. In choosing it, those pieces should be selected which are hard, transparent, and of a lively yellowish-brown color; and it should attract light substances after being rubbed on cloth. If there are insects in it, the value is greatly increased, but if the pieces are opaque and foul, they ought to be rejected.—The price is from $8 to $14 per catty according to the quality and size of the pieces. False amber is also sold in Canton at prices almost as great as those which the genuine article bears.

Ambergris. This has often been confounded with amber, which it resembles somewhat in appearance, and it is used for nearly the same purposes. The origin of the two, however, differs widely; amber being a vegetable fossil, and ambergris a substance found in the intestines of the *Physeter macrocephalus* and spermaceti whale. It is probably generated in the animal when it is diseased, though whether it be the effect or cause is not ascertained. If no fœces are voided from the animal, when it is first harpooned, the sailors generally expect to find ambergris; 362 ounces have been taken from the body of a single whale. Kæmpfer asserts that the Japanese collect it in this manner. Most of it, however, is picked up after strong winds, on the shore of the numerous islands of the Indian and Pacific oceans. The Dutch formerly purchased much of this article; they gave the king of Tidore 11,000 rix dollars for one mass weighing 182 lbs., and for which the duke of Tuscany offered 50,000. The French East India Company once had a mass weighing 225lbs. estimated at $52,000. The shores of Africa afford ambergris in considerable quantities and in large pieces. Good ambergris is of an ash color, marked with blackish and yellowish spots, soft and tenacious like wax, and when melted entirely disappears. The Chinese test its goodness by throwing some of it scraped very fine into boiling hot tea, where, if pure, it will diffuse itself equally through the fluid. It has but little taste or smell when cold; but when handled it emits a fragrant odor. It swims on water. The pure white, or that which is apparently smooth and uniform in quality, should be rejected as it is commonly factitious.

Amomum. The seeds of the *Amomum verum* have a strong penetrating smell, and an aromatic, pungent taste. The tree grows in China and the East Indies. The fruit is shaped like a grape, and contains three cells, each of which has a number of blackish seeds. The pods are of little value, as are the seeds also when wrinkled and small. When good, the pods are heavy, of a light grey color and filled with grains. Their uses are similar to those of star aniseeds.

Aniseed stars. These are the fruit of a small tree, *Illicium anisatum*, which grows in China, Japan, and the Philipines. They are prized for their aromatic taste, and for the volatile oil obtained from them. The name of *star* is applied to them on account of the manner in which they grow; the pods being in small clusters joined together at one end, and diverging in the form of a star. The husks have a more aromatic flavor than the seeds, but they are not as sweet. In China, their most common use is to season sweet dishes; in Japan, they are applied to quite a different purpose, being placed on the tombs of friends and presented as offerings in the temples. They are exported at $11 or $12 per pecul; and the oil which is extracted from them, at $2 per catty; both for medical uses.

Arrack. This spirituous liquor is distilled from different substances in the several countries where it is manufactured; on which account that made at different places is often found to vary much in strength and taste; the three principal kinds are made in Batavia, Goa, and Colombo. That from the former place is the strongest, and is distilled from a mixture of 62 parts of molasses, 3 of toddy or palm wine, a liquor distilled from the juice of the cocoa-nut tree, and 35 of rice. The process of making it is as follows; the rice is first boiled, and after cooling, a quantity of yeast is added and the whole pressed into baskets, in which condition it is placed over tubs and left for eight days: during this time, a liquor flows abundantly from the rice. This liquor is distilled and then mixed with the molasses and toddy, which is all left to ferment for a week in large vats; after the fermentation is over, the arrack is distilled one, two or three times, according to the strength required. That made at Java is chiefly for home consumption, but is exported to China and India, where it is sold at 40 cents a gallon for the best, and 27 or 30 cts for the poorest.

The arrack produced at Goa is sweeter than that which comes from Java, being made entirely from toddy, by repeated distillation. It is preferred by the Hindoos to the Batavian on that account, though it is an inferior spirit, containing only one seventh of pure alcohol. That made at Colombo is the poorest and but little of it is exported.

Assfaœtida. This is the concrete juice of the roots of the *Ferula assafœtida*, a tree which grows in Persia. To obtain it, the roots, after the earth is taken away from them, are covered with leaves to defend them from the sun for forty days; they are then cut off transversely, and the thick milky juice exudes and thickens on the wound; this when hard is scraped off and another transverse section made. This operation is repeated until the root be entirely exhausted of juice.—The gum is nauseous and bitter, and as it grows old loses its efficacy. The masses are composed of grains, of a variegated color; the best color is a pale red, having the grains nearly white; the odor should be penetrating, and when the piece is broken, the fracture ought to bear a marbled appearance. The vessels employed to carry this drug are so scented with the odor, that they spoil most other goods. Considerable quantities of it are brought to this market; and it ranks high in the materia medica of the Chinese physician. Its value is from $4 to $5 per pecul.

Bamboo. The uses of this plant are very numerous; it is employed for purposes of building and clothing, for food, paper, boats, masts, sails, ropes, medicines, sweetmeats, lampwicks, beds, fodder, &c. All these uses are made of it however, only where it is indigenous. It is exported in considerable quantities, and is then used for canes and umbrella-sticks, &c.

Beeswax. This article has been introduced by foreigners from the Indian archipelago and Europe, and it has gradually superseded the product of the tallow-tree, *Stillingia sebifera*. In the islands where the bees are found, the natives collect the wax from the nests in the forests, disregarding the honey, which is little in quantity and worthless. The islands of Timur and Timurlant afford beeswax in sufficient quantity to form an important article of export; the Portuguese there, send away 20,000 peculs annually to China and India, at a prime cost of $5 per pecul. The Chinese use it to form cases or envelopes for the tallow of the stillingia, in the manufacture of the candles used in their temples. The wax when so employed is colored with vermilion.

Betel nut. The leaf of the betel pepper, *Piper betle*, and the nut of the areca palm, *Areca catechu*, together constitute this article, which is improperly called *betel nut*, and which is used as a masticatory so universally throughout the east. But as an article of commerce it is always sold separately, under the name of 'betel nut,' so called because always used with the leaf of the betel pepper.

The habit of chewing this compound has extended from the islands, where the plant is found, to the continent of Asia, and it is now used from the Red sea to the Pacific. The areca nut is the fruit of a slender palm, not above six inches in diameter and about thirty feet high. The tree produces fruit from the age of five to twenty-five years. The nuts resemble a nutmeg in shape, color and internal structure, but are a little larger and harder. The annual produce of a single tree is averaged at fourteen pounds; and the little care requisite in producing it, allows the cultivator to sell it at the rate of about half a dollar a pecul. In the Deccan, the expense of rearing the palm is much greater, and the crop more precarious. The betel pepper is the vine from which the leaf is obtained, and for which alone it is cultivated. The flavor of the leaf is very peculiar, being between a herbaceous and an aromatic taste and is a little pungent. This vine requires a rich soil where there is abundance of water. The tree on which it is supported affects the quality and quantity of the produce.

The preparation of the betel nut for use is very simple. The nut is cut into slices, and wrapped in the raw leaves together with a quantity of quick-lime, enough to give it a flavor. All classes of people, male and female, are in the habit of chewing it. "It sweetens the breath," so say those who use it, "rectifies and strengthens the stomach and preserves the teeth;" it also gives the teeth, lips and gums a dark-red color, which is esteemed a mark of beauty in proportion to its darkness. Much more can be said in favor of the use of it, than of tobacco; its narcotic properties are not so great, and the taste is more pleasant. Persons of rank carry it prepared for use in splendid cases suspended from their girdles. Poor people are contented with cases of any kind, provided they contain the substance itself. A present of one of these cases is esteemed as a mark of high favor and friendship, and is valued accordingly. Among some of the inhabitants of the Indian archipelago, to refuse, on meeting a friend, to accept the betel nut, is regarded as an offence, and satisfaction is demanded. So interwoven into their ideas, has the practice become, that figures of beauty are taken from it, and a face is not accounted beautiful, unless the mouth be stained of a dirty red round the outside of the lips.

