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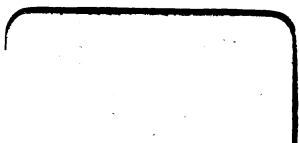
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SKETCHES OF CHINA.

VOLUME I.

SKETCHES
OF
C H I N A ;

PARTLY DURING AN INLAND JOURNEY OF FOUR MONTHS,

BETWEEN

PEKING, NANKING, AND CANTON ;

WITH

NOTICES AND OBSERVATIONS RELATIVE TO THE

PRESENT WAR.

By JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, Esq., F.R.S., &c.

Late His Majesty's Chief Superintendent in China.

VOL. I.

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ALGERNON LORD PRUDHOE,
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ADVERTISEMENT.

To the deep and growing interest which the present crisis in our relations with China has excited in the public mind, the following work owes its publication. Whatever may be the ultimate result of our armed measures towards the government of that country—whether one of renewed and more intimate intercourse, or of exclusive and lasting hostility—this account of the internal features, physical and moral, of the empire, may in either case be useful: in the first, as an introduction to more extended and familiar knowledge of the subject; in the last, as an improvement of opportunities not likely very soon to recur.

HOLLYWOOD, GLOUCESTERSHIRE,

February 25, 1841.

* * The map having been generally constructed from that of the Jesuits, some little differences occur in the names of places as spelt in this work, but the variations in orthography are slight.

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SKETCHES OF C H I N A.

CHAPTER I.

China one great anomaly—obstacles to its solution—the author sets out for Peking by sea—description of *Hong-kong*—portrait-sketching a difficult pursuit at that place—singular mode of fishing—good news from Peking—hydrography of the coast—casualty at sea—coast of *Fokien*—island of *Formosa*—objection to its military occupation—rice and tea trade always prohibited by sea—rice admitted in ships at Canton—consequences of blockade—*Chusan* and its neighbourhood—digression concerning *Japan* and *Loochoo*—recent visits of Mr. Gutzlaff to those countries.

IN a new work on *Political Philosophy*, attributed generally to a personage of high literary and social rank, there is a rapid view of the Chinese institutions, in a chapter exclusively devoted to that subject. This chapter commences by a brief and striking summary of the

marvels and apparent inconsistencies which China presents to the eye of the commonest observer, as well as to the keener inspection of the political reasoner. “ A territory of enormous extent, stretching fourteen hundred miles from east to west, and as many from north to south, peopled by above three hundred millions of persons, all living under one sovereign—preserving their customs for a period far beyond the beginning of authentic history elsewhere—civilised when Europe was sunk in barbarism—possessed many centuries before ourselves of the arts which we deem the principal triumphs of civilisation, and even yet not equalled by the industry and enterprise of the West in the prodigious extent of their public works—with a huge wall of fifteen hundred miles in length, built two thousand years ago, and a canal of seven hundred, four centuries before any canal had ever been known in Europe,—the sight of such a country and such a nation is mightily calculated to fix the attention of the most careless observer, and to warm the fancy of the most indifferent.

“ But there are yet more strange things unfolded in the same quarter to the eye of the political philosopher. All this vast empire under a single head, its countless myriads of people yielding an obedience so regular and so mechanical that the government is exercised as if the control were over animals, or masses of inert matter; the military force at the ruler’s disposal so insignificant that the mere physical pressure of the crowd must instantly destroy it were the least resistance attempted; the people all this while not only not plunged in rude ignorance, but actually more generally possessed of knowledge to a certain extent, and more highly prizing it than any other nation in the world; the institutions of the country established for much above five-and-twenty centuries, and never changing or varying (in principle at least) during that vast period of time; the inhabitants, with all their refinement and their early progress in knowledge and in the arts, never passing a certain low point; so that they exhibit the only instance in the history of our species of improvement being permanently arrested in

its progress; the resources of this civilised state incalculable, yet not able to prevent two complete conquests by a horde of barbarians, or to chastise the piracies of a neighbouring island,* or to subdue a petty tribe† existing, troublesome and independent, in the centre of a monarchy which seems as if it could crush them by a single movement of its body; the police of the state all powerful in certain directions, and in others so weak as to habitually give way for fear of being defeated; the policy of the state an unexampled mixture of wisdom and folly—profound views and superficial errors—patronage of art and of science, combined with prohibition of foreign improvements—encouragement of domestic industry, with exclusion of external commerce—promotion of inland manufactures and trade, without employing the precious metals as a medium of exchange—suffering perpetually from the population encroaching upon the means of subsistence, and yet systematically stimulating the increase of its numbers, removing every check which might

* Japan.

† Meaou-tse.

mitigate the evil, and closing every outlet for the redundancy.”

These things are certainly calculated to puzzle us of the west; but fully proportionate to the interest of the subject has been the difficulty, to Europeans, of obtaining that full and accurate information which alone can afford data for our reasonings, or a clue to the explanation of the several anomalies above stated. Our two most effectual means of inquiry have been a knowledge of the language, and the openings afforded by the royal missions to Peking. It was the good fortune of the writer of this to be officially attached to an embassy from the court of London to the Emperor of China, or *Great Cham of Tartary*, as the older books have it. This was an event (seeing that such English visits to Peking have been of the rarest occurrence) worthy to form an era in any man's life, but to himself it derived an additional value from peculiar circumstances. At the early age of eighteen he had devoted himself to the investigation of all that could by any possibility be learned of that real “terra incognita” to which the mission in question was destined; and

about two years' close attention to the subject (including the language especially) was followed by the altogether unsolicited boon—sufficiently prized by the favored few to whose lot it fell—of proceeding in person, under the high auspices and introduction of a public embassy, to read the sealed book.

The squadron of two ships, two surveying-vessels, and a brig-of-war, came to an anchor on the evening of the 10th July off *Hong-kong*,* an island about thirty-five miles due east of Macao, and lately celebrated as the rendezvous of our large fleet of merchant vessels, during the suspension of trade arising out of the outrageous exploits of Commissioner Lin at Canton. A fine torrent of water, falling in a cascade from a considerable cliff, and then flowing across the beach strewn with rocks into the sea, offers great advantages to ships in watering, and we accordingly took occasion to “fill up” at this place. The short delay caused by this indis-

* The name *Hong-kong* is a provincial corruption of *Hoong-keang*, “the red torrent,” from the colour of the soil through which the stream flows previous to its fall over the cliff.

pensable operation gave occasion to several visits to the land, being to most of those on board the squadron their first introduction to the celestial regions. The two gentlemen who acted in the several capacities of naturalist and artist to the mission went on shore, the one with his scientific apparatus, the other with his pencils and sketch-book. The first pronounced the rocks to be partly of trap or volcanic origin (the only specimen discovered on that part of the coast); the last attempted to seize with his pencil the various groups of the natives, as these crowded round him in all the eagerness of insatiable curiosity. This however was no easy task, for as each saw the eye of the limner fixed earnestly upon himself, he suddenly wheeled round to the rear to look over the artist's shoulder and observe progress; and as our excellent draughtsman was not the most patient of his profession, the effect became rather ridiculous. The sight of Europeans was to these people, mostly fishermen, a novel one, for until then the spot had been seldom visited, and to such of the embassy as were accustomed to

the impertinence of the Canton people their behaviour appeared very quiet and civil. We had occasion, during our stay at the anchorage, to remark their singular mode of fishing. They create a horrible din by their gongs and shouting, and beat in the most frantic manner the surface of the calm water with oars and large sticks. By this process they appear to bewilder and stun the fish, and to drive them into their nets in considerable numbers. We observed, at least, that great success attended their labours. Indeed, any person, who has verified by experiment the extraordinary power of conveying sound exhibited by water, need not be surprised at the efficacy of this plan of frightening out of their wits the finny tribes, who would seem to possess the faculty of hearing in a very sensible degree.

Before we left our anchorage at *Hong-kong*, it was satisfactory to receive from Macao the favourable intelligence that the emperor, on hearing of the approach of the British embassy, had appointed three mandarins of high rank to meet it at Tientsin, expressing at the same time

his gratification at the compliment. The original document was worded in the inflated and absurd style common to these productions; but the main fact remained the same—the mission was received, and allowed to enter the empire at the point fixed upon by those who sent it.

On the 14th of July we passed a conspicuous rock near the coast of the Canton province, called in Portuguese *Pedra branca*, or the “White Stone,” which serves as a useful mark to ships making the coast from the eastward. The whole sea-line of the province has been very accurately laid down, for the purposes of navigation, almost entirely at the expense of the East India Company, whose munificent contributions to the science of hydrography in the eastern and China seas are not always known or appreciated by those who profit by them. To the north of that province, however, the coast has been so little frequented that our knowledge of it is but scanty, and the consequent risk incurred by any large ship which proceeds to the mouth of the *Peiho* (north river)

in the neighbourhood of Peking renders the greatest care necessary.

As the squadron sailed along with a fine favorable breeze, the beauty of the weather and the stirring scenes in anticipation naturally contributed to put everybody on board in high spirits. In the midst of our gaiety, however, one of those fatal accidents, which occasionally happen in large ships from the perilous nature of the duty, threw a sudden damp on the general cheerfulness. After dusk in the evening, I chanced to be mounting the poop-ladder, when the fall of something heavy on the starboard hammock nettings suddenly startled me; though I was unable to tell what it was, as the object bounded with great force from the ship's side and fell at once overboard. My first impression, from the sound, led me to conclude that it must be a large block from the rigging, and to congratulate myself on my narrow escape, as it fell only a few feet from me,—but the speedy cry of “some one overboard” announced at once the fatal truth. The ship was brought to, and a boat lowered with all possible speed; though

all in vain, for the poor lad, a young midshipman, was never again seen. It may easily be imagined that when a large ship is going through the water at the rate of nine or ten knots an hour, the acquired velocity of such a huge moving mass must urge it to the distance even of miles, before its motion can be checked by taking in sail and "bringing the ship's head round." Then, again, this requisite manœuvre of altering the ship's bearings bewilders most of those on board, who naturally look out from the *stern* of the vessel, while the real place of the unfortunate object of their search may, by this time, be on the larboard or starboard side, or perhaps even a-head. In addition to all this, as the head alone is visible of a person immersed in the water, this presents so small an object for vision, at even a trifling distance, as to add greatly to the difficulty of discovery on these distressing occasions. Ingenuity has therefore contrived a life-buoy, to be kept fastened at the sterns of large vessels, and cast off in an instant when required on any emergency of the foregoing kind. The very act of letting it go

strikes a light which guides both the sufferer and those on board during the night; and should the accident happen by day, the life-buoy displays a small flag.

In three days the squadron was off the coast of Fokien, a maritime province, in the northern part of which is grown the best of the large black-leafed tea, called by us in England bohea, and by the Chinese *Ta cha*, or "large tea," because it is allowed to remain on the tree until the leaves have attained full maturity and size. Being the most bulky, and the least laboured in the manufacture, while at the same time the late period of gathering does but little injury to the health of the plant, bohea is for all these reasons combined the cheapest kind of tea. We cast a wistful eye from our ships at the Chinese coast, a few miles off, and with the help of a glass could discover a few scattered villages, apparently fishermen's houses. The shore was generally low, with barren hills a little way inland.

On our right lay the great island of Formosa, of which the coast facing the main-land

of *Fokien* pertains to China, and is included in the government of that province. A chain of mountains divides the island longitudinally, and separates the Chinese colony from the aborigines on the east. Formosa was the last portion of the present Chinese empire that submitted to the Manchow Tartars; its separation by the sea having rendered it for years defensible against the fleets that were sent to subdue it. Placed opposite to the most opulent and commercial maritime provinces, at a distance of little more than twenty leagues, Formosa offers a tempting position to any European power disposed to try the occupation of it, as a means of pushing its trade with the empire. The Dutch, indeed, had a settlement and forts on the south-west coast previous to the Manchow Tartar conquest; but the multitudes of Chinese who sought shelter there from the Tartar dominion, soon led to its almost entire colonisation by that people. The commander of a large squadron of junks, by name Koshinga, who had long defied the Manchows, entered into a correspondence with his countrymen

on shore, and preparations were at length made for attacking Fort Zealand, and driving out the Dutch, in order to obtain the dominion of the island. After a gallant defence by the garrison, the superior numbers and arts of the Chinese succeeded in expelling the Hollanders, and making Koshinga independent sovereign of the island, in 1662. The English entered into a commercial treaty with this "King of Taywan," as the old records call him. They were even more hardly treated than at Canton, being obliged to deliver up their guns and ammunition before they were permitted to trade; and the vexations experienced here at length led to the abandonment of all intercourse. Formosa continued independent for about twenty years, until it was surrendered by the grandson of Koshinga to the Tartar-Chinese Emperor.