The nuts brought from the coast of Malabar are not so good as those from the Indian islands, and they are injurious to the health and destroy the teeth of those who chew them. They are of two sorts, the boiled and the raw; the one is the nut alone, the other the nut cut into slices and boiled with a small quantity of *cutch* and then dried. Another method of curing

the nuts is to split and dry them hastily over a fire, or to dry them slowly without splitting. The betel nut is seldom carried to Europe or America, though the leaf might be employed in dyeing cottons, as it is cheap and used for that purpose in India. Most of that imported into China comes from Java, Malacca and Penang. It varies from $2 to $3 per pecul. It is prepared for use in the same manner as in the islands, except that the Chinese color the lime with a red mixture.

Benzoin or Benjamin. This resin is the concrete juice of a small tree, *Styrax benzoin*, which grows on the plains of Borneo and Sumatra, in a rich, moist soil. Its geographical limits are the same as the camphor tree, being found only in Borneo Proper and the territory of the Battacks in Sumatra; but unlike that tree, it is cultivated. When the plants are seven years old, an incision is made in the bark, from whence the gum exudes, and is carefully scraped off. The trees produce the best benzoin in three years; this first gathering is called *head;* that produced during the next eight or ten seasons, and which is inferior in quality, is known by the name of *belly*; at the end of the last named period, the tree is supposed to be worn out, and is cut down and split to pieces, and all the gum is scraped off from the fragments of wood; this last is denominated *foot*, and is full of sticks and dirt. These varieties bear a price proportionate to their goodness: the first quality, varying at the emporia, from $50 to $100 per pecul; the second from $25 to $45; and the worst from $8 to $20 per pecul.—The gum is brought from the interior in large cakes, which among the natives are standards of value, as metals are in other countries. These cakes require to be softened by boiling before they are packed, and care should be taken to free them from external impurities. Good benzoin is full of clear, light colored spots, and when broken appears marbled; it is almost tasteless, but when rubbed or heated gives off an extremely agreeable odor. The *head* only should be selected for Europe; the other kinds are imported to China and India and used in temples. This is the *frankincense* of the east, but different from the Arabian, which is olibanum. It has been used for incense in the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic, the Mohammedan, the Hindoo, the Budhistic, and probably also, of the Isrealitish worship. From remote ages, almost all nations have sought for this substance. The Arabians prize it more than they do their best olibanum: the Javanese chiefs smoke it with their tobacco; and rich Chinese often fumigate their houses with its grateful odor.

Bezoar. This name was first applied to a concretion found in the stomachs of a goat in Persia, but latterly has been used for similar substances found in various other animals, as the horse, boar, camel, &c. That produced by the goat was formerly much prized as a medicine, sometimes selling for ten times its weight in gold; but since its constituents have been ascertained, it has ceased to be sought after. Different animals produce bezoar, the substance of which differs often in the same kind of animal, as well as in dissimilar species. The famed oriental bezoar is formed of bile and resin; other kinds are found to be made of hair, others of wood, and some principally of magnesia and phosphorus. The true bezoar from Persia is counterfeited so well by pipe-clay and ox-gall that even those have been deceived who procure the genuine from the animal. The genuine throws off only a small scale when a hot needle is thrust into it; when put in hot water it remains unchanged; when rubbed on chalk the trace should be yellow, but green on quick-lime. That found in the camel is highly esteemed as a yellow pigment by the Hindoos. The cow bezoar is valued in this market at from $20 to $25 a catty, and is used by the Chinese solely as a medicine. All bezoars are caused by diseases of the animals which produce them, and are formed by continual accretions to a centre nodule.

Bicho de mar or *biche-de-mer*. This slug, *(Holothurion?)* as its name imports, is a product of the sea, and resembles that often seen in damp places on land. It forms the most important article of commerce between the islands of the Indian archipelago and China, excepting perhaps pepper. It is found on all the islands from New Holland to Sumatra, and also on most of those in the pacific. It is produced in the greatest abundance on small coral islands, especially those to the south and east of the Sooloo group. Among the islanders it is known by the name of *tripang;* the Chinese at Canton call it *hoy-shum* (hae-shin.) It is an ill looking animal, and has but few powers of locomotion in common with other *gasteropodæ.* It is sometimes two feet long; but its common length is from four to ten inches, and its diameter two. Its tentaculæ are short, and when the animal is captured are folded up under its body. It is taken with the hand by natives, who often dive for it: and after it has been cleansed, dried and smoked, it is fit for the markets. For a long time the Chinese were the sole carriers of the article: but recently foreigners have engaged in the trade, and found it profitable. In the markets it appears hard and rigid, and has a dirty brown color. The Chinese use it by itself, or as an ingredient in other dishes, and in large quan-

tities. The varieties into which they divide it are about thirty, varying in price from $80 down to $1½ per pecul. About 7000 peculs come annually from Macassar, and much more than that from Manila.

Birds' nests. These, which owe their celebrity only to the whimsical luxury of the Chinese, are brought principally from Java and Sumatra; though they are found on most of the rocky islets of the Indian archipelago. The nest is the habitation of a small swallow, named (from the circumstance of having an edible house) *Hirundo esculenta.* They are composed of a mucilaginous substance, but as yet have never been analyzed sufficiently accurately to show the constituents; externally, they resemble ill concocted, fibrous isinglass, and are of a white color, inclining to red; their thickness is little more than that of a silver spoon, and the weight from a quarter to half an ounce. When dry, they are brittle and wrinkled; the size is near that of a goose egg. Those that are dry, white, and clean are the most valuable. They are packed in bundles with split rattans run through them to preserve the shape. Those procured after the young are fledged, and denominated *foot*, are not saleable in China.

The quality of the nests varies according to the situation and extent of the caves, and the time at which they are taken. If procured before the young are fledged, the nests are of the best kind; if they contain eggs only, they are still valuable; but if the young are in the nests or have left them, the whole are then nearly worthless, being dark-colored, streaked with blood and intermixed with feathers and dirt. The nests are procurable twice every year; the best are found in deep, damp caves, which if not injured will continue to produce indefinitely. It was once thought that the caves near the seacoast were the most productive; but some of the most profitable yet found, are situated fifty miles in the interior. This fact seems to be against the opinion that the nests are composed of the spawn of fish or of bicho de mar.

The method of procuring these nests resembles somewhat that of catching birds practised on the Orkney isles. Some of the caves are so precipitous, that no one, but those accustomed to the employment from their youth, can obtain the nests, "being only approachable" says Crawfurd "by a perpendicular descent of many hundred feet by ladders of bamboo and rattan, over a sea rolling violently against the rocks. When the mouth of the cave is attained, the perilous task of taking the nests must often be performed by torch-light, by penetrating into recesses of the rock, where the slightest slip

would be instantly fatal to the adventurers, who see nothing below them but the turbulent surf making its way into the chasms of the rock." Such is the price paid to gratify luxury.

After they are obtained, they are separated from feathers and dirt, are carefully dried and packed, and are then fit for the market. The Chinese, who are the only people that purchase them for their own use, bring them in junks to this market, where they command extravagant prices; the best or *white* kind often being worth $4000 per pecul, which is nearly twice their weight in silver. The middling kind is worth from $1200 to $1800, and the worst or those procured after fledging, $150 or $200 per pecul. The most part of the best kind is sent to Peking for the use of the court. It appears, therefore, that this curious dish is only an article of expensive luxury among the Chinese; the Japanese do not use it at all, and how the former people acquired the habit of using it is only less singular than their persevering in it. They consider the birds' nests as a great stimulant and tonic, but their best quality, perhaps, is their being perfectly harmless. The labor bestowed to render them fit for the table is enormous; every feather, stick or impurity of any kind is carefully removed; and then, after undergoing many washings and preparations, it is made into a soft, delicious jelly. The sale of birds' nests is a monopoly with all the governments in whose dominions they are found. About 243,000 peculs, at a value of $1,263,570, are annually brought to Canton. These come from the islands of Java, Sumatra, Macassar, and those of the Sooloo group. Java alone sends about 27,000 lbs., mostly of the first quality, estimated at $60,000.

Baass leaf. This article is manufactured by the Chinese for the Indian markets. It is worth from $45 to $50 a box.

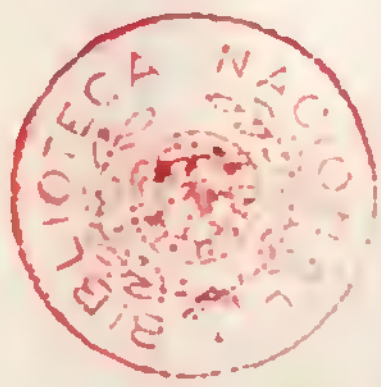
Camphora. This well known gum is brought from Sumatra and Borneo. In those islands, the tree is confined to a small extent of country. In Sumatra, the best gum is obtained in the district of Buroos, and hence all similarly good, brought from those two islands is called *baroos* camphor. The tree, *Dryobalanops camphora*, is found nowhere else in the world, and there only extends three degrees north of the equator. To collect it the natives go into the forests, cut down the trees and split them open, and scrape the gum from the fragments; it is there found in small pieces or as a thick gum, ready for use. It is said that not a tenth of the trees yield any gum or oil; and as they are not cultivated, camphor is becoming gradually more and more scarce. Before killing the trees it cannot be ascertained whether they are productive or not. It

is divided into three sorts; the best is in lumps, apparently crystalized in the fissures of the tree; the second is somewhat brownish with but few sticks in it; while the last and worst is the refuse scrapings. In packing it, particular care should be taken that the boxes are sound, else its volatility will cause it to decrease materially. Good camphor is strong and penetrating, of a bitterish aromatic taste, and when bitten imparts a cooling sensation to the mouth. All that is produced in Sumatra and Borneo, about 800 peculs annually, is brought to China; the high price, near $18 a pound, paid for it by the Chinese, induces the sellers to bring it to this market. The proportion between the prices of Baroos and Japan camphor is 18 to 1, though no perceptible difference can be seen between them.

Nearly all the camphor carried to Europe and America, is obtained from the *Laurus camphora*, a tree which grows in China, Japan, and Formosa. The tree, including the roots, is cut into small pieces, and boiled; the sublimed gum is received into inverted straw cones. It is then made into greyish cakes of a crumbling consistency, and brought to market; that from Japan is esteemed the best, though that from Formosa is good. The Dutch in seven years imported into Europe from Japan alone, 310,520 lbs. Its price varies from $20 to $30 per pecul, while the Baroos is $1000 to $2000. The wood of the Laurus makes a very good material for trunks, boxes, drawers, &c., as the scent preserves it for a long time from insects. The wood that has been boiled is worth but little, being porous and scentless.

Capoor cutchery. This is the root of a plant which grows in China; it is about half an inch in diameter, and is cut into small pieces and dried for exportation; has internally a whitish color; but externally it is rough and of a reddish color: it has a pungent and bitterish taste, and a slight aromatic smell. It is exported to Bombay and from thence to Persia and Arabia; it is said to be used for medical purposes and also to preserve clothes from insects. The price is about $6 per pecul.

Cardamoms. There are several varieties of these, produced by various plants in different countries. The lesser and greater are, however, the principal distinctions, made in this article. The less cardamoms are obtained from a small shrub, *Elettaria cardamomum*, which grows on the coast of Malabar. They are the capsules of the plant, and merely require drying to be ready for sale. They have a sweet aromatic flavor; and the seeds when chewed impart a grateful pungency to the



mouth. The capsules have a bright yellow color, a pungent smell, and when good are plump and broken with difficulty. They should be well dried. In the mountains where the cardamom grows, the natives fell and burn the trees to cause others to grow; wherever the ashes fall, it is said that this seed will spring up; those that are cultivated are of an inferior quality. The greater cardamoms are the fruit of the *Amomum cardamomum*, a tree which grows in China, Ceylon, Java, and other places. The seeds are of a triangular shape and of a black color; and longer and larger than those of the other kind. They are inferior in pungency and flavor to the less and only used when the other cannot be obtained. Both are employed for culinary purposes among the Chinese, by whom alone they are imported. The less cardamoms are carried to Europe for medicinal and other uses.

Cassia. This is of three kinds; cassia lignea which is the bark of the tree, cassia buds, and cassia fistula or pods; the latter of these is usually known by the name of senna. *Cassia lignea* is the substance commonly called cassia, and is exported from China to all parts of the world. It is the decorticated bark of the *Laurus cassia*, a large tree which grows in Japan and China in great quantities; the tree is also found in the northerly islands of the Indian archipelago. The bark is stripped off by running a knife longitudinally along the branch, on both sides, and then gradually loosening it; after it is taken off, it is suffered to lie for twenty-four hours, during which time it undergoes a kind of fermentation, and the epidermis is easily scraped off. The bark soon dries into the quilled shape in which it comes to market. Thin pieces, having an agreeable taste, a brownish red color and a tolerably smooth surface are the best kind; that which is small and broken, is of an inferior quality. The cassia brought from Ceylon and Malabar is inferior to the Chinese, more liable to foul packing, thicker and darker colored and less aromatic. The Chinese cassia is sewed up in mats, usually two or more rolls in each mat, and a pound in a roll; it is easily distinguished from cinnamon, which it resembles, for it is smaller quilled, breaks shorter, and is less pungent. The trees do not however grow in the same countries, and therefore the liability to mistake will happen only in distant markets. *Cassia fistula* is the plant that produces the cassia pods; this grows in China, and the East Indies, but that from Egypt and South America has superseded it. *Cassia buds* are not obtained from the same tree as the cassia lignea, but are the fleshy receptacles of the seeds of the cinnamon tree. They bear

some resemblance to a clove, and when fresh, possess a fine cinnamon flavor. Those that are plump and fresh, and free from stalks and dirt are considered the best. It is probable, however, that much of this article is procured from the cassia tree, since it is found in this country, where the true cinnamon tree is not known. If the buds are packed in the same bundles with the bark, the flavor of both are improved. The relative value of cassia bark and buds is as 8 to 5; this varies however according to the quantity in market.

Cassia oil is obtained from the leaves of the cassia tree by distillation; and is used as a medicine, under the name of *oleum malabathri*. It is easily tested by putting it on the hand, where it will evaporate slowly, and any foreign substance in it will thus be detected. The leaves are exported under the name of *folia malabathri*. There is hardly a product of the east that is more useful than the cassia tree. The wood, the bark, the leaves, the buds, and the oil, are all in request for various purposes in carpentry, medicine and cookery. The price of cassia varies from $8 to $10 per peeul; the buds are generally a little advance of that, and the oil is from $1½ to $2 per catty.

China root. This is the root of the *Smilax China*, a climbing plant. The roots are jointed, knobbed, thick, of a brown color, and break short; when cut, the surface is smooth, close, and glossy; but if old and wormy, dust flies from it when broken. The market price varies from $3½ to $4 per peeul. It is used by the Chinese extensively as a medicine, and is exported to India for the same purpose.

China ware, or *Porcelain*. Very little of this ware is now exported. When the productions of the east were first carried round the cape of Good Hope, the porcelain of China bore an enormous price, and the profits of the first shipments were great. But the process of manufacturing it having been ascertained, the European nations began to make it, and soon rivalled the Chinese. China ware is sold in sets, consisting of a table set of 270 pieces at from 12 to 75 taels, a breakfast set of 20 pieces at three taels, a long tea set of 101 pieces at 11 to 13 taels, and a short tea set of 49 pieces from 5 to 6 taels. Flower pots, vases, jars, fruit baskets, table ornaments &c. are also made of porcelain to any pattern by the Chinese.

Cloves. These are the unopened flowers of a large tree, *Caryophyllus aromaticus*, which grows in the Moluccа islands, and is cultivated to a very limited extent in Sumatra and Mauritius. The tree resembles the pear tree in shape; the bark is smooth and adheres closely to the wood; the leaves

are reddish on the upper and green on the under side; and the whole plant, like the cinnamon tree, has a strong aromatic odor. When an exotic, the tree does not begin to produce till 9 or 10 years of age, but in its native soil, is usually productive at 5 or 6. The buds appear in the beginning of the rainy season, about the first of May, and during the four following months are perfected: they are green at first, then yellow, and finally, when ripe, change to a blood-red color. Soon after this, the flowers open and in three weeks the seeds are fully ripe. They are gathered very carefully by the hand and by crooked sticks, in order that the trees may not be injured. Sir T. Herbert gives the following fanciful description of the buds of the clove. "It blossoms early, but becomes exceedingly inconstant in complexion, from a virgin white varying into other colors; for in the morn, it shows a pale green, in the meridian, a distempered red, and sets in blackness. The cloves manifest themselves at the extremity of the branches, and in their growing evaporate such sense-ravishing odors, as if a compendium of nature's sweetest gums were there extracted and united." They are cured by placing them on hurdles over a slow fire for a few days, and afterwards in the sun, until they are thoroughly dried. The produce varies in different years; the average quantity for an orchard is from 6 to 10 lbs. from each tree; some trees have produced 150 lbs. in one season. The ordinary age is 70 years in Amboyna, and in their native isles about 90. In commerce, there are four varieties of the clove; the common, the female, the royal, and the wild or rice clove. The two latter are smaller and more scarce than the other kind. The best cloves are large, heavy, have a hot taste, and an oily feel. Those which have had the essential oil extracted, are shrivelled and usually want the knob at the top.—The clove trade is in the hands of the Dutch, and has been a monopoly ever since they obtained supremacy in the Moluccas: the cultivation of the tree is restricted to the single island of Amboyna. Cloves are now 55 per cent. dearer than when first brought round the cape of Good Hope, and are sold to the consumer at an advance of 1258 per cent. on first cost of production! The price for Moluccа cloves in this market is from $28 to $30 per pecul; for those from Mauritius, $20 to $24 a pecul.