The great size of this island, which measures at least 200 miles in length, is the chief objection to its occupation, besides the want of good harbours. As it is known to supply a considerable quantity of rice for the consumption

of the empire, the interception of this might be found an object in the prosecution of hostilities by sea. But the policy of the Chinese in the construction of their grand canal, and the confinement of the trade in grain to inland navigation almost exclusively, renders them singularly exempt from this species of annoyance, which could only be effectually exercised by blockading the southern part of the canal, where it crosses the great river Keang, near its mouth. With the same jealous regard for another chief article of consumption, the transport of *tea* by sea-vessels coastwise has long been prohibited; a circumstance which militates against the chance of a smuggling trade in tea to any extent. The small bulk of opium, in proportion to its cost, is one of the principal causes which has rendered the "black commodity"—or, to use another of their slang terms, the "foreign smoke"—the only article of trade on the coasts to the eastward of Canton. This circumstance of small bulk as an ingredient in smuggling must not be lost sight of, even when we take into full account the

unconquerable passion for opium, which leads the people to use it until the emaciation consequent thereon makes them resemble "a paddy-bird in figure, and a pigeon in the face,"—to use their own expression.

As regards a supply of rice, it may be remarked that one vulnerable point has been created, (in the single instance of the Canton province,) by the policy of the local government since the year 1825, in offering very powerful encouragements to European vessels to import that necessary of life from Manilla and elsewhere. The exemption of rice ships from the heavy port-charges has led to a large importation of late years, to the prejudice of other foreign commodities. The sudden cutting off of so considerable a supply of rice by blockade, at the same time that the population of Canton are deprived of their usual means of livelihood, resulting from the European trade, can scarcely fail of producing very serious effects to that province at least.*

* The expenses alone of a war with England must be unwelcome to the Peking government, at a period when

On getting clear of the Strait of Formosa, our squadron steered north by east, with the wind right aft, and on the morning of the 19th we found ourselves abreast of Chusan,* a large island about fifty miles to the eastward of Ningpo, the former seat of European trade, from which the jealousy of the present Tartar rulers of China banished it to Canton, the point most distant from Peking. In the delightful climate which prevails in this vicinity of the sea-coast, from the 30th to the 32nd degree of latitude, are centered a large portion of the riches and pleasures of the Chinese Empire. They have a common saying, "Shâng

the necessary outlay of the empire has for some years exceeded the annual income to a serious amount. About the year 1833, the defalcation amounted to as much as thirty millions of taels, or ten millions sterling. In a country where funding has never been fallen upon, and where great difficulties exist to the imposition of direct taxes, some embarrassment must arise from unlooked-for sources of heavy expenditure.—See 'Chinese,' Vol. II. p. 427, large edition.

* The excellent harbours of this island and its neighbourhood render it a very advantageous station for a naval squadron.

yew 'Thien-thang—Hea yew Soo-Hâng.”—
“Above is Paradise (heaven's hall); below
are Soochow and Hangchow.”

The two cities here named, being seated in the midst of the beautiful tea and silk districts, and about the confluence of the grand canal with the two great rivers of the empire, at the same time that the neighbourhood of the sea gives them the advantages of maritime commerce, combine within themselves every source of wealth and prosperity, as well as pleasure. The numerous junks which we saw in the neighbourhood of the coast bore evidence to the extensive trade carried on from these cities with Japan, Loochoo, and other places to the eastward, as well as with the maritime provinces of the empire.

Amidst the dry official details of the famous “Blue Book,” printed for the two Houses of Parliament during the last session, an agreeable episode occurs in the history of a voyage to Loochoo and Japan in 1837, performed by Mr. Gutzlaff in H.M. ship *Raleigh*, Captain *Quin*, accompanied by the ship *Morrison*. As

the course of our narrative has brought us into the neighbourhood of these rarely-visited countries, it may be as well to give an outline of the latest news concerning them. There is no saying what may result from the progress of the pending hostilities with China, as regards a repetition of our hitherto fruitless visits to their shores. At Loochoo we have been invariably met with a jealous and timid, though effectual exclusion; at Japan with uncompromising and hostile repulse.

When Mr. Gutzlaff and his companions landed at Loochoo, they were received by the chiefs with evident reluctance; but having succeeded in allaying their fears, the visitors proceeded to the city *Napakeang*. It took them about an hour to walk at a rapid pace through the whole length of the town. All the houses were surrounded by a stone wall, which also encloses a garden, and the dwellings were mostly built of wood, one story high, with a small verandah in the Japanese style in front. It is strange that the party did not perceive a single shop or any articles offered

for sale; but this surely must have been incidental to their visit, and the result of an order from the chiefs. A very wretched aspect was presented by the population, if we are to believe this account, and one altogether at variance with the description of Captain Hall, who must have viewed the people in their holiday dress. There were multitudes of beggars in the most squalid condition. But greater surprise was excited by the miserable look of the women, who are described as "raw-boned, and the very picture of ugliness, with only a scanty covering, and this almost in tatters." A whole row of these came down from the hills, carrying burdens, in company with some ponies, with whom they seemed to rank on a par. The few acres the visitors passed in their ramble were cultivated with potatoes, pulse, and grains; but the peasantry seemed a hard-working, ill-requited race. The fishermen are peculiarly hardy and adventurous. They go, in their canoes hollowed out of a single tree, to a great distance from the land, taking only a bucket of water and some potatoes for their subsistence;

and upon this they maintain themselves for days together, until they have got a load of fish. They were seen with harpoons in pursuit of sharks and other large fish, able with a blow of their tails to upset the little boats.

The Loochooans, it seems, do not improve upon a nearer inspection. Nearly two hundred years ago the Prince of the Japanese principality Satzuma (the southernmost, and next to Loochoo) took forcible possession of these islands, and the government accordingly approaches to a Japanese despotism, the most truculent on earth. Both China and Japan claim supremacy over Lochoo, but the former is satisfied with an annual embassy, while the latter levies a substantial tribute. Fifteen junks annually trade with Satzuma in Japan, while two are sent to the capital city of Fokien in China. Living, as those poor Loochooans do, between the two most jealous nations in the world, and in the power of either, we cannot be surprised at the consternation which they feel on every European visit. Mr. Gutzlaff gives a formidable account of the warlike re-

sources of Loochoo: "At the fort on the entrance they had stationed *seven soldiers with clubs*, in order to give something like a military appearance to their harbour." For the provisions furnished to the Raleigh the people would on no account receive compensation, for fear of the accusation of trading with foreigners; they declared that they should lose their heads in consequence.

Mr. Gutzlaff had charge of seven shipwrecked Japanese, whom he was to restore, if possible, to their country. This country, which for two centuries is said to have enjoyed perfect tranquillity, was then in a state of rebellion. A dreadful gale, in the previous month of August, which was said to have lasted for ten days, had destroyed the crops—being something like a Chinese typhoon, or worse, from its duration. The consequence was a severe dearth and famine, which at length led the starving people of Osaha, the principal emporium, to rise upon the corn-merchants and either rob or destroy their stores. The government, in order to quell the insurrection, attacked the insur-

gents, and the whole city became a prey to the flames. In the capital Yedo itself, the inhabitants had risen against the government, and the contest had not yet been decided. These circumstances, probably, aggravated the ill reception, or rather the no reception at all, which the ship Morrison met with.

They wondered to see so few junks cruising about on their approach to the bay of Yedo. The crew of one which passed near them showed no symptoms of fear, and they found that the people beyond the reach of their rulers were friendly to strangers. But the government obliges them to build their vessels so slenderly of fir as to be scarcely seaworthy; with a view, it is said, to prevent their visiting foreign countries. The weather was rainy when the ship worked into the bay; yet the mandarins seemed aware of their approach, and commenced a fire from several forts. When a shot fell about half a mile from them, the captain of the Morrison judged it prudent to come to an anchor. They had addressed a letter to the government, stating that they

brought seven shipwrecked natives back to their homes. A crowd of natives presently came upon deck, some of them absolutely naked, others with a kind of shirt, but none of them with trousers. Their heads were shaven in front, while the hair of the hinder part was tied up in a knot. A large boat was soon observed pulling towards them from the fort, with a "well-dressed" person on board. This gentleman, it may be presumed, had that particular article of dress which the others wanted. He politely refused an invitation on board, and having rowed round the ship (no doubt for the purpose of reconnoitring the guns, which however had all been left behind), he returned to the shore. Among the motley group that crowded the deck it was soon surmised that some were spies, from their particular inquiries concerning the guns; and it appeared, early in the morning, that in expecting permission to land they had reckoned without their host, for as soon as the day dawned the forts (having received the satisfactory intelligence that the ship was unarmed) began to fire, the shot

falling in all directions, some passing through the rigging, others pitching astern, and one striking the deck through the port. It was now time for the defenceless ship to get under weigh, but the fort continued to fire while she was within reach. Being only twenty miles from the capital, the orders for their expulsion must have come direct from the court. Some officer had on former occasions always visited every ship, so that this increased vigilance and hostility was something new; perhaps the result of fears occasioned by the late rebellion, or of acts committed by the European whalers on the coasts. The seven Japanese prudently declined going ashore under these circumstances, and the vessel therefore steered for Kagosima, the capital of Satzuma. On entering the bay, two of the Japanese were despatched to the next military station. The mandarins seemed touched by the history of their shipwreck and preservation, and promised every assistance. Boatloads of water were sent off to the ship, and a statement of circumstances forwarded to the Prince of Satzuma. Being requested to anchor

opposite to a particular village, the captain of the Morrison proceeded thither under the guidance of a native pilot; but after waiting three days they were desired to sail away, and permission was refused for the seven Japanese to land! The ominous striped cloth was lowered, and the forts began to fire on the ship. In beating out of the bay, they were fired upon from six projecting points of land during a space of twelve hours, but the shot all fell short, and no harm was done. The Japanese natives, on whose account the voyage had been principally undertaken, went back to Macao in the ship; a striking example of the unrelenting character of their government.

CHAPTER II.

Promontory of Shantung—Yellow sea and its shoal waters—visit of Mandarins to the squadron—appointment of a *Kinchae* to receive the mission—consternation produced by a portrait of the Emperor—everything good manufactured at Canton—Chinese hospitality on shore—reception of Grandees on board the frigate—preparation for landing at the Peiho—junks laden with baggage—landing and first interview with imperial Commissioner—description of accommodation barges—infliction of summary punishment—marshy shores of the Peiho—approach to Tien-tsin—reflections on Tartar ceremony.

ON the morning of the 25th of July we found ourselves close to some land, which, from the latitude by account (in the absence of observations), was concluded to be a part of the Shantung promontory. The wind being very light, Captain Basil Hall was commissioned by the ambassador to proceed in the brig, accompanied by one of the suite, to the mouth of the Peking river, in order to announce the approach of the mission. On the 27th we passed the Miataou

islands, and on the 28th came to an anchor as nearly as we could safely approach to the entrance of the Peiho, or "North river," which has often been erroneously termed the "White river."