Mother cloves are a larger and inferior description, of late years imported from the straits of Malacca. The price fluctuates greatly according to the supply; from $10 to $12 per pecul, however, is the average. We believe it is used for scents.

Oil of Cloves. This is procured by distillation, and is exported for various uses in the arts. If it is suspected to be adulterated by any other oil, it can be proved by dropping into it spirit of wine, when the two will separate; or by setting it on fire, when the smell of any other will be detected. The color when pure is of a reddish-brown, which gradually becomes darker by age.

Cochineal. This insect is brought to China from England and Mexico, and is used for dyeing silk goods, crapes, &c. The insect itself is about one-third of an inch in length, and has been materially improved by culture from what it was in its wild state; it lives solely on the leaves of the *Cactus cochinilifer*, a species of prickly pear. Attempts have been made to raise it in India, Java and Spain, but with little success. The climate and situation of China and Japan being similar to Mexico, it is probable that the cultivation of the plant and domestication of the insect would be successful in these countries. In selecting cochineal, care should be taken that the black color has not been occasioned by art; this deception may be discovered by the bad smell of the article. The insects are divided into the wild and the domesticated, and are collected thrice in a year. A watery infusion of cochineal dyes scarlet; an alcholic infusion produces a deep crimson; while an alkaline, gives a deep purple color. It is occasionally imported to China from Mexico via Manila, and is called *ungarbled* to distinguish it from that brought from England, which bears the name of *garbled*. Garbling is the term given to the process of repacking it free from all impurities. Garbled cochineal is valued at $280 or $300 per pecul; and ungarbled at from $180 to $200.

Copper. This metal is found in Persia, Sumatra, Borneo and Japan. It formed an export to England from Persia formerly, but is now sent to the India presidencies. In the island of Borneo, copper has been lately discovered; and it has been known a long time in Sumatra and Timur. The utensils made of this metal in those islands, always contain some iron; and the bars or cakes into which it is cast when sold for unalloyed copper, require much labor to make them pure and malleable; the ore is so rich as to produce half its weight of pure copper. The copper found in Japan contains gold in alloy; it occurs in the market in small bars, six inches long, flat on one side and convex on the other, weighing 4 or 5 oz. each; this copper is the most valuable of any found in Asia. South American copper is brought to this coast, but not latterly to the market in Canton; as it fetches a higher price at Lintin for remittance to India. The price so obtained

is from $19 to $22 per pecul. There is a natural alloy of several metals found in the interior of China, known under the name of *white copper*, which is used by the natives in great quantities. The constituents are not known, but copper and iron are probably the chief. It is used for dish covers, which when new and polished look almost as well as silver.

Coral is brought from all the islands of the Indian archipelago, and is here wrought into many ornaments. It sells from $40 to $60 per pecul according to the color, density, and size of the fragments. When made into buttons, it is used among the Chinese as insignia of office.

Cotton. Of this import we need only enumerate the different kinds, The raw cotton is brought mostly from Bombay and Bengal in English ships; it sells from 9 to 13 taels per pecul. Except sheetings, which are from America, cotton piece goods come principally from England, the chief articles of which are cambrics, muslins, chintzes and long-cloths. In selecting these goods for this market, especially chintzes, those should be chosen which are well covered with large, gay flowers and leaves; a green ground is preferred. No formal figures, nor any Chinese representations are suitable. Good, unbleached long-cloths are the most suitable; cambrics are not in much demand. Cotton yarn comes from England and India; that from numbers 22 to 45 is the most saleable. The sale of cotton goods of all descriptions is annually increasing The Chinese tacitly acknowledge their superiority, by slowly adopting them in the place of their own goods.

Cubebs. These are the fruit of the *Piper cubeba*, a vine growing in China, Java and Nepaul, and resemble peppercorns so closely, that externally they are only distinguished from them by a process on that side by which they were attached to the stalk. Cubebs have a greyish-brown color with a wrinkled pericarp enclosing a single seed, and a warm, pungent taste, with a pleasant, aromatic smell. The heavy, plump and large fruit is the best; if not ripe, the seed is soft and the covering much wrinkled. Cubebs are valued in this market from $18 to $20 per pecul; 18,500 lbs. were imported into England in 1830 from the east; but the Dutch carry on the largest trade in this article.

Cudbear is a powder used in dyeing violet or crimson; it is procured from the *Lichin tartaricus*, a plant found in Iceland. Its colors are not durable, when it is employed alone, and it is therefore used as a body to other more expensive dyes, as indigo, cochineal, &c., making them more lively. It

is used but little by the Chinese, and the demand in this market is not great.

Cutch, or *Terra Japonica*. This for a long time was regarded as an earth, and supposed to be brought from Japan; but it is now ascertained to be a gummy resin, which is extracted from the *Acacia catechu*, a tree growing in Persia near the gulf of *Cutch*. It is imported from Bombay and Bengal; that brought from the former place is friable, and of a red-brown color, and more hard and firm than that from Bengal. The cakes resemble those of chocolate, but when broken they have a streaked appearance. Good cutch has a bright uniform color, a sweetish, astringent taste, melts in the mouth, and is free from any grittiness. But it varies considerably even when good; some kinds being ponderous and compact, others very light and friable; some more and others less astringent; which differences seem to result from the manner and the seasons in which it is obtained. It is also found in Pegu, Siam, and Singapore, from whence it is brought to Canton. The value varies from $4 to $5 per pecul.

Dammer, or *Damar*. This is a resin flowing spontaneously from several species of pine in the Malay peninsula. It is found in large, hard lumps both under the trees and on their trunks. It is mixed with a softer kind which makes it less brittle; and is then used for closing seams in boats, and other wooden vessels.

Dragon's blood. This resinous gum has been long known; it received its present name from the ancient Greeks, who used it extensively. It was also a favorite substance with the alchimists in making their mixtures. It is the concrete juice of the *Calamus rotang*, a large rattan which grows in Borneo and Sumatra. It is found in the market either in oval drops or in large and impure masses, composed of several tears. That which is good is of a bright crimson when powdered, and if held up to the light in masses is a little transparent. The tears are usually the firmest, and the most resinous and pure. If it is black when made fine, or very friable in the lump, it is inferior. It is often adulterated with other gums; but that which is genuine melts readily and burns wholly away; is scarcely soluble in water, but fluent in alcohol. Its uses are various in painting, medicine, varnishing and other arts. The best is procured at Banjermassin in Borneo; and is brought to this market in reeds; its price varies from $80 to $100 a pecul. The Chinese hold dragon's blood in much estimation and are the principal consumers of it in the east.

Ebony. This is the heart wood of the *Diospyrus ebenus*, a tree growing in Mauritius and other islands of the Indian ocean. The best wood is of a jet black, the texture compact, free from cracks and not worm-eaten. The outside wood should be all taken off. There are kinds of wood resembling ebony in external appearance, which are often substituted for it. The price of Mauritius ebony is about $6 a pecul, and of Ceylon and India about $2½ per pecul.