We were in only five fathoms water, but still out of sight of land, which lay fully ten miles off. In fact the whole gulf of Peking (or the Yellow sea) is one vast shoal, and there seem to be many reasons for supposing that the Yellow river, which now reaches the sea to the south of the Shantung promontory, at one time flowed into the gulf on the north side. Its enormous depositions of mud are now and have been long creating extensive shoals near its mouth, so as to impede the exit of the vast body of waters; and this circumstance, joined to the nature of the flat country through which the Yellow river flows, explains the perpetual and devastating inundations which led the Emperor Keaking to call it "China's Sorrow." But we shall have to cross this celebrated stream hereafter.

The brig lay in sight of our anchorage, and of course much nearer the land, as her small

size enabled her to ride in only three fathoms water. Still no communication took place with the shore, and a signal of recall was made to the *Lyra*, which a dead calm with an adverse tide prevented her from immediately obeying. Towards night on the 29th, however, a breeze sprung up, and the brig soon arrived with the intelligence that two inferior mandarins had been on board, and received the ambassador's letter to the viceroy, which was to be forwarded without delay. An answer was to be expected in two days, and it was added that the viceroy himself might be here in about that time. The fact seemed to be, that though the news of the embassy's approach must have long since reached Peking, the people on this coast were not informed of it, and therefore altogether unprepared. Our passage from the neighbourhood of Canton had been so rapid as greatly to anticipate the expectations of the Chinese, whose junks, with their bluff and almost square bows, make but tedious passages compared with European sailing vessels.

During the period which a succession of

stormy weather, combined with other circumstances, compelled us to spend at this tedious anchorage, our principal amusement was to watch the great numbers of junks and boats which frequent the seaport of the capital of China. They at first exhibited a considerable shyness, alarmed perhaps by the novel appearance of our ships; but, when better acquainted with the nature of the visit, this gradually wore off, and many of them approached near enough for a close inspection. The sails were of mat, as at Canton, but of a stiffer description, and instead of falling down when lowered as canvas might do, they were constructed in the manner of a folding screen or fan.

At length a small junk with flags and streamers was seen approaching the frigate, and having come alongside, a party of mandarins with their numerous squad of followers mounted the accommodation ladder. These officers were of a very inferior rank, and of the military order, the highest having only a crystal button. They appeared much surprised at what they saw around them, and their followers were in

all parts of the ship. They announced that the viceroy of Pechely had been recalled, and another appointed in his place; a circumstance which would occasion delay in our landing. His excellency's letter had been forwarded to the viceroy elect at Peking. Three mandarins of rank, however, were already at hand to receive us. The first, Kwong Tajin,* the commissioner of salt duties, bore the emperor's special mandate to conduct the embassy, and was therefore styled by us the legate, and by the Chinese *Kinchaë*. The two others were Chang and Yin Tajin, a civil and military mandarin, decorated with a blue and red button respectively. The legate himself bore only a crystal button; so that their commissions were in the inverse order of the buttons on their caps; proving (what I had often before remarked) that the ball or button is nothing more than a *decoration*, conferred even upon Hong merchants in consideration of large sums of money, and that it has little to do with real authority and station.

* The affix of *Tajin* means a grandee.

The mandarins on board being shown a print of the late Emperor *Kien-loong*, at the beginning of Staunton's Embassy, immediately displayed the greatest embarrassment. They rose from their seats, and scarcely knowing what they should do, begged me to put it aside, or it would be necessary for them to perform the prostration before it. Such is the veneration which the Chinese habitually attach to their sovereign. He is, in fact, the chief deity of their idolatry, and it would be the highest and most criminal act of disrespect in the greatest of his subjects to possess a portrait or visible representation of the "Son of Heaven."

Being military mandarins, our visitors seemed much pleased with the brilliant and orderly arrangement of the small-arms between decks, and one of them said that he remembered the like things in the former embassy. The dress and appearance of these men were of a rather shabby order, and they seemed to be sufficiently ignorant of matters relating even to their own country. On observing any costly or ingenious objects of art, they immediately asked if it was

not made at *Canton*. Being shown a specimen of English china, they seemed surprised and almost incredulous; still more so when they were assured that there were much finer specimens of the same production in England. On leaving us, the mandarins went ashore with Dr. Morrison and one of the officers of the guard; the object of the two gentlemen's visit to land being to make inquiries as to the embassy's debarkation. We afterwards discovered that the rank and station of these mandarin gentry by no means warranted the attentions with which they had been received and treated.

Dr. Morrison returned on the following day, and said that he had an audience of the legate, but could not speak much for the politeness of his reception. Three other mandarins sat to the Kinchae's left (the place of honour), while Dr. Morrison and his companion were placed to the right at some distance. The Chinese commissioner was however civil enough in his language. He made no arrangement as to the embassy coming ashore, for they seemed as yet hardly prepared for it; but said that *Chang* and

Yin Tajin, who were sitting with him, would visit the ambassador on board. Some little objection seemed to exist as to the large number constituting the embassy, and including a guard and band of about forty men ; though this was at length acquiesced in, when Dr. Morrison urged the comparative insignificance of such a point to the great emperor. After the audience our gentlemen were conveyed to dinner, with the inferior mandarins who had been on board, and this might be regarded as the consequence of the undue reception which had been accorded to the four very scrubby individuals sent off as messengers to the frigate, and who subsequently became mere attendants on the ambassador's and commissioners' boats. The night's lodging was in a temple (or what in Canton English is called a joshouse) named *Hae-shin-miao*, the " temple of the sea-god." Here they found an old European print representing Jesus Christ, with a Chinese inscription. The priest did not seem to understand very well what the engraving was, but said that the Emperor Kang-hy (who favoured the Christians) had given the print to

the temple, and it was therefore considered as consecrated. He asked, at the same time, if there were votaries of *Budha* in England, and if the inhabitants of our country were likely to be converted by his going and teaching them! Dr. Morrison and Lieutenant Cooke were conducted from their boat, and back to it, in the wretched carts of the country, of which we shall have to say more presently. When the gentlemen returned on board, some provisions were offered, but they declined waiting for the same.

On the 2nd of August a strong breeze set in, which increased to a gale on the 3rd, and as the anchorage did not afford very good holding ground, the ships were obliged to moor with a great length of cable. No boats came off from the land, but the morning of the 4th, being fine, we saw junks decorated with flags and streamers on their way out towards the squadron. Presently arrived the inferior officers, our former visitors, bearing enormous cards of compliment, folded like a screen, and when drawn out exhibiting some yards of paper of a fine crimson colour. On occasions of

mourning the crimson is exchanged for white, and they accordingly consider our white visiting cards as peculiarly *unlucky*, or ill-omen'd.

Preparations were made on board the frigate to give the *grandees* a fitting reception. The marines were under arms on the quarter-deck, and lest the tender nerves of our Chinese visitors should be needlessly shaken, a salute was fired *before* they came on board; the usual form being to fire *after* the parties have reached the ship. They walked between the two ranks of men with a look of involuntary surprise, which was increased when the marines presented arms. The mandarins were received by the captain in the fore cabin, and then conducted in to the ambassador and commissioners.

As it was well known that, according to the invariable usage of the Chinese Court towards foreign embassies, the subject of the *prostration*, or *kō-tow*, would very soon be brought forward by the commissioners deputed to receive us, and that the very circumstance of the last embassy *not* having performed the Tartar ceremony would ensure an early discussion on this point, the line of conduct to be adopted had

been, for some time, a matter of serious deliberation. But as the two officers who visited us this day possessed a rank and authority much inferior to those who would hereafter conduct the negociation, it was considered unadvisable to make any serious mention of the subject to them. On their part, however, a manifest anxiety existed to ascertain the actual intentions of his Excellency on (to the Chinese themselves) this most important point; and it therefore became necessary to inform them that the subject of ceremonies would remain for arrangement with the functionaries appointed to meet us at Tien-tsin. Our mandarins acquainted us that the Emperor, with a view to manifest especial favour towards the second English embassy that had visited his court, had commissioned a *Choong-t'hang*, or Member of the Imperial Cabinet, to receive and conduct us to Peking.

On my presenting the Ambassador's son to the two *Tajins* after the audience, they seemed highly pleased with him. One of them had brought on board his own boy, a young Tartar

of eleven years of age, who, on being presented to his Excellency, went down very gracefully on one knee. The Chinese habitually inculcate a respectful demeanour on the part of young people towards their elders, and honour age as subordinate only to *learning*. The benefits of such institutions are apparent in their effects. In no country of the world does a quiet, easy subordination so extensively prevail as in China. The claims of age to respect are so natural that they are accorded without dispute; and the consequence of this as a *habit* is to repress the inexperience and headstrong passion of youth. It appeared that the mandarins had brought with them some provisions for the squadron, but by no means in adequate quantities for the numbers that were on board. The circumstance of their being *gratuitously* offered, as a part of the Emperor's bounty, made it awkward and difficult to urge the necessity of a larger supply; and it was therefore considered necessary to apply for permission to purchase the needful quantities on our own account.

On the 5th August the weather was sufficiently calm to admit of the junks coming alongside for the presents and baggage of the embassy. The total contrariety of the Chinese habits and our own made it requisite for the general comfort that the stores, and other articles for the use of the English party during several months in a strange Asiatic country, should be numerous and bulky; and as our journeys were to be almost entirely by water, there was the less need to be sparing upon this point. The astonishment, however, of the Chinese at the immensity of our "impedimenta" was undisguised. Their self-denying and frugal habits make them strangers to any but the lightest and easiest accommodation in every way. A mat to spread out as a bed, and a hard, hollow pillow of woven rattans, together with the smallest possible box for garments, is all that they generally want for themselves.

As it seemed advisable that some previous steps should be taken to ascertain the number and quality of the accommodation vessels provided for the mission on its journey to Peking, the Ambassador commissioned me to proceed

on shore in one of the frigate's boats, accompanied by the officer of the guard, for the purpose of making the requisite enquiries. We left the ship at ten o'clock, with the third lieutenant, and though a strong tide ran in our favour, did not reach the shore under three hours. Instead of landing at the mouth of the river, I preferred rowing up to where the boats were lying, and was glad to observe, as we approached, that a considerable number were anchored a little below the temple. On reaching them we were received on board one of the principal boats by several mandarins, the chief of whom wore a light blue button. A considerable body of soldiers was ranged on the shore, so as to form three sides of a square, of which the boats made the fourth; and we were saluted on landing with the invariable number of *three* guns. It was well for us that the soldiers were there, for without them we should have been overwhelmed by the immense crowds congregated to get a view of the strangers. One fellow contrived to make his way through; but he was instantly pursued, and after having re-

ceived a good beating most unceremoniously kicked out.

Our mandarin entertainers were exceedingly polite, and presented us with tea, sweetmeats, and fruit. After some general conversation I began my business with them, and asked if the boats were quite ready to receive the embassy, adding that his Lordship was desirous of moving at once from the ships to the boats, without any intermediate lodging on shore. To this they replied in the affirmative, and requested that we would look at the three barges prepared for the Ambassador and Commissioners. The appearance of these was satisfactory, and we were informed that the vessels for the rest of the party, though not so large, were as neat and convenient. It appeared that there were altogether ten accommodation barges, and twelve boats for the attendants, baggage, and presents. On my mentioning the Ambassador's desire to have one vessel so large as to enable our whole party of nineteen to dine together, they said that at present there was no boat large enough

for the purpose, but that on our arrival at *Tien-tsin* we should be provided with one; at the same time they observed that in the interim the party might be divided into two, an arrangement to which the present boats were adapted.

On looking up, I observed that upon the flags of the boats intended for our conveyance were inscribed the words *Koong-she*, or "Tribute Emissaries." Not having been authorised by his Excellency to discuss this subject, I took no further notice at the time, but resolved to inform him on my return to the frigate. I then learned from the mandarins that a change had been made in the person deputed to receive the Ambassador at *Tien-tsin*, and that instead of the Minister before mentioned, it was to be *Soo Tajin*, formerly Hoppo at Canton, and now a member of the board of Public Works. When we were going away they offered me an audience of the *Kinchae*; but I declined, expressing my desire to return early with our information to the Ambassador. On our de-

parture they loaded our boat with fruit, consisting of pretty good apples and pears, and some peaches of an immense size, but which proved very hard and insipid. The tide being against us, we did not reach the frigate in less than four or five hours.

After a day of tempestuous weather, which prevented all communication with the ships or the shore, a mandarin messenger arrived on the morning of the 8th, bringing a complimentary card from the Legate, and a request to his Lordship to hasten his landing with all convenient speed, as the Emperor was desirous to see him at Peking. In reply, it was stated that the Ambassador was equally desirous to pay his respects to his Majesty; and that, if the baggage and presents could be sent on shore in time, we should all land on the following day. A general take-leave dinner was given on board the frigate, when those persons that were to remain with the squadron bade adieu to their friends who were about to commit themselves, for a period of about six months, to Chinese hospitality.

By ten o'clock on the morning of the 9th August the junks were nearly laden with the presents and stores belonging to the mission, and we made preparations for going on shore in the boats of the squadron. The royal standard was hoisted by the Commodore at the main, the St. George's ensign at the fore, and the East India Company's ensign at the mizen; the yards of the five ships were manned, and a salute of nineteen guns fired from each. His Excellency's descent into his barge was the signal for all the boats to leave their respective ships, the whole number consisting of ten. Some of us preferred proceeding in the junks as far as the mouth of the river, on account of the great length of the pull; but as soon as we had reached the point, all hands repaired to their several stations, and the boats formed in two lines, headed by the barge bearing the royal standard. The embassy never again made so respectable an appearance until the same boats met it on its return, in the river near Canton, and conducted it to the British factory.

On the point of land which formed the entrance of the *Peiho* to the left was a small fort, mounting a few guns. In front of this were drawn out a considerable body of soldiers, dressed in a uniform of blue and red, with colours flying and music playing, while a salute of three guns was fired from the fort. The boats had all the good fortune to cross the bar at the river's mouth without getting aground, though the oars frequently touched bottom. While the officer of the guard proceeded forwards to announce the Ambassador's approach to the Legate, the fleet of boats pulled up to the place occupied by the Chinese barges. We were soon aboard, and found that the three principal boats (and another provided as a dinner boat) were very commodious; but the remainder appeared so small and ill calculated for their intended purpose, that some remonstrance became necessary; in reply to which it was offered as an excuse, that in the hurry of providing conveyances for the embassy no better could be procured.

Soon after our arrival the Legate visited his

Excellency on board his own boat. It had been previously agreed that this should be merely a visit of compliment, without any introduction of business. The Chinese functionary was very polite and agreeable, taking particular notice of the Ambassador's son, a youth of fourteen. The *Kinchae* added that the Emperor himself had asked many questions concerning him, and had some presents for him at Peking. It was not difficult to perceive that the *ceremony* was the chief subject of the Legate's care and thoughts, though he did not directly mention it, but confined himself to the observation that he hoped "both parties would be found to act agreeably with each other's wishes." The fact that Lord Macartney did *not* perform the *Kotow* evidently made the present rulers of China very anxious to gain a victory on this point over us. After the Legate had withdrawn a considerable time elapsed, and the Ambassador then proceeded on board the *Tajin's* barge to return his visit, as we were to sail early in the morning. A Chinese was heard to

say, in the course of conversation, that we were to be conveyed to Peking with all haste in the space of five days. Judging by the usual rate at which Chinese boats travel, we were not very likely to effect the journey in this time, even admitting that all other arrangements proceeded smoothly. The distance from the sea, following the windings of the river, is about two hundred miles; but with the proposed halt at *Tien-tsin*, we were likely to be a very considerable time in working up against the stream.

In the course of the evening we perceived a decided intention on the part of our Chinese conductors to keep us prisoners to our boats, if possible. One of the gentlemen was proceeding a few steps from the front of his boat, when he was civilly requested not to go farther; and shortly afterwards, when Captain Hall and myself, with another, were walking along the pathway leading to the Buddhist Temple, we were requested not to go on, under the plea that the mandarins were lodged there. This was a state of tute-

lage which seemed by no means calculated to increase our acquaintance with the country; and I quietly made up my mind that by every legitimate means in my power I would break through it. In the evening the greatest confusion prevailed with regard to our baggage and furniture; and the larger number of us were obliged to pass the night in our clothes, without bedding of any kind. Stretched on the bare boards, which were none of the cleanest, with nothing but our light clothing about us, we had the most convincing evidence of the great difference that prevails here between the temperature of day and night,—at least fifteen or twenty degrees.

I was glad when daylight appeared, and the bustle of unloading the junks into our barges attracted me to the front of our boat. As this, or some other vessel of the same kind, was likely to be our dwelling for months, I took a careful survey of it. The whole accommodation might be forty feet in length, by twelve broad, divided into three compartments, of which the first was an ante-room for servants,

the middle a sitting-room, and the portion abaft divided into two or three sleeping places. The roof was conveniently high, at least seven or eight feet under the beams; the lofty overhanging stern serves as kitchen, and the crew are lodged, or rather stowed away, in pigeon-holes, in a very puzzling manner. Gangways of stout boards along the outside of each vessel enabled the crew to pole it over the shallows by means of long and light bamboos, and also admitted of the servants passing from head to stern without incommoding the inmates. Glass being scarce in this part of China, the windows consisted of transparent paper and gauze, on which were very tasty devices of flowers, &c.; while the bulkheads, or wooden partitions of the cabins, were carved in high relief and varnished. The decks of the cabins remove in square compartments, and admit of baggage being conveniently stowed away. But only the three principal boats were of this superior class.

I was fortunate in sharing the boat of one of the commissioners, Mr. (now the Right Ho-

norable) Henry Ellis, who had invited me to be his fellow-traveller, and we were joined this day by Lieutenant Somerset and Mr. Abbott, the present Lord Colchester. The Chinese showed so little disposition to consult our comfort and convenience, and their usages were so generally contrary to our own, that nothing but the extreme novelty of our situation, in this prohibited land, would have made it otherwise than disagreeable.

During the process of unloading the junks, on the morning of our getting under weigh for Peking, a Chinese on board one of them was either caught stealing, or suspected of stealing something. He was immediately seized by the tail, and in spite of his loud protestations brought over to the head of our boat, to receive the punishment of *face-slapping*, which is inflicted with a flat piece of wood. Seeing them throw him down as a preliminary to the castigation, I immediately interfered, and desired that our vessel might not be turned into an execution-dock for criminals. The mandarin excused himself by saying that the man had

stolen our things, and was therefore punished in our boats; but I told him that if *that* were a reason, the junk where the offence was committed was the properest place. They then took him on shore, where he received his punishment; and I had no doubt of the interference being well-timed, for the object of the Chinese was evidently to *lower* us if they could.

The legate preceded us last night to Tien-tsin, and our fleet of boats set off at ten A.M., passing several small villages at a tardy pace, as we were tracked against a strong ebb tide by the labour of a string of men, wading through the mud up to their knees. The track-rope consists of three strips of split rattan interwoven, and is admirably calculated by its lightness and strength for the purpose, being fastened to the top of the mast, with a smaller cord leading off from the main one for each tracker. We presently passed a low and marshy plain devoid of inhabitants, and covered with a species of rush. In these flat districts near the sea are extensive salt-works, for the supply of the capital. The salt which they gave us was of a

dirty brown colour, and in coarse grains, as it came out of the salt-pans. It was indeed lucky that we had brought a good supply of provisions of all kinds, as those supplied to us by the emperor's *ghen-tien*, or bounty, were totally unworthy of the occasion. There is reason to attribute this chiefly to speculation on the part of the purveyors.

Neither of the mandarins, our conductors, showed the least attention in visiting the ambassador at our occasional places of stoppage, as we had been led to expect from the accounts of the former mission. From whatever cause it might arise, there seemed to exist a decided ill-will towards us; and as the authorities at Canton had good reason to apprehend that we went as complainants against themselves, it appeared probable that their influence at Peking had prejudiced our cause there.

The near approach of the mission to *Tientsin* was likely to bring the question of ceremonies into immediate discussion, and there could be no doubt of its being required of the ambassador that he should make the nine prostrations

before the emperor's imagined presence. Among experienced and well-informed people no two opinions could exist on this subject; and the most determined refusal seemed absolutely necessary, with the precedent of the last mission before us. My own persuasion (founded on the import which the ko-tow bears among the Chinese themselves) was, that even before the emperor himself such an act of homage should be considered as impossible from the representative of our sovereign. Similar reasons led me to wish that the inscription *Koong-she*, "tribute-bearer," had not been allowed to be suspended from the mast of the ambassador's yacht, in conformity with the precedent of the last embassy. The Chinese histories observe of the conduct of an emperor of the *Soong* dynasty, who concluded a peace with the Tartars on humiliating terms, that "he shamefully made use, in the treaty, of the word *koong* (tribute)." We might perhaps have required that our own flag should supply the place of the other, without making the propriety of the inscription a point of debate. There would

have been an appearance of reason in this proposition, for our own flag was as good a mark for the boat as theirs, if not a better. Moreover, if we were not to knock head at last, it seemed more consistent with such a line of conduct, because "tribute bearers" have hardly any pretensions to such scruples.

It seemed, however, that the ambassador had received it in his instructions from our government, to consider the matter entirely as a question of expediency, with full authority to comply, should compliance be calculated to attain the substantial objects of the mission. I felt persuaded that, instead of gaining any points by such a measure, we should only become contemptible in the eyes of the Chinese, and in fact do ourselves more harm than good. Witness the Dutch embassy, whose whole amount of profit consisted of a good deal of ridicule, and some half-gnawed bones from the emperor's table. As far as personal feelings were concerned, the ambassador could not be otherwise than averse from compliance; but with authority, or at least permission, from home to yield

the point rather than make it the ground of a rupture, it became necessary to proceed with circumspection. At the same time, it could never have been intended that he should comply unconditionally, or without securing some at least of those important points which were reserved as the subjects of negotiation. Were we to have an audience of the emperor, and do homage at once without bringing any of these subjects forward, nothing could be easier for the Peking government than to send us off immediately afterwards, saying that we had now finished all that we came about. Reserved and unfriendly, not to say rude, as the conduct of our conductors had hitherto been, one felt inclined to anticipate the worst; and there seemed so little prospect of succeeding in *anything*, that it became a question whether the point of ceremony might not be the best to break off upon, since it would involve no article of ulterior negotiation, but be a good mode of asserting our independence, without making other matters worse than they were before.

It was curious to observe the difference be-

tween the instructions received from the government and the recommendations emanating from the Court of Directors. The former implied that we went simply in search of whatever we could pick up, and that the performance of the ceremony was to be regarded in no other view than as it affected the question of profit or loss. The Company said, "Have most regard to the effect that the embassy is to produce at Canton; complain of the conduct of the local authorities to our trade; and make no concessions, in point of ceremony or reception, which appear calculated to diminish the national respectability of the English at that place." Now as the welfare of the Company's trade was really the chief object of the embassy, it was fair to conclude that the Company was the party most likely to give the best advice, their reasonings being founded on their past knowledge and experience. Distant as Peking was from the seat of our trade, the effect of the mission at Canton was of more consequence than its mere nominal reception at court; and less was to be gained by a servile compliance

with the demands of the imperial government (which, as in the case of the Dutch, would only aggravate our ill-treatment,) than by a manly appeal to the justice of the emperor against the insolence and extortions of his officers at Canton, and by a decent maintenance of our national independence. The Chinese are so ignorant of foreign nations, and therefore so illiberal, that their good opinion, and consequent good offices, are not to be gained by undue concessions in essential points. These they always regard as necessary acts of deference to their immense superiority, and therefore nothing extraordinary; while a contrary line of conduct, tending to dispel their absurd illusions, causes them to consider us on a footing of greater equality. At the same time, none but the most ignorant or wrong-headed would ever, in the first instance, withhold from them that conciliatory tone of demeanour and language, a failing in which lowers us to a level with the Chinese themselves.

CHAPTER III.