Elephants' teeth. These are obtained in South Africa, Siam, Burmah, &c. They should be chosen without flaws, solid, straight and white; for if cracked or broken at the point or decayed inside, they are less valuable. The largest and best weigh from 5 to 8 to a pecul, and decrease in size to 25 in a pecul. The cuttings and fragments are also of value sufficient to make them an article of trade. Elephants' teeth when manufactured are called ivory. The number of articles which the Chinese make of it, and the demand for them on account of their exquisite workmanship, render its consumption very great; and the quantity is gradually decreasing. The circular balls which the Chinese make of ivory, as well as their miniature boats, are neat specimens of carved work. From a quantity of ivory not weighing over three pounds they will make a toy worth a hundred dollars. The largest teeth are valued at $90 a pecul and the cuttings at $70. Burmah and Siam afford the greatest part of those which are brought to China.

Fish-maws. These are the stomachs of fishes, and are used as an article of luxury among the Chinese. They are of a cartilaginous nature; and when properly dried are fit for the market. If they become damp, they will decay and are then worthless. They are brought in junks from the Indian islands; the price is from $50 to $70 per pecul.

Flints, which are uncut, are imported from Europe at 50 cents and sometimes one dollar per pecul.

Gambier. This is the inspissated juice of a trailing plant, *Funis uncatus*, which grows in the more western and poorer islands of the Indian archipelago. It was once called Terra Japonica and often confounded with that substance. The plant is cultivated in dry situations; the seedlings are transplanted when eight or nine inches high; and at the end of the first year the leaves are ready to boil, in order to extract the juice. It is brought to market in square cakes, the best of which have a white, clear appearance, but the inferior are brownish. The plants grow eight or ten feet high, and yield for twenty years. Gambier in considerable quantities is im-

ported to China from Java and other islands. The trade is in the hands of the Chinese, who pay at the emporia $1 or $2 per pecul. One of its principal uses among the islanders is as a masticatory with the betel nut. The taste is first bitter, but when it has remained in the mouth some time, agreeably sweet. It is used in China for tanning leather, which it renders porous and rotten.

Galangal. This root is obtained from two different plants, the greater from the *Kæmpferia galanga*, the smaller from the *Maranta galanga*. The greater is a tough, woody root, with a thin bark and full of knobby circles on the outside. It is bitterish, less aromatic and less valuable than the smaller. This latter is a root of reddish brown outside, and pale red within. The roots are rarely over two inches in length, extremely firm, though light. The best is full and plump, has a bright color, a hot, acrid, peppery taste, and an aromatic smell. The smaller, which should always be obtained if possible, sells for $3½ to $4 per pecul. It is used principally in cookery.

Gamboge. This is so named from the country Camboja, which produces the tree, *Stalagmitis gambogioides;* it is also found in Ceylon, (where it distills spontaneously,) China and Siam, in which latter country the tree is wounded to obtain the gum-resin. The juice is inspissated in the sun, and made into rolls which have a brownish-yellow color and a smooth surface. If when rubbed upon the wet nail, the color be a bright lemon, and no grittiness be felt, it is good; when burned, the flame is white, and the residuum a greyish ash. The large, gritty and dark colored pieces are of an inferior quality. Gamboge is used as a beautiful pigment and as a medicine; and is carried in considerable quantities from China and India to the west. It varies from $70 to $75 a pecul.

Ginger, preseaved. This is a sweetmeat made of the tender roots of the ginger plant, *Zingiber officinalis*, and when good has a bright appearance, a dark yellow color, and is somewhat transparent. If the roots are old, the conserve will be stringy, tough and tasteless. Considerable quantities of preserved ginger are carried to Hamburg and Singapore; to the latter place for re-exportation to the continent of Europe.

Ginseng. This is the dried root of the *Panax quinquefolia*. It is obtained in Tartary, and also in America, from which latter country it is exported to China. It is generally considered by the Chinese physicians as a panacea. All the ginseng growing in Tartary is the property of the emperor, and he sells a quantity yearly to his faithful subjects, who have the

privilege to purchase it at its weight in gold! Enormous quantities are consumed by the Chinese who consider no medicine good, if this be not a constituent. The roots are about the size and length of a man's little finger, and when chewed have a mucilaginous sweetness; and if good, will snap when broken. They should be sound, firm and free from worm holes. The Chinese consider that which comes from Tartary to be the best, even when they can see no difference. When first brought from America, the profits were 500 to 600 per cent; but it has declined so much of late, as hardly to be worth the first cost. Ginseng is clarified by being boiled and skinned, which operation renders the root almost transparent. Clarified ginseng varies in price from $60 to $65 a peeul; the crude, from $35 to $40 a peeul.

Glue. This is manufactured by the Chinese for their own use, and has lately become an article of export to India and beyond the cape of Good Hope. It is inferior to the Irish glue in tenacity and purity; but is fit for all kinds of carpenter work. It sells at $8 to $10 per peeul.

Gold. This metal is brought to China from Borneo, and generally in the shape of dust, but sometimes in impure masses; and is here cast into bars, called shoes. These are not used as coin, but merely as bullion. Great care is necessary in buying gold in order to prevent deception; for the Chinese often adulterate it with other metals; by coating the shoe with a thick crust of gold and making the inside of silver or of copper; by introducing lumps of other metals into the shoe, &c. The purity of the gold is ascertained by means of the touchstone, which gives a different colored mark, when the gold is of unequalled purity. This is called a touch, and the color shows the proportion of pure gold. Needles for comparison are also made of different proportions of alloy, by which the stone is rubbed at the same time with the gold. Gold is also tested by nitric acid which will act upon the alloy, but does not upon the gold. In Borneo and some of the other islands, acid is not allowed to be used. To express the fineness of gold, it is divided into 100 parts called touches; if the gold is said to be 96 touch, it has four parts of alloy. The Chinese are so expert in the use of the touchstone, that they can detect the alloy when it is only one part in two hundred. They are not allowed to test their gold in any other way; it therefore becomes a matter of some importance to be able to ascertain the purity of the metal by the touchstone. The touches have each a separate name, and usually the shoes are shaped differently to distinguish them. The range of the

touch is between 90 and 100. Gold leaf is made by the Chinese in great quantities, and is used for ornaments, &c., in their temples. It is also exported to India.

Hartall, or *orpiment*. This is an oxyd of arsenic and is used as a yellow paint. It is found in China, Hungary and Turkey. When good, it has lemon yellow with a shade of green, and a foliaceous, shattery texture; its lamina are a little flexible; when burned, it throws off much sulphureous smoke. The market price is from $8 to $11 per pecul.

Horns and *Bones* of various animals are brought to China in junks from the adjacent countries and islands, and form an important article of import with the native vessels. The horns are made into handles, buttons, and other useful articles; and the bones are burned into lime. In a single year, 502 peculs have been brought to Canton.

India ink. This is the only ink used by the Chinese. It is made of lamp-black and glue, size or gum, and formed into cakes or sticks, which are often perfumed and gilded. Good ink is of a shining black, and free from all grittiness, which last particular can be ascertained by rubbing it on the wet nail. It was once supposed that India ink was made of the black fluid found in the cuttle fish, after being inspissated and purified.

Iron in bars, rods and scraps has lately become an article of importance in this market. Bar iron from 1 to 3 inches wide, and rod of $\frac{1}{4}$ inch and less, are the common sizes imported. Bar is worth from $1.20 to $1.40 per pecul; rod from $2.50 to $3; and scrap about $1.50 per pecul.

Lacquered ware. This ware was formerly exported in considerable quantities, but owing to the liability to injury and the little demand for it in foreign markets, the exportation has dwindled to a mere trifle. The articles now sent to England and the United States consist of those which have always been in request, as fans, waiters, boxes, tea-boards, &c. The patterns worked on them affect their sale, and the least mark spoils the varnish. The best kind of ware cames from Japan, but it is rather difficult to be obtained. The varnish with which this ware is covered has not been successfully imitated in Europe.

Lead. Much of this metal is imported in the form of pig and sheet lead. The market price varies from $4 to $5 per pecul. Lead, comparatively speaking, is very scarce in Asia and the Indian islands. Most of that which is used comes from Europe and America. Perhaps the low state of civilization in the countries of Asia, has left undiscovered many

treasures in the bosom of the earth, which may be brought to light in after times, when the states inhabiting this continent shall have other objects of attention besides war and conquest. Lead has not yet been found in the islands of the Indian ocean; but New Holland, New Guinea and Borneo yet remain unexplored. A considerable part of that imported is made into paints by oxydation, and exported again as red and white lead. The read-lead sells for about $11 per peeul, and the white at $10. The lining of tea-chests consumes a proportion of the lead brought to this country. The mode of making the sheet is very simple and expeditious. Two smooth stones of marble are placed near the melted lead, and the workman, holding the upper one by the side, with the opposite edge resting on the lower stone, pours the liquid metal on the under one and then drops that he held in his hand; the sheets are made into the requisite form by soldering. The art of dropping the upper stone in such a manner as to make the sheet of a uniform thickness is the only difficult part of the operation.