Immense crowds at *Tien-tsin*—appearance and arms of military—word *valour* oddly placed—visits to and from the *Kinchae*—precedence of the left and right—unfavourable symptoms—a recognition—procession to Imperial entertainment—preliminary discussion—Chinese veracity—bows substituted for *ko-tow*—feast and theatrical performance—scene from a Chinese comedy quoted.

ON approaching the suburbs of *Tien-tsin*, we could perceive the great heaps of salt, like small hills, at some distance, together with a vast concourse of people prepared to stare at us. This city, from its great trade in salt, from being the entrepôt for all the grain which is brought northward for the consumption of the capital, and from its constituting a sort of *trivium*, or point of confluence for the three channels leading from Peking, from the sea, and the grand canal, is one of the largest in the empire. The crowd was really astonishing, and presented the most numerous col-

lection of human creatures we had ever seen in one place. The piles of salt were covered with them, and they lined each sloping bank of the river as far as we could view, in the long course of our passage through the town, which occupied above an hour. Many well-dressed persons were to be seen, but others, chiefly boys, quite naked. The thermometer in our boat stood at 87°; but still the people on the banks remained generally without any covering on their shaven heads, some of them merely holding up a fan to keep off the sun. Soldiers were arrayed along the shore in companies of thirty men each, with long intervals, and with flags or pendants between each company. Some few had matchlocks, but the greatest number nothing but swords, with bows and arrows. One or two companies, perhaps the *élite*, were muffled up in a yellow dress, striped, to imitate a tiger's hide; but it was agreed that they looked very unlike either soldiers or tigers. We occasionally saw specimens of the military who had the word "*yoong*"—valour, inscribed on the breast. This might be all very well,—but when the

same individuals turned round and displayed the identical word inscribed on their *backs*, the position seemed particularly unsuitable,—unless, indeed, in the sense of Hudibras.

On our boats arriving at the landing-place, nearly opposite to the public hall, where *Soo Tajin* and the Legate were waiting, a message arrived to say, that they would visit the ambassador in his boat; but a desire was soon after expressed that his Excellency should first go to see them. To this it was replied that, being the guest, his Lordship must expect to receive the first visit, and he should be happy to see them whenever it was most convenient. The mandarins then sent a message, requesting a visit from two other gentlemen of the suite and myself. We accordingly went after dinner, and were received in state. From our boats to the hall the road was spread with mats. Upon our entrance, *Soo Tajin* and the Legate rose up, and after a few words the whole party sat down together. They requested us to sit to the left, the place of honour,—one of the numerous instances in which their custom is the exact opposite of

ours. At different epochs of Chinese history, the place of honour has been alternately the left and the right hand; but that the left was the original rule may be inferred from their language always expressing "left and right," instead of, as we say, "right and left." During the dynasty of *Soong*, which preceded the Mongol Tartars, the left was the chief place; but under Zenghis Khan and his successors the right had the precedence. Then, again, when the Chinese emperors were restored with the race of *Ming*, the old rule was re-established. In the case of our ambassador and the two commissioners, his associates, the Chinese distinguished them by the "middle, or principal," the "left hand," and the "right hand" envoys.

During our audience the Legate was the most talkative and ready man of the two. His associate, Soo Tajin, could not be otherwise than very old,—since he was commissioner of customs at Canton above twenty years previous to this. They commenced in the usual strain, dwelling on the high favour with which their great Emperor viewed all persons coming

from so vast a distance to pay their respects to him. The mandarins then said, that as we must be in a great hurry to get back to our country, our stay at Peking should be as short as possible. To this it was answered, that having come so far, the repose of a month at least seemed necessary; and the Ambassador would not consider such a hurried dismissal as the one proposed, to be quite consonant with the hospitality which the representatives of one great nation should expect at the hands of another. It was, at the same time, remarked by us that forty days was the term allotted for the residence of foreign embassies at the capital. They hinted at our pursuing our journey towards the court on the following day; but this was declared to be physically impossible, as the whole of our baggage remained to be unshipped from the junks into the boats. The legate observed that in the last embassy the King's letter had been shown in this place; but the fact was otherwise,—for *Jě-ho* (Zhehol) was the place at which it had been opened, considerably after the arrival of the mission at Peking; and this we were

obliged to state very clearly, on the testimony of Lord Macartney's own journal.

They asked a great many questions concerning the ambassador's son and the gentlemen who composed his Excellency's suit. A technical objection was urged to the term we had adopted to designate those who officiated as Chinese secretaries of the embassy, on the ground of its being the title of the Tartar secretaries at Peking. As they were of course the best judges of their own language, we readily agreed to use another term that was suggested as more suitable. After some further conversation we took our leave; and on returning to our boats informed his Lordship that the two Tajins were coming to visit him forthwith.

They presently arrived, and were received by the ambassador and commissioners with great ceremony. Old *Soo Tajin* observed, he remembered a youth in the former embassy, of the same age as the son of Lord Amherst. This was no other than Sir George Staunton himself, one of our commissioners, who immediately came forward and made himself known

to the old gentleman, who declared himself *surprised* and happy to see him: though there was every reason to suppose that the accounts from Canton must have long since put him in possession of this piece of information. The subject of the King's letter was again brought forward, but they could get nothing more than a promise from his Excellency to consider the matter and give them an answer hereafter. It was arranged that the whole embassy should attend at nine o'clock on the following morning at an entertainment especially conferred by the Emperor. His Majesty keeps very early hours, as we afterwards found on our arrival at his court.

At nine o'clock, accordingly, sedan chairs were assembled on shore for the ambassador, commissioners, and suite; while immense crowds lined the river, as well as the streets through which we were to pass. We had lately had ample proof that the Chinese are naturally as curious as most other people, and that the affected indifference and incuriosity of their great men is the result of policy and calculation. The body-guard were drawn up

in front of the boats by their officers, and when all was prepared the procession advanced, the guard and band leading the way, followed by a number of chairs conveying his Excellency and suite, each of them carried by four bearers in dress caps. The streets through which we passed to the hall of entertainment, a distance of about a mile, were crowded to excess, and yet the silence and respect of the populace were so great that we could almost have heard a pin drop. It was a sea of heads in a perfect calm. I left the front of my chair open for observation, and could hear the people whispering (for they ventured not to speak aloud) their remarks to each other.

When we came to the end of our journey the whole party alighted, and going through an outer court lined with Chinese soldiers, chiefly bowmen, entered the great hall, where the imagined presence of the Emperor resided. This is just such adulation as the Romans and their provincials paid to Augustus and his successors, raising altars to them throughout the empire,—“*Præsens divus habebitur!*” A very large concourse of mandarins of rank

with their attendants filled the room, and their richly embroidered dresses produced a fine effect. At the upper end were arranged the presents intended for us from the Emperor himself, consisting of rolls of silk; while near the other extremity, where we entered, was erected a stage for the performance of certain theatrical pieces to accompany the feast.

On the ground, and in front of the altar and yellow curtain, where the emperor's presence was supposed to reside, they had laid small red carpets in rows, and on our first entrance I at once guessed what was the intention of these. Some mandarins soon confirmed my suspicions, by coming up and requesting me very politely to inform the gentlemen, my companions, of the places where they were to perform "the nine prostrations!" I said nothing, but looked as if I did not understand them.

The ambassador and commissioners, in the mean while, were engaged in a very interesting conference with *Soo Tajin* and the legate within. The latter introduced the subject of the ceremony at once, affecting to take it for

granted that it must be performed. The ambassador expressed his readiness to evince his respect for the emperor, by paying him the same obeisance that he was accustomed to perform to his own sovereign, and the same that Lord Macartney had performed, viz., kneeling on one knee. To this the mandarins immediately replied, by asserting roundly that the last ambassador had performed the prostrations. They probably quoted the last edition of the imperial annals, published by authority — “*prioribus auctor et eo mendacior.*”

His lordship, however, informed them, very civilly, that we could not possibly be under any mistake on a point of such importance, concerning which the most faithful records had been preserved; and when they perceived that nothing was to be gained in an honest way, they began to inquire respecting the ceremony which he performed to his own sovereign, and requested him to show them what it was. His excellency observed that it could only be practised before the emperor; but a happy thought struck the first commissioner, namely, that the ambassador's son might perform it before his

father by way of exemplification. This was immediately done, and the mandarins seemed highly pleased, tallying as it did with the notions of their own country respecting the demeanour of a son to his parents. They likewise seemed not dissatisfied with the proposed ceremony as a mark of respect to their emperor; but still insisted on the necessity of compliance with the Tartar prostration. His lordship declared that, without now adverting to what his respect for the emperor might induce him to do in his majesty's presence, it was quite impossible for him to kneel before the curtain; but that he would bow before it, a mark of respect which he was accustomed to pay to the vacant throne of his own sovereign. The legate was at first strongly opposed to this, and began to talk about the loss which his excellency would sustain in missing the favors that the emperor intended for himself and for his son, appealing to his feelings as a father, &c., &c. This was all quite *à la Chinoise*—but the ambassador replied, that he must not forget his duty, however great might be his desire to please the emperor; and that if they would not

accept his proffered marks of respect he must decline the honor of the feast intended for him. They appeared quite thunderstruck at the idea of rejecting the great emperor's bounty: but the tone of determination which it evinced had the effect, at length, of inducing their acquiescence.

When the whole party had taken their places on the red carpets, already mentioned, the two Chinese commissioners "fell down and worshipped" in unison with the notes of a low and plaintive kind of music. They went three times down upon their hands and knees, and each time struck the ground thrice with their foreheads;* while our English party, standing up in the mean while, made nine profound bows. The feast that succeeded has been particularised in another place.† The theatrical performance, unfortunately for us, was of that heroical or

* The *San-kwei, kew-kow*, or "Three kneelings and nine bumpings," with which the Chinese worship their emperor, are practised by the emperor in worshipping Heaven; and this is the "*Three times three*," to which they would subject the whole world.

† The Chinese, vol. i. p. 318.

tragic cast which they always accompany with a hubbub of noises proceeding from gongs, drums, cymbals, and every thing else calculated to deafen the ears. This department of their theatre is infinitely less agreeable than the familiar and comic portion, which was probably deemed unsuitable to the dignity and importance of the present occasion.

In his appendix to the French edition of the CHINESE, M. Bazin has introduced some scenes from a comedy called the *Miser*, lately translated by Professor Stanislas Julien, and abounding in striking touches of character, with the occasional mixture of the most extravagant burlesque, not unlike portions of Molière's *Avare*. This Chinese Harpagon comes on the stage, in the last act, attended by a lad whom he had adopted as his heir. The old miser is in the last extremity of self-created wretchedness, and a prey to sickness and ill-humour. "Alas," he exclaims, "how long the days seem to one who suffers like me! It is nearly twenty years since I adopted this young harebrain. I expend nothing on myself—not

a farthing—not half a farthing—while he, the fool, knows nothing of the value of money. To him money is a mere means of procuring food and clothing!—beyond that he values it no more than dirt. Could he tell all the pains which torment me when I am obliged to lay out the tenth part of a tael!

“ *Boy*. Father, don't you want something to eat?

“ *Miser*. No. My sickness is caused by a fit of anger. I went lately to buy a roasted duck in the market, at that shop which you know: they were just roasting one, from which there flowed the richest gravy; under the pretence of bargaining I took it in my hands and held it until all my fingers were covered with gravy. Coming home thus without buying the duck, I sent for a dish of boiled rice; with each spoonful of rice I licked a finger; but about the fourth spoonful I suddenly fell asleep on this wooden bench, and during my sleep a dog came and licked my last finger clean; when I discovered the theft on waking I fell into such a rage that I became ill. Alas, my sickness is

getting the better of me, I shall soon be a dead man! Well, let me spend something for once. Son, I should like to eat some bean gruel.*

“*Boy*. I will go and buy some for a few farthings.

“*Miser*. For one farthing, it is quite enough!

“*Boy*. One farthing? I should not get a spoonful for that! Who will sell me so little?”

[The boy pays ten copper coins for some, but without being able to escape the vigilant eyes of the miser, who loads him with reproaches.]

“*Miser*. I saw you take ten pieces and pay them to the shopman; was there ever such extravagance!

“*Boy*. He owes me five of them in change; I shall be repaid another day.

“*Miser*. But, before trusting him, you did not require his name, and who are his neighbours on the right and left.

“*Boy*. Why take such precautions for such a trifle?

“*Miser*. If he should decamp with my five farthings, who will repay them to me? I

* Used by the Chinese when they fast.

feel my end approaching. Tell me, son, in what sort of coffin will you bury me?

“*Boy.* If such a misfortune should overtake me, I will buy the handsomest coffin of fir that I can find.

“*Miser.* Don't do any thing so foolish,—fir costs too much. When one is dead there is no difference between fir and willow.* Is there not an old stable-trough behind the house? It will make an excellent coffin for me.

“*Boy.* But consider, it is too broad and too short; we shall never be able to get you into it; you are too long in the body.

“*Miser.* Well, if the trough is not long enough, it is very easy to shorten my corpse; take a hatchet and cut me in two, put in one half over the other, and the whole will enter easily. But I have one word to say, don't use my good hatchet for the purpose; go and borrow one of a neighbour.

“*Boy.* But with our own in the house, why borrow a neighbour's?

* This militates against the strongest feeling of the Chinese, that of sepulture, concerning which they are so scrupulous that many of them have their coffins made during life.

“ *Miser.* You don’t know how hard my bones are; if you turn the edge of my axe, it will cost something to reset it.

“ *Boy.* As you please; but I must go to the temple to burn incense on your account. Give me some money.

“ *Miser.* Son, it is useless; burn no incense for me.

“ *Boy.* I made the vow long since; I can no longer delay performing it.

“ *Miser.* Well, then, I will give you a farthing.

“ *Boy.* It is too little.

“ *Miser.* Two farthings.

“ *Boy.* Too little.

“ *Miser.* Well, then, three; that’s enough;—too much, too much, too much!—Son, my last hour is come; when I am no more, remember to go and demand the five farthings that are due! [*Dies.*]”

The French editor adds, “Voilà ce qui s’appelle un caractère soutenu jusqu’à la fin. Ce trait vaut mieux encore que le dernier mot d’Harpagon:—‘Et moi, voir ma chère cassette.’—Il est plus piquant, plus inattendu.”

CHAPTER IV.

Imperial liberality—distance of Peking from the sea—a difficult country—Chinese Mahometans—pork and beef points of conscience—immense numbers of grain junks—Imperial commissioners described—importance attached to names—Emperor's caprice—a scene with the Chinese commissioners—arms and accoutrements of soldiers—abrupt conduct of the legates—bye-play in diplomacy—"a foolish officer"—dangers of starvation—a Chinese hero—arrival at Tungchow—fruitless negotiations.

ON our return from the imperial entertainment the heat was so intense that most of the party were glad to shun its influence by keeping quiet on board the boats. We were not a little amused by the specimen of celestial liberality displayed in the presents conferred on us by the emperor. These looked very well when arranged in order at the hall of reception, but on being opened they proved to consist principally of paper wrapped round with silk, instead of silk wrapped round with paper! His imperial majesty here proved himself greatly inferior to his delegate, the viceroy of Canton, who, in exchanging presents with the president of the

British factory, used to send really handsome silks, of a description made exclusively for officers of government, and not procurable in the shops. In this display of liberality, however, it is most probable that the viceroy was assisted by the unfortunate Hong merchants, who on such occasions generally paid the bill —“ *Sic vos non vobis, mellificatis apes.*”

In the evening we endeavoured to find some means of crossing to the opposite or southern bank of the river, for the purpose of walking, and of getting a nearer view of some imperial summer-houses and gardens, which had a very inviting look from our place of anchorage. There appeared, however, to be so much unwillingness on the part of our Chinese conductors to carry us over, that his lordship thought it better not to hazard anything unpleasant at the conclusion of a day which had passed off so well.

A great change subsequently took place in our proceedings on similar occasions. Being as yet novices on our way to Peking, and desirous of remaining on good terms with the

court, these restraints on our natural liberty were submitted to, however unwillingly. When after events placed us in some measure at issue with the government, and it no longer seemed necessary to keep terms with it, the vexatious restraints now imposed upon us were soon broken through by a little determination on our part; and when the Chinese found from experience that we were really a very harmless and inoffensive species of wild beasts, they no longer attempted to interfere with our excursions, which carried us over all the country adjoining our frequent halting-places, as well as through some of their largest cities, as will appear anon.

Towards night Chang and Yin Tajin came in an easy and friendly manner, divested of their fine dresses, as we were of ours, to converse with the ambassador and commissioners. It appeared that *Tungchow*, in the neighbourhood of Peking, the place to which our boats were proceeding, was about fifty miles from *Tien-tsin* by land, and thus the distance of the capital from the sea is considerably above one hundred miles. In our existing state of war

with the celestial empire, this is a point which may become one of some consequence. Owing to the very meandering course of the river through a flat country, the distance by water is perhaps nearly twice as great as that by land, and the channel could be blocked up. The latter route, however, would be likely to prove difficult, from the numerous intersections of streams and ditches, in a country where the high roads are very little more than pathways. It cannot be denied that after taking vengeance in the south, where our cause of quarrel originated, it would be of high importance to produce an impression at Peking itself; unless anticipated (as already seems to have been the case) by some show of concession. Against Peking, one of the main objects must be the transport of artillery, the chief obstacle to which would arise from the non-existence of broad and hard roads.

We left Tien-tsin at daylight on the morning of the 14th of August, and, as the progress of the boats was extremely slow, one of the commissioners and myself succeeded in getting on shore, and attempted a walk along the bank of

the river. Everything proceeded smoothly until we had occasion to pass through a small village. Here we were soon noticed, and the strange sight presently brought together a numerous and by no means clean rabble, whose excessive and importunate curiosity proved so noisome, that it fairly drove us on board again.

A Mahometan mosque was pointed out to us by our conductors. The followers of the Prophet were numerous in China during the Mongol dynasty founded by Koblai Khan, as those of Budha have been under the Manchows, and of course more numerous in the north than in the south. They exist, however, even as far south as Canton at the present day. One circumstance alone is calculated to prevent the spread of Mahometanism among the poorer Chinese—the prohibition against pork. As in Ireland, and all poor agricultural countries, *the pig* becomes an indispensable item in domestic economy; and it would be barbarous to rob them of it. The Chinese Mahometans not unfrequently exercise the vocation of mutton and beef butchers, the latter of which is abhor-

rent to the Budhists, from their prejudice against slaying the ox tribe. So the matter remains at issue between beef and pork—between Budha and Mahomet; and who shall decide when doctors disagree? The Chinese Mahometans are always distinguished by a pointed cap.

The country above Tien-tsin was not essentially different in appearance from that which we had passed lower down the river. It was well cultivated, and the chief produce seemed to be the *kaou-leang*, or “tall millet” (holcus sorghum), in the vicinity of the banks. But the most interesting objects of all were the vast numbers of grain junks ranged in order along the side of the river, and commencing just above Tien-tsin, at a village or town called Petsâng, or the “Northern Granary.” For a whole day we sailed rapidly past an unbroken string of these, moored in exact order, with their heads to the bank; the stem of each junk rested upon the side of the one next to it down the stream, a position which they necessarily assumed from their close contiguity. Their average burthen

is about two thousand peculs, or above a hundred tons; but being flat-bottomed, and very high out of the water, they had the appearance of a much greater capacity. The total number annually unladen is above ten thousand: they chiefly sail up from the southern provinces during the fourth moon, or about June, when the monsoon is favourable, and return empty in the ninth moon, or about November. The great object of an invading army would be to arrest the progress of these on their voyage to the north, or to get possession of them, either for capture or destruction, on their arrival at Tien-tsin. Were a foreign force to enter the Peiho from the sea, the grain-junks would be either intrenched above Tien-tsin (between that and the capital), or withdrawn into the grand canal. It is probable that of the whole season between June and November, the period at which we saw them (August and September) was that in which they are collected in the largest numbers. Each vessel had a badge or painting on the stern, which indicated its being public or imperial property. There is a super-

intendent, as well as a set of regulations, for their express government; and care is taken to prevent the large numbers on board (for they form the abodes of whole families) from abusing the privileges of imperial vessels.

We contrived in the evening to go on shore, and had a pretty good walk along the banks; but the extreme fearfulness of the mandarins, who had charge of our boats, lest we should involve them by getting into some trouble, rendered our excursion both short and unpleasant. It required some philosophy to bear these repeated checks and restraints upon our natural curiosity, and indeed upon that degree of bodily exercise which was essential to health; but we learned afterwards to pay little attention to their pretexts for urging our remaining in the barges. The ambassador and each of the two commissioners had an inferior military mandarin attached as an attendant on his boat. One of these appeared in the evening, and announced that the two imperial legates were coming to pay separate visits to the three members of the mission, on board their respective boats.

Soo Tajin was a fine old man of above eighty years of age, with a pleasing countenance, and affable and polished manners. He was by no means so alert and talkative as his colleague, *Kwong* (though his superior in rank), which we of course attributed to his advanced age. In the diplomatic science, however, of "telling lies for the good of his country," he proved himself a perfect adept, insisting on a personal recollection of the prostration having been performed by Lord Macartney before the emperor! *Kwong Tajin* was considerably younger than the other, and extremely thin and emaciated in person. His penetrating eye was constantly on the look out to observe any changes in the countenances of those he conversed with; but, though a physiognomist as regarded others, he did not govern his own looks very well, occasionally betraying a degree of anxiety and nervousness which might be the result of his physical condition—for he bore some of the signs of an opium smoker. Upon the whole, however, he was a good specimen of the ability of a Chinese mandarin, and his be-

haviour towards us during the five months of our journey was marked by as much liberality and courtesy as he dared, under the circumstances, to display.

In their visit to the ambassador's boat they talked a little on business, but their conversation with the third commissioner, for whom I volunteered to be the medium of communication, was chiefly complimentary and of a general nature. At their particular request Lord Amherst had allowed them to see the golden box which contained the Prince Regent's picture. Though this was a magnificent thing of its kind, and valued at fifteen hundred pounds, they expressed little or no admiration at the sight of it. Infinitely greater was the veneration with which they regarded a little yellow silk purse, which had been given by the late emperor, Kien-long, to the second commissioner, and which he produced to them on this occasion.

In their half official, half friendly visit of to-day, the mandarins exhibited the strange Chinese custom of inquiring *names* and *ages*, which would be regarded as the very reverse of

politeness in most other countries. Names, however, are matters of much ceremony with them, and every man has half-a-dozen names conferred on him at different periods from his birth. The first is the "milk name," given as soon as an infant is a month old, when it is produced by the mother to a party of assembled friends, on which occasion the father pronounces its name before the company, and some prayers or sacrifices are offered at the same time. The "book name" is given by the *sēenseng* or master, when a boy first enters school, and is the establishment of the pedagogue's dominion over his pupil. He kneels before a paper inscribed with the name of one of the sages of the Confucian sect, and prays for his favourable influence on the boy, whose new name he at the same time pronounces. The master is then seated, while his new scholar pays his homage by performing the prostration. When a young man is married, his father bestows on him another name, on which occasion an entertainment is given, and the ancestors of the family worshipped. Upon the marriage of his first son, every man adds

two characters or syllables to his own name : while at the same time, the family name, or surname, remains always the same. " I beg to inquire your lofty surname, and great name?" is the ceremonious form of words in common use.

15th July.—In the afternoon the two imperial legates went on board the ambassador's boat. It was with no small surprise we heard that his majesty had objected to the band of musicians accompanying the embassy, and the marginal note was written with the *vermilion pencil*, that is in red, with his own hand. In return to this very ungracious announcement, it was urged that the objection should have been earlier made, before we had quitted the neighbourhood of the ships; that to separate some dozen of the attendants from the embassy at this late period, when we had advanced so near the capital, would be extremely inconvenient, if not impossible. The two mandarins retired without any decision having been made; but they seemed to be aware of the difficulties of the case, and only argued the point on

the ground of the emperor's express pleasure, and the embarrassing nature of their own position.