Mace. This substance is the reticulated middle bark of the covering of the nutmeg, *Myristica moschata.* Mace has a lively reddish-yellow color, approaching to saffron, and a pleasant, aromatic smell, with a pungent, bitterish taste. Good mace is tough, fresh, and oily. It is packed in bales, and care is requisite that it be not too dry or too wet, as both alike injure it. Mace has all the properties of the nutmeg in a less degree except that it is more bitter. There is a kind of mace found in Malabar, which externally so much resembles the true, that the sight alone cannot distinguish between them. That from this coast has a resinous taste and is but slightly aromatic. Whether the tree, that produces this last, has also the nutmeg we do not know, but it is probably an inferior species of the same tree.

Mats. These are made by the Chinese very beautifully, and the demand for them has increased the importation of rattans within the last few years. They are durable, and when worked with fanciful designs are handsome. Floor mats are also made of rush and bamboo for a cheaper article, but the rattan are the best. When shipped, care should be taken that they are perfectly dry, or they will mildew and become rotten. Table mats are put up in sets of six each, of different sizes.

Mother of pearl shells. These are imported to and exported from this port. The Persian gulf, the coasts of India, and the islands of the Indian archipelago, produce them in

the greatest abundance. They vary in size, and are sometimes a foot in diameter and proportionally thick. Their value depends upon the transparency and lustre of the naker or inside coat; those shells that are rough or have yellow spots in them are of an inferior quality. The shell, *Mya margaritifera*, is thick and rough on the outside. It is found in fresh water, but when in that situation is worthless. The Chinese manufacture pearl shells into a great number of trinkets and toys, as beads, seals, knife-handles, spoons, boxes, &c.; they also inlay it into lacquered ware to represent flowers, trees, &c., when the play of colors is very rich. The shells are brought in the rough state by junks and foreign vessels, and sell from $15 to $12 per peeul. When exported, the price is at a small advance to cover the Chinese duty.

Musk. The genuine musk is much prized, and is rare and costly; on which account it is often and much adulterated. It is found on a species of antelope, *Moschus moschifera*, inhabiting Thibet, Siberia and China. It is probable that musk is obtained from several kinds of deer in the central parts of Asia. In this market, musk is found in the bags about as large as a walnut, in which it grows on the animal. Good musk is of a dark, purplish color, dry and light, and generally in concrete, smooth, unctuous grains; its taste is bitter, and its smell strong, and disagreeable. The bags are often counterfeited by those of skin; but these have a paler color than the true, and the hair is uneven. The degree of purity and strength of this drug can be ascertained by macerating it for a few days in spirits of wine, to which it imparts a strong scent. Musk is adulterated with many substances and every bag should be opened. When good musk is rubbed on paper, the trace is of a bright yellow color, and free from any grittiness. The price varies from $65 to $80 a catty, according to the quality. It is used for perfumery and medicine. The musk-ox, found in North America also produces this substance of an inferior quality. That which comes from Russia is very inferior to the Chinese, and is probably obtained from a different animal.

Musk seed. These are the fruit of *Hibiscus abelmoschus*, which grows in China and other countries. The Arabians use them to give flavor to their coffee. The seeds are flat, kidney-shaped, about the size of a large pin head, and have a considerable odor of musk, with a slightly aromatic, bitterish taste. The black and musty seeds are not good; a greyish color is the natural one. They are now brought to Europe from South America and the West Indies.

Myrrh. This celebrated gum is brought from Arabia and Abyssinia, and is used by the Chinese for incense and perfumes. It exudes spontaneously from a tree of the genus *Acacia*, or is obtained by incision. It occurs in irregular grains of different sizes up to that of a horse bean. The grains or tears are resinous, greasy, and easy to be broken, of a reddish-brown color, with an acrid, warm and bitter taste. The pieces ought to be clear, light, and unctuous, but it has usually other gums mixed with it. The price varies from $4 to $18 per pecul in the Canton market.

Nankeens. This is a kind of cotton cloth, so named from Nanking, the city where the reddish threads were originally made. They are divided in company's nankeens and the narrow; the former are the finest and most esteemed. Nankeens are also manufactured in Canton and other parts of the empire, and in the East Indies. Those made in China, still maintain their superiority in color and texture over the English manufacture. The price varies from $60 to $90 per hundred pieces. They are exported to Europe and America in considerable quantities, and are well adapted for summer clothing in warm latitudes.

Nutmegs. These are the fruit of a large tree, *Myristica moschata*, which grows in the Banda isles; it is fifty feet in height, and well branched. In its general appearance it resembles the clove tree; the bark is smooth and ash colored, the leaves green above and grey beneath, and if rubbed in the hand leave a gratefully aromatic odor. The sap has the property of staining cloth indelibly. The tree bears buds, flowers and fruit at the same time. The flower is not unlike the lily of the valley. The fruit in size and appearance resembles the nectarine; it is marked with a furrow, like the peach, and as it ripens has the same delicate blush. The following description by sir Thomas Herbert is somewhat fanciful, and at the same time true. "The nutmeg, like trees most excellent, is not very lofty in height, scarce rising as high as the cherry; by some it is rosembled to the peach, but varies in form of leaf and grain, and affects more compass. The nut is clothed with a defensive husk, like those of a baser quality, and resembles the thick rind of a walnut, but at full ripeness discovers her naked purity, and the mace chastely entwines (with a vermilion blush,) her endeared fruit and sister, which hath a third coat, and both of them breathe out most pleasing smells. The mace in a few days, (like choice beauties,) by the sun's flames becomes tawny; yet in that complexion best pleases the rustic gatherer." The plant bears three crops in

a year, but the fruit requires nine months to become perfect. The nutmeg has three coverings, which are all of different textures. The first is the outside coat, which is about half an inch thick, and when ripe cracks and opens of itself; the second is the reticulated mace which appears through the fissures of the first, and has a bright scarlet color; the third is a hard, black shell, which encloses the nutmeg. Good trees will produce from ten to twelve pounds of nuts and mace annually; but the average of an orchard is 65 oz. avoirdupois, or about two peculs to an acre. Nutmegs of a lightish-gray color, a strong, fragrant smell, an aromatic taste, large, oily, and round, and of a firm texture are the best. The holes made by insects in eating into the kernel, are often neatly filled up, which can be ascertained by the inferior weight. They are packed in layers of dry chunam. In commerce, nutmegs are divided into royal and queen, the former are of an oblong, and the latter of a round shape. The trade in this article, like that of cloves, is a monopoly in the hands of the Dutch. They have entered into treaty with the petty rajahs of the Molucca islands to destroy all the trees in their dominions, for which they pay them a small annuity. In the Banda isles, to which the cultivation is restricted, the Dutch are obliged to import slaves to tend the trees. Any person who engages in the spice trade illicitly, is liable to the severest penalties. Yet it is computed that 60,000 lbs. of nutmegs and 15,000 lbs. of mace are clandestinely exported every year. The prices paid by government for the cultivation are fixed, and during a course of years, they have been obliged to raise the compensation, till at present, they pay *five* times as much for the nutmegs as when the trade was first opened. This strange and unnatural mode of operation has forced the raising of the nutmeg tree at Bencoolen in Sumatra, but at a great disadvantage. In the China market, nutmegs sell from $120 to $140 a pecul. Considerable quantities are brought in junks, but the greatest part in foreign vessels.

Oil of Nutmegs. Nutmegs produce both an essential and a volatile oil; the former of which is known under the name of Banda soap. It should be free from impurities, and of a pleasant, aromatic smell. The volatile oil is not known in commerce. The nutmegs from which the oil has been extracted are sometimes offered for sale, but they are of no value.