On this second day we proceeded, as the day before, along an interminable line of the grain-junks, whose immense numbers were calculated to convey a deep impression of the magnitude of this empire and of its edible resources. At seven o'clock in the evening a second conference took place on board the ambassador's boat. The two legates came in agitated and out of humour, and said that they had just now, for the first time, heard of the departure of our ships from the yellow sea; that on the nineteenth of the moon provisions had been ordered to the squadron, but that when the boats proceeded to the anchorage the ships were not to be seen. The mandarins expressed the utmost astonishment and concern at this event, and asked why the ambassador had not apprised them of it? His lordship very naturally replied, that the ships in the last embassy had sailed on the second day after the disembarkation, and that he had deemed it quite superfluous to speak to them

on a subject so obvious as the necessity for the ships leaving an exposed and dangerous anchorage, where they were within a few feet of being aground at low water. He added, that they had never asked him any question, on their part, touching the subject. They, however, insisted upon it that they had, and Kwong Tajin, losing his temper, turned to Dr. Morrison, who was interpreter, and accused him of having misrepresented his words. The latter very properly replied, that if such were the case he had rather not interpret any more; while his excellency at the same time requested another gentleman to declare to the legates that he considered such behaviour on their parts very indecorous, and personally offensive to himself. They began on this to recover themselves, and apologised to Dr. Morrison. As they urged with great apparent earnestness that the emperor would attach blame to them on this occasion, and that they were seriously alarmed for themselves, it was readily agreed that they should be furnished with a written document from the ambassador in their own exculpation. In this

manner the conference ended much more agreeably than it had begun.

We anchored for the night close to the shore, and I was attracted by the appearance of several small tents to land, and examine them. Each contained two or three soldiers, dressed in the usual colours, blue bound with red. On desiring to look at their swords, they pulled them with some difficulty out of the sheaths, and displayed blades that were no better than hoop iron, covered with rust. The men were nothing superior to the general run of mandarin followers in strength, stature, or bearing; but were lying about on the ground in a very slovenly state; and it was a general opinion among us that our little guard of picked men, from the marines of the frigate, could have marched through Tien-tsin with great ease, and in spite of the opposition it might have met with from all the troops we saw there.

Their soldiers were generally drawn up in one line along the bank, with great intervals, so as to make the most of them. The dress was a long petticoat, and over that a *ma-kwa*, or

large-sleeved jacket, descending below the middle. This and the thick-soled shoe or boot gave them a very inactive and unmilitary appearance. It may be supposed that a large portion of their parade dress is left behind in actual service. The bow and arrow is the weapon on which they appear to set the most value; the bow is remarkably neat in construction, and in shape similar to those of India. Each soldier has about a dozen arrows in a quiver behind him. The matchlocks which we saw were truly wretched, and appeared rusted through, so as not to be fired without danger. The butt terminates nearly in a point, and is not held to the shoulder in firing, but close to the side; they possess nothing like bayonets.

They have various spears; one with a kind of knife-blade, and another with a point and a sharp hook at the side. The Chinese worship their standards, and offer sacrifices to them, as the old Romans did. The falling down of a standard is ominous of defeat. It seems that on unlucky days, as denoted by the kalendar, they had rather not go forth to battle. The fact is

not generally known, that Chinese were drilled and paid as soldiers in the British service during Sir William Draper's occupation of Manilla, but never tried in any engagement. Their sober and orderly habits, and general physical superiority to other Asiatics, are qualities which in the course of time might fit them well for military purposes; but there is every reason to believe that the *actual* Chinese soldiers, some of whom we have already encountered in our war with the country, are of a very poor and inefficient description.

16th August.—We were aroused at half-past five in the morning with the intelligence that the legates were coming to pay separate visits to the ambassador and commissioners. These would be thought very strange hours in Downing-street. As it turned out, they went only on board his excellency's boat. First came Chang and Yin Tajin, and then Soo and Kwong. A very long and earnest conference took place respecting the performance of the ceremony. The Chinese began abruptly by proposing the alternative of *Yes* or *No*; but

the tables were altogether turned on them by Lord Amherst declaring, that it was his fixed determination to go back rather than submit unconditionally to a ceremonial which had not been undergone by Lord Macartney. It would seem that an answer had arrived yesterday from Peking to the report sent up of the transactions at Tien-tsin; and that the emperor, far from being satisfied with our performances there, expected full compliance at court.

The ambassador, in order to show his disposition to meet the Chinese half-way, proposed two conditions, on either of which he was not unwilling to perform the Tartar ceremony. First, the proposal made by Lord Macartney, that a Chinese of equal rank with himself should perform the prostration before the portrait of the king of England; or, secondly, that a written assurance should be given on the part of the emperor, declaring, that in the case of an ambassador proceeding on his part to Great Britain, he would be bound to pay a corresponding mark of respect to our sovereign. Of course, the only intention of either was to re-

move from the act of prostration all idea of unequal homage. Nothing could be settled in this conference to the satisfaction of either party; and it soon appeared that we were to drop a little way down the river to a better place of anchorage, and there wait for an answer from Peking; all further negotiation being apparently at an end until that ultimatum arrived.

17th August.—Chang and Yin came to his lordship's boats. It is observable that these mandarins always go in couples, as spies upon each other. Such is the invariable practice of this jealous government, in order to prevent "a traitorous intercourse with foreigners." No further communication had been received from Peking; but the negotiation seemed again to be opened, and the boats were to get under weigh for Tungchow. It was very probable that, determined not to dispense with the prostration, the mandarins were instructed to conduct us to that place, in order that the last attempt might be made to induce our compliance before we were finally dismissed. It

might, however, be the case, that the emperor was disposed to yield, and merely delayed his assent for the sake of avoiding too sudden a concession. Under the latter supposition, we were on the high road to Peking; but, under the former, not very likely to get there, for the ambassador having once determined on his line of conduct, could not very well depart from it.

We seemed to be proceeding (and I was happy to observe it) on the principles already laid down at page 46. Their conduct towards us hitherto left no reason to doubt that we should gain nothing more *with* compliance than we could gain *without* it; and by holding out on the present point we asserted our independence at least. This in reference to such a people as the Chinese was something *gained*; and as regarded other points, which had not yet been brought forward, matters remained just as they were, and there was certainly nothing *lost*. We had dropped a little way down the stream, and anchored close to the shore at a place called *Tsaetsun*, or the "Herb village." At a short distance from our boats were a few huts

or cottages, and the country consisted of fields cultivated with grain, chiefly the tall millet.

The following incident is characteristic of Chinese modes of negotiation, and of the pertinacity with which they put every means into play to effect their ends if possible. There could remain no doubt as to the late retrograde movement of our boats having been adopted as a trial of the ambassador's firmness. Soon after we anchored, the Canton mandarin, who had visited the ships, came to me in the second commissioner's boat, saying that he was sent by the legates to speak on the subject of the existing discussions. I expressed my surprise at his applying to me, and asked why he did not go to the proper authorities. I added, that without the ambassador's knowledge and sanction, I must decline conversing with him on a matter of such consequence; and at the same time disowned all knowledge of his lordship's plans, further than his generally understood declaration that the Tartar prostration could not be performed by the British Embassy. He then began to observe what a pity it would be if we

went back without seeing the great emperor, and how incensed our king would be when he became acquainted with our proceedings. He asked me to tell him what ceremony we performed in the presence of our sovereign; to which I replied that it was certainly not the ko-tow, and that further than that I wished to say nothing on the subject. He still continued to expatiate on the impropriety of refusing compliance, and to enlarge on the great advantages which the English derived from the Canton trade, and the extreme benevolence of the emperor in granting it to us. To this I replied, that the Chinese nation was just as much benefited as we could be, and that there was not the slightest inequality of interests. As my impatience at this unforeseen visit now became somewhat manifest, my mandarin left me, having, I believe, succeeded in getting as little as possible from me; but, at the same time, betrayed very evidently the object of their ruse in turning our boats down the stream.

In the evening we went on shore at the

place of anchorage, and had a pleasant walk, though we did not stray far from the boats. To the north we could observe some blue mountains, which could only be those of Tartary. The climate began to improve in regard to temperature, for the thermometer in the mornings did not exceed seventy degrees, though in the afternoon it rose to above eighty. In a hot climate it is always a great mitigation when the nights are cool enough to enjoy repose.

It seemed that two mandarins of much higher rank than our present conductors were to meet us at *Tung-chow*, which rather proved that the behaviour of these had been condemned, and that they were in disgrace for not managing us better. I was persuaded that they were now anxious to hurry us to *Tung-chow*, in order that the failure of the new delegates (for they begin at last to understand us) may serve to exculpate themselves. The hurry with which we proceeded on our way, after the boats' heads had been turned to *Tung-chow*, proved that the short retrograde move-

ment had been a mere feverish attempt to work upon us, and that they now tried to make up the lost time. Some of our party were nearly left behind in the race. About eight o'clock at night a hue and cry was raised that the ambassador's son and Mr. Abel were missing, and that they must be still on shore. After considerable bustle and suspense, however, they returned to their boats soon after midnight. It appeared that they had gone on board a large mandarin's boat, at the invitation of those on board, and could not get up to us until that late hour.

18th August.—Still hurrying on, a party of us went on shore, and walked for an hour and a half as fast as we could along the banks. The ground was hard and dry, and though followed by an immense crowd we found them civil and inoffensive in their conduct; they even procured plants for us when they perceived that we hunted for them. For the first time I saw some Chinese carts drawn by oxen, which were really very respectable in appearance, and would not have disgraced an European

country. In the afternoon a second attempt was made to walk on the banks, but it proved so muddy and slippery from rain that the party soon returned. The military mandarin attached to our boat almost went down on his knees to dissuade us from going on shore. This mandarin of ours was a most original-looking person. We had lately been excessively amused by seeing him stripped completely to the waist (on account of the heat) and playing at the game of forfeits with the fingers, called *Tsooey-mooey* in China, and *morra* in Italy, where I have often witnessed it. The loser is obliged to drink a cup of wine; and when our friend had taken several cups, the silly glee that irradiated his vacant countenance was ludicrous in the extreme; the effect being much increased by the evident fact of his attributing our involuntary laughter to the poignancy of his own wit and humour.

This man was a proof of the immense distance that exists between the intellectual qualities, as well as the rank and estimation, of the civil and military mandarins. He wore

a button or ball on his cap, equal in grade to that of the lower order of magistrates; but one of these would have been eternally disgraced by such company and such amusements as this animal (for he was nothing better) was addicted to. Physical strength and boldness, as well as some skill in military weapons, are the only qualities required from a military mandarin.

19th August.—The Chinese might or might not have the intention of starving us into compliance with their terms; but the fact was certain that the dearth of provisions had lately reached a serious length. The Ambassador deputed myself and another to visit Chang Tajin on board his boat, and complain of the deficiency, desiring that we might be allowed to purchase an adequate supply. On reaching his barge we found that Chang was taking his afternoon siesta, and were therefore unwilling to disturb him; more especially as they informed us that the Taou-tae of the district was the proper person to apply to. This mandarin's boat was not far distant,

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and we accordingly repaired on board. When informed of the object of our visit, he stated, as an excuse, that being between two districts it was difficult to procure provisions just now, but that he would make enquiries. This appeared to be doing nothing, and we therefore returned to Chang, whom we found still asleep. As Dr. Morrison's boat was alongside, we stepped into that, and waited until Chang came in to us, when I gave him Lord Amherst's message. The reason he stated for the deficiency was our having been two days longer than was intended on our journey to Tung-chow; but he promised to procure some provisions for us immediately, and left us for that purpose. On his departure a military mandarin of enormous dimensions made his appearance, decorated with the peacock's feather. He asked a great many questions about the distance of our country, our connexion with the Russians, the size of our territory, and our neighbourhood in India to Thibet, where he had been. In return to our questions concerning the probable amount of the population of Peking, he could afford no correct information whatever.