Olibanum. This is the frankincense of the ancients, and is used in China, as in other countries, for incense in temples and perfumery in houses. The Greeks, Romans, Persians, Israelites, Hindoos and Budhists have used this substance in the

various ceremonies of their religious worship. Olibanum is the gum that exudes spontaneously from the *Juniperus lycia*, a large tree which grows in Arabia and India. The drops have a pale reddish color, a strong and somewhat unpleasant smell; a pungent and bitter taste, and when chewed adhere to the teeth and give the saliva a milky color. If laid on a hot iron, the gum takes fire and burns with a pleasant fragrance, leaving a black residuum. In market, olibanum is seen in tears of a pink color, brittle and adhesive; the boxes each contain one cwt. Garbled olibanum is valued at $6 per pecul and the ungarbled at $2 or $3 per pecul in the Canton market.

Opium. This is the concrete juice of the *Papaver somniferum*, a species of poppy cultivated in India and Turkey. The cultivation of it is a strict government monopoly in British India; in Malwa and other native states it is free, but subject to heavy duties in its transit to the coast for exportation. That raised in Patna and Benares is superior to the Malwa, and both are preferred by the Chinese to the Turkey opium. Good opium is moderately firm in texture, capable of receiving an impression from the finger; of a dark yellow color when held in the light, but nearly black in the mass, with a strong smell, and free from grittiness. That produced in different countries, however, varies considerably, and experience alone can determine the best article. The value increases for a short time by age; but this soon ceases to be the case, and Turkey opium in particular, deteriorates unless carefully preserved from the air. Opium is adulterated with leaves, dirt, and other substances; if very soft it is not usually good. The great consumption of this drug among the Chinese, has made the opium trade a very important branch of commerce. About fourteen millions of dollars worth have been annually sold to them for a few years past, and the demand is increasing. The trade is carried on by means of ships stationed at Lintin; here the opium is stored, and the owner gives his orders for its delivery to the buyer, who always pays the money before receiving the drug. The trade has ever been (nominally at least,) an object of dislike to the Chinese authorities, and many ineffectual edicts have been issued against it. The opium brought from India varies from $600 to $700 a chest, and the Turkey from $620 to $680 a pecul. The price of the commodity fluctuates, however, according to the extent of importation.

Pepper. This spice is the fruit of the *Piper nigrum*, a hardy vine found in Sumatra, Malabar and Malacca. The cultivation of it is very simple and easy. Soil on primitive rocks

produces the best pepper. The fruit is collected semiannually; the vine bears when three years old, and continues to do so till twenty, and lives to the age of thirty years. As soon as the fruit has changed from a green to a red color, it is picked and put into tubs, and afterwards separated from the stalks, and when dried thoroughly, it is then ready for market. Pepper is known in commerce under two names, the white and black. White pepper grows from the same seed as the black, and is deprived of its skin by being immersed in water and rubbed between the hands. It is but little used; the difference of price not being sufficient to pay for the extra labor. Good black pepper has a very pungent smell, an extremely acrid and hot taste. That which has large grains and smooth skin, is the best. The pepper brought from Penang and Sumatra, is superior to that which comes from Java and Borneo. The consumption of pepper in Europe has long been very great. Ships of all nations have engaged in this traffic, and the pepper trade is now larger than that in all the other spices, and solely because it is a *free trade.* A large proportion of that brought to China is from Malacca. The price varies from $6 to $8 a pecul.

Putchuck. This is a medicine brought from India and Persia, and appears to be the roots of a plant which grows in those countries. The color and smell are similar to that of rhubarb, and when chewed, it becomes mucilaginous in the mouth. The price varies from $12 to $14 per pecul.

Quicksilver is brought to China in considerable quantities from Europe, and occasionally from America. The most part of it is converted into vermilion by oxydation, and in that state is used for painting on porcelain. Vermilion also forms an article of export to India and Europe. Quicksilver is frequently adulterated with lead or tin; the fraud can be detected by boiling it to evaporation, when the other metals will remain; if the quantity of extraneous metal is great, the quicksilver will feel greasy, and also cleave to the skin, while the pure runs off. This metal ranges between $60 and $70 a pecul, and is one of the most variable commodities in the market.

Rattans are the branches of the *Calamus rotang*, the same plant which produces the dragon's blood. They are found in most of the islands of the Indian archipelago, but in the greatest perfection in the district of Banjermassing in Borneo. The young shoots are the most valuable for their strength and pliability. After being stripped of the epidermis, the rattans are doubled and tied up in bundles containing a hundred each.

As they require no cultivation, the natives are enabled to sell them at a very cheap rate. They are brought to Canton in junks, and sell from $2½ to $4½ per pecul. Foreign vessels also bring them as dunnage or on freight. The Chinese use them for cordage, chairs, mats, beds, &c. Rattan ropes, bamboo timbers, and palm-leaf boards make a common house for the poor in China.

Rhubarb. This drug is the dried roots of the *Rheum palmatum*, a plant which grows in Tartary and China. From these countries it is carried to St. Petersburg and Smyrna. The rhubarb from Russia, which is the best, owes its reputation for goodness to the care taken in curing and assorting it. The Chinese dig the roots early in the spring, before the leaves appear, cut them into long flat pieces; dry them for two or three days in the shade: and then string them on cords in cool places, and dry them thoroughly. Rhubarb is often spoiled by moisture in drying, when it becomes light and spongy. It is liable also to be eaten by worms. Good rhubarb is of a firm texture, when cut has a lively, mottled appearance, and is perfectly dry. The taste is bitter, acrid and unpleasant, and the smell somewhat aromatic. If when chewed, it becomes mucilaginous, it is not good; it also imparts to the spittle a deep saffron tinge. If black or green when broken, it ought to be rejected. Rhubarb varies in its prices; from $38 to $40 per pecul for those roots cured without splitting; $65 to $70 a pecul for the cut. The rhubarb found in this market has always been inferior to that brought from Russia and Turkey.

Rice. This is the great staple commodity among the Chinese, and the importation of it is encouraged by all possible means. Formosa, Luçonia, Cochinchina, and the Indian islands supply China with great quantities. To induce foreign shipping to bring it to this market, the government has permited all ships laden solely with cargoes of rice to pass free of the cumsha and measurement duties exacted at Canton. The price given for a cargo of foreign rice, varies from $1¾ to $2¼, rising in seasons of scarcity as at present, to $2¾, and for very good, $3 per pecul.

Rose maloes. This is a substance of the consistence of tar; it is brought from Persia and India to China; and when good has a pearly appearance. The price is about $30 per pecul.

Saltpetre is brought from India, where it is obtained by lixiviating the soil. It is also found in Sumatra in caves and other protected places, and is an article of exportation from the Indian archipelago. The quantity brought to this market

is small, as the Chinese make nearly enough for their own consumption. The price is from $8 to $10 per pecul.

Sandal wood. This is the heart wood of a small tree, *Santalum album*, which grows in India, and many of the islands of the Indian and Pacific oceans. The tree resembles myrtle in size and appearance; the flowers are red and the berries black and juicy. The color varies from a light red to a dark yellow; the deepest color is the best. The best wood is near the roots. In choosing sandal wood, the largest pieces, and those of a firm texture, hard, free from knots or cracks, of a sweet smell should be selected. The white outside wood is taken off by white ants, who eat it away when the billet is buried in the ground, and do not injure the heart wood. The best sandal wood comes from the Malabar coast, and sells for $10 or $12 a pecul; that brought from Timur is worth $8 or $9, while that found in the Sandwich islands, being small and knotty, is valued from $1 to $6. The chips also form another sort. The Chinese use sandal wood in the form of a fine powder to make incense sticks to burn in their houses and temples. An oil is extracted from sandal wood which is highly valued for its aromatic qualities. It has the consistence of castor oil, a yellow color, and a highly fragrant odor; it sinks in water.

Sapan wood. This is the wood of the *Cæsalpina sapan*, a tree which grows in India, Luçonia and Burmah. The tree is of the same genus as the Brazil wood, and has the same properties in an inferior degree, and on that account is not imported to Europe. It is cultivated for its red dye, which is best known to the Indian islander. It is used in cabinet work for inlaying to a limited extent. Its value is about $2 per pecul in the Canton market, where large quantities are brought, chiefly from Manila.

Sea shells. The shores of the islands of the Indian ocean afford a great variety of beautiful and rare shells, such as the cabbage shell, the nautilus, the trumpet shell, the ducal mantle, &c. The greatest part of all the genera known can be found in great abundance in this market, and purchased at reasonable prices. Beside shells, as objects of natural history, insects are also procurable at Canton, well preserved; they are mostly hard-winged insects as beetles; butterflies and other classes are also gathered, especially those which are gay. Precious stones are seen in small quantities, but rather inferior; cornelians and agates are the most common. Other minerals, especially limestones, are often seen cut into fantastic shapes; but these specimens being always lacquered, are spoiled for natural objects. Birds or fishes are seldom seen preserved.

Sea weed. Several species of *Fucus* are brought to Canton in junks, and used as an article of food among the poorer classes. They are eaten both raw and cooked.

Shark's fins. The fins of the shark are sought for from the Indian ocean to the Sandwich islands to supply this market. The chief supply is from Bombay and the Persian gulf. They are fat, cartilaginous, and when cooked, esteemed by the Chinese as a stimulant and a tonic. They should be well dried and kept from any moisture. About 500 pieces are contained in a pecul. The price is from $20 to $45 per pecul.

Silk. The importance of this article demands for it a full and minute description, which we shall defer for a future paper.

Skins were formerly one of the most profitable articles that could be brought to the Chinese market, but their high price and the introduction of woollen goods has materially lessened their importation. Seal and otter are the most in request, the latter selling as high as $40 a skin. Beaver, fox, and rabbit skins are in demand, but the supply is limited. Many skins are brought to Peking from Siberia by the Russians.

Smalts. This is an impure oxyd of cobalt united with potash. In the mass it is not much used, but when ground fine is employed in coloring glass and porcelain. The powder is of a fine azure blue, and known under the name of powder blue. The demand is but limited; the price is from $50 to $90 per pecul.

Soy. This is a condiment made of a species of bean which grows in China and Japan. To make it, the beans are boiled soft, and then an equal quantity of wheat or barley is added; after this has thoroughly fermented, a quantity of salt and three times as much water as the beans were at first are added. The whole compound is now left for two or three months and then pressed and strained. Good soy has an agreeable taste, and if shaken in a tumbler, lines the vessel with a lively yellowish brown froth; the color in the vessel is nearly black. It improves by age.

Spelter. This is the impure zinc, used in the manufacture of brass. It is in plates of half an inch thick, of a whitish-blue color. The Chinese import it but little, the mines found in their own country furnishing them with a supply. It sells at $4½ per pecul.

Steel. Swedish and English are the kinds usually imported. The quantity brought is increasing annually; and probably the demand will be greater every year, as the use of it becomes better known. From $4 to $5 per tub is the usual market price.

Stockfish. These are dried fish brought from Germany and England, cured without the use of salt. In appearance, when preserved, they resemble codfish. The quantity brought is small; the price is about $5½ per peeul.

Sugar. This is the manufactured product of the juice of the *Saccharum officinale*, or sugar cane. From all the notices that can be obtained from ancient history, it is very probable that China was the first country in which the sugar cane was cultivated. Its native country is the southern part of the continent of Asia, and its properties have been well known by the inhabitants for many ages. Among the Chinese, the cultivation of it is carried on to an extent sufficient to supply their own wants and also to form an article of export. The varieties of of the cane are several, but most of those that are indigenous have a reddish juice, which renders the sugar unsaleable. The only one cultivated is the same as that which grows in the West Indies. The process of manufacturing it is simple and laborious; the machinery is coarse and the labor performed mostly by human strength. In the Indian islands, the manufacture is in the hands of the Chinese, the natives supplying them with the cane. The natives however make a coarse sugar for their own use, called *jaggery*. The sugar exported from China is principally in a crystalized state, and therefore usually called sugar candy. This is carried to India in great quantities, and its purity and beauty have been long and justly esteemed.

Tea, which now constitutes an important branch of commerce throughout the world, must be reserved for a future number.

Thread. Gold and silver thread is imported into China from England and Holland. It is used in the borders of fine goods in ornamenting ladies' dresses, and in other similar objects. The quantity imported is great: the English sells for from $36 to $40 per peeul.

Tin. This metal is found very abundant and of a pure quality in the island of Banca. It is cast into ingots weighing from 20 to 60 lbs.: the purity of these bars is superior to those which are made of tin from the mines in Malacca. All that is of a superior quality which is brought to China in bars, is called 'Banca tin,' while the inferior is known as 'Straits tin.' The former sells for about $17 and the latter for $14 or $15 a peeul. Plate tin is brought from England and America in boxes, containing from 80 to 120 plates, and sells for about $10 per box.

Tortoise shell. This is the crustaceous covering of the *Testudo imbricata*, an animal found on the shores of most of the Indian islands. The common name is hawk's bill tortoise. The shell is thicker, clearer and more variegated than that of any other species, and constitutes the sole value of the animal. It is heart form, and consists of thirteen inner with twenty five marginal divisions. The middle side-pieces are the thickest, largest and most valuable; the others are denominated *hoof*. Good tortoise shell is in large plates, free from cracks or carbuncles and almost transparent. The small, broken and crooked pieces are worthless. The Chinese use large quantities in the manufacture of combs, boxes, toys, &c.; the chief marts of this article are Canton and Singapore, from whence it is sent to Europe and America. The price of the good varies from $1000 to $1100 per pecul. The very thin kind from the islands of the Pacific, is not suited to this market.

Turmeric. This is the dried roots of the *Curcuma longa*, a herbaceous plant cultivated in all the Indian islands, and on the continent for its coloring and aromatic qualities. The roots are uneven and knotty; difficult to break or cut; and have a light yellow color externally. The color internally is a bright yellow at first, then reddish, and finally becomes much like that of saffron. It is easily powdered for use, but the dye is very transitory, and no means have yet been found for setting it. It has an aromatic smell resembling ginger, and a warm, disagreeable, bitterish taste. The islanders use it more as a spice than a dye. In packing it, care should be taken that the boxes be secure, as the least damp injures it. Turmeric is a good test for the presence of free alkalies, and the quantity used for this purpose is considerable. Its price varies from $5 to $6 a pecul.

Tutenague, or *China Spelter*. This is an alloy of iron, copper and zinc. It is harder than zinc, though less so than iron; sonorous, compact and has some malleability. The fresh fracture is brilliant, but soon tarnishes. Till superseded by spelter from Silesia it was exported in large quantities to India; but on account of its high price is now seldom or never shipped; spelter being on the contrary imported to compete with it in China. For boxes, dishes, household utensils and other similar purposes, tutenague is well adapted. The art of making it is not known to Europeans. Its export price used to be about $14 a pecul.

Vermilion. This is made of quicksilver by oxydation and is then exported. It is also used for painting porcelain. The price, now about $33 a box, is entirely regulated by that of quicksilver. The boxes contain 50 catties each.

WHANGEES, or *Japan canes.* These are the produce of a plant which grows in China. They are well calculated for walking sticks, and should be chosen with care ; those that are bent at the head, and have the knots at near and equal distances are preferred. They should be tough, pliable and tapering. Their value is about $18 per thousand.

WOOLLENS. The demand for these is annually increasing. The principal goods imported are broadcloths, long ells, cuttings, worleys and camlets. Woollen yarn is also brought in small quantities.

NOTE. In the preceding list several minor and unimportant articles have been omitted The principal authors consulted were Crawford's Indian Archipelago, Milburne's Oriental Commerce, Macculloch's Commercial Dictionary, and Hooper's Medical Dictionary. Considerable aid was also obtained from merchants in Canton.

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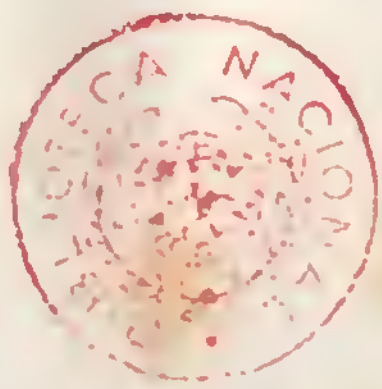

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ERRATA.

Page	1	21	lines	from	top,	for	"parenthesis,"	read	"parentheses."
"	8	37	"	"	"	"	"cubics,"	"	"cubits."
"	8	39	"	"	"	"	"wlll,"	"	"will."
"	14	7	"	"	"	"	"Tratodos,"	"	"Tratados."
"	77	24	"	"	"	"	"treade,"	"	"treacle."
"	82	32	"	"	"	"	"sticks,"	"	"ingots."
"	106	12	"	"	"	"	"pieces,"	"	"ingots."
"	132	34	"	"	"	"	"200 dollars,"	"	"2000 dollars."