This man had lately been promoted by the Emperor for some services which his zeal and activity, joined to his great personal strength, had enabled him to perform,—the very low state of the art of war in this country rendering a hero's thews and sinews as valuable to him as his brains, or perhaps more so. Our Chinese Ajax was a very brutal as well as stupid fellow, and worthy to rank with his prototype of the "seven-fold shield."

Chang Tajin, on his return, invited me on board his boat, and began to lament that he could procure no provisions for us just now. It seemed that nothing could be done until our arrival at Tung-chow, which was to take place on the following day. I ascertained that from Ta-koo, where we landed, to Tien-tsin, by water, is about 220 ly., and from Tien-tsin to Tung-chow about 380 ly.,—in all 600, or 190 English miles.

20th August.—At about three o'clock in the afternoon, the increasing numbers of junks on the water, and of buildings on shore, gave notice of our approach to Tung-chow; and we soon came to an anchor as high up as the

river, which is not navigable above this point, would permit. At half-past five some soldiers appeared drawn up on the left bank, and the usual salutes were fired. This place seems incalculably inferior to Tien-tsin, and the crowds were by no means remarkable. Soon after our arrival the ambassador and commissioners proceeded to visit Soo and Kwong Tajin; but this conference threw not the least light on our affairs. The mandarins made no mention of the two deputies, but proposed that the ambassador should go on shore for the sake of a few days' rest. Neither did they introduce the subject of the ceremony, probably seeing no prospect of altering the determination already made; but on Lord Amherst repeating that the precedent of Lord Macartney would be the rule of his conduct on this point, and reiterating the two conditions, on either of which he would perform the ceremony, Kwong answered, like a true Chinese, that the fact of Lord Macartney *not* having performed the ceremony was by no means universally admitted. He urged,

besides, that the mere circumstance of such high officers as Soo and himself being sent to meet us, disproved the notion of our country being considered as a dependent state. He once had the effrontery to hint that our duty to our sovereign need be no impediment to our performing the ceremony, because the ambassador on his return might make what report he pleased; but his Lordship reminded this scrupulous gentleman that even supposing he could be capable of such an act of baseness, there were plenty of witnesses with him who would tell the truth. It is impossible, after this, to wonder at the necessity for sending Chinese mandarins to negotiate in pairs, on the principle of "setting a thief to watch a thief."

CHAPTER V.

An inroad of Tartars—Successfully repelled—The Emperor has long ears—Visit to *Tungchow*—Haughty reception—Reply to the same—Letter to Emperor returned—Programme of intended audience at Peking—Unfavourable symptoms—Attack from an unexpected quarter—Increased restraints—Passports demanded—Chinese become civil—A conference proposed.

AUGUST 21.—In the morning the guard was drawn out on the little bridge, or *Ma-tow*, adjoining our boats, and the whole embassy went on shore with some state and ceremony, to view the place prepared for it. The *Koong kwán* stood about one hundred yards from our boats, and appeared to be generally appropriated to the use of officers of government. It was arranged that we should continue to sleep in our boats, but dine on shore. At about half past four we accordingly sat down comfortably at a table in the open air, under the projecting roof of the chief part of the building, which was supported by wooden

pillars, and hung with lamps. The Chinese at first began to crowd in, and to be very troublesome, but two sentries were soon stationed to keep them out.

Chang Tajin, and another whom we called the Secretary, had come on our first landing merely to announce that the two new commissioners were arrived, and that the first of them was *Ho Koong-yay*, a Mandarin of the highest order, and brother-in-law to the Emperor, but not holding any official situation under the government; the second, *Moo Tajin*, president of the Board of ceremonies. These commissioners, it was added, had only just arrived, and we might not see them until the next day. In the midst of dinner, however, it was announced that six imperial commissioners were coming—persons of such high rank, that *Chang*, who delivered the message, said that he could not sit in their presence!—This sounded extremely formidable, and it was right that we should be duly prepared for such “celestial colloquy sublime.”

His excellency accordingly adjourned to the

hall of audience with a portion of his suite, and, on the arrival of our visitors in the court, the second and third commissioners went some steps forward to receive them. We all stood aghast, however, when this half-dozen of savages rushed past without so much as a look, and proceeding to seize the six highest places, seated themselves down at once. The ambassador, on the other hand, completely outmanœuvred them by taking the principal seat at the other end of the room, while we ranged ourselves on his left and right.

They began, after a pause, by asking in a haughty tone who was the ambassador?—and, on being informed, declared that they were come to speak about the ceremony, which the envoy was expected to perform to-morrow before the Emperor's shrine.—His excellency replied, with at least equal haughtiness, that he had not the least intention to confer with them on the subject, but should postpone it until he saw the imperial commissioners. They at first pretended not to understand, and added that the ceremonies

of the Celestial Empire were of high importance. On his Lordship's answer being reiterated in a still louder tone, they bounced up and strutted out of the room in a style quite *τραυλικωτερον*.

We kept our seats in the mean while, and when the surprise of so grotesque a piece of diplomacy had passed off, made ourselves merry at the expense of these "lads of Mougden," as they were ever afterwards called, who had evidently been sent for the express purpose of trying to effect something by bullying. Any compliance under present circumstances seemed impossible; but there still remained some chance of the Emperor accepting our terms, and these fellows were perhaps sent merely to gain time. On the other hand, it might be the case, that determined to dismiss us if we did not comply, the imperial commissioners were unwilling to receive the ambassador's final refusal in person, and tried the above experiment as a last resort.

Nothing but the greatest ignorance of the character of Europeans could have led the

Chinese to hazard such an attempt as the one above detailed. Herein consists much of their weakness in negotiation; they are too proud to learn any thing about us, while we foreigners of course never lose an opportunity of studying them in every relation of life, and have availed ourselves to some purpose of the opportunities, (scanty as these may have comparatively been,) which years of intercourse afforded us. That "power" which consists in "knowledge," therefore, preponderates on our side. We know, above all, that the most complete want of faith, the most unblushing perfidy, is one part of the Chinese system in their negotiations with strangers; and unless this be carefully kept in view during the existing crisis, they may play us some sad tricks.

Chang and Yin made their appearance in the evening, for the purpose of begging that the ambassador and two commissioners, at least, would sleep in the allotted dwelling on shore, as they had reported the same to the Emperor, and would be accused of falsehood

did his lordship pass the night on board ;— “for,” said they, “the Emperor has very long ears.” We were of course too polite, and had too sincere a respect for his Majesty, to dispute the application of this asinine attribute. The ambassador replied that he had never made them any promise of sleeping at all on shore at this place, and indeed could not possibly do so that night, as none of his furniture was out of the boats ; but agreed to accede to their wishes so far as to sleep on shore the following night. With this they were satisfied, and expressed their gratitude very strongly.

His lordship now took occasion to complain of the unmannerly conduct of the “six lads of Mougden.” Chang and Yin, however, laughed it off in the usual Chinese style, and said they had not understood the respect due to the ambassador. The matter was upon the whole considered as too absurd to deserve much being said about it, and the Mandarins soon after walked with our party down to the boats, whither we were proceeding to pass the night.

August 22.—This morning Chang and Yin gave notice that the *Duke* (as we had surnamed Ho Koong-yay) was coming, accompanied by another commissioner. Afterwards, however, they announced that it was the wish of these persons that the ambassador should proceed to the city to see them. When it was demanded on our part if we should be required to practise the ceremony, assurances were given that nothing of the kind was in contemplation, and that the audience was to be of a merely private nature. The next inquiry was as to the mode of conveyance; and when they replied that horses and tilted carts should be provided, but that so near to Peking it was not allowable to go in chairs, his lordship declared that he could not think of going in anything *except* a chair. The comparative facility with which they yielded this point, joined to the fact of chairs having been subsequently used by the embassy even to the precincts of the emperor's palace, proved the effrontery of the objection. Five chairs were obtained; while the remainder of the party

proceeded either on horseback, or in the carriages of the country,—not precisely the same as those manufactured in Long-acre.

It rained violently for some time before we started, and when there appeared to be no prospect of its abatement, we set out at one o'clock, the guard and band being left behind, on account of the wetness of the weather. The first part of our course lay through a very bad road leading to the city, the chair-bearers sinking occasionally up to their knees in puddles, and the sharp wheels of the little tilted carts cutting deeper into the ruts, already deep enough. Those who were in the latter vehicles were so shaken that they all agreed they should not soon forget it. After proceeding about a mile and a half we reached the city gates, and were much struck by the appearance of the walls, in height about thirty feet, and very well built of blue brick. They were, however, old and evidently in decay; but would still make a good defence against an enemy armed, like the Chinese, with bows and arrows, or matchlocks. We passed through two gate-

ways, the one lying behind the other, as the wall was doubled in this place for the sake of greater security. No guns were to be seen, except three or four without carriages,* and of a rude cast, lying near the gate.

The town is built upon a part of the immense flat which extends from Peking eastward to the sea, the piles of salt at Tien-tsin being really the highest hills we had met with since our landing. The appearance of the town's interior miserably disappointed us, the streets being very narrow, paved only here and there, and more rough and muddy than the road. The shops were all built open, as in most Asiatic towns, notwithstanding the rigour of the winter, which must here be intense. I thought I could perceive, *en passant*, something very like a flayed cat hanging by the heels! After such specimens

* There is reason to think that the Chinese allow these guns to lie about the gates, as the starving Romans threw loaves of bread into the camp of the Gauls,—to make people believe they are *spare guns*. We saw few or none on the walls.

of gastronomic taste, it really became a matter of some consequence to exercise a vigilant and cautious inspection over the provisions supplied to the embassy on the part of his Chinese majesty.

On our arrival at the place of audience, a mean, dirty looking house, with the roof overgrown by grass, his excellency found the two imperial commissioners prepared to receive him without chairs, and all parties remained standing during the audience. This sufficiently showed the disposition of the duke; but as he purchased the ambassador's standing at the expense of his *own*, it did not so much signify. He began, in a very loud and disturbed voice, by saying that the ceremonies of the celestial empire were indispensable, and that what Lord Macartney had done (even admitting that the prostrations were dispensed with in his case,) was to form no part of the question. That, since some of us had read their books, we must know that there is "but one sun in the heavens, and but one emperor on earth;"*

* He probably alluded to an incident in the history of

that he was lord of Great Britain and of all other countries; and, in short, that if we did not perform the prostration, we must be sent back. He accompanied this last flourish with a very magnificent wave of the arm, while his lips quivered with rage.

The ambassador repeated, with the utmost temper, all that he had before so often said to Soo and Kwong Tajin, and concluded by drawing from under his robe a letter which he had prepared and addressed to the emperor, full of expressions of respect for his majesty, and of the satisfaction he should have in doing any thing to please him, consistently with his duty to his own sovereign. This took Duke Ho completely by surprise: he merely remarked that the letter was sealed, and asked if it was the ambassador's signet. No objection was made to forwarding it, and he became on a sudden more civil in his manner, accompanying his

the Soong Dynasty. The Chinese emperor being taken prisoner by the Tartars, with his principal minister, the latter exclaimed, "Heaven cannot have two suns, nor earth two emperors;" and so saying killed himself in despair.

excellency as far as the door on his return. The letter was calculated to have a good effect on the emperor's mind, if it ever reached him, and might afford him a pretext by its respectful tenor for complying with our terms. And even admitting that it did not prevail on his majesty to receive us without the prostration, it might insure to the embassy civil treatment on its return, and allow us to part pretty good friends. Our vicinity to the court insured the reception of an early reply, if the letter was forwarded; and at all events a speedy decision of the event, whatever that might prove.

August 24.—A message was received early in the morning that the letter, being superscribed merely, "from the English Ambassador," without having his name appended, the mandarins had not ventured to deliver it, as all anonymous addresses to the sovereign were prohibited! They had, moreover, taken the liberty to open it, and a proposal was made that a few immaterial alterations should take place in the wording of the address, and that, his excellency's name being added,

the letter should be forwarded unsealed. As there appeared to be no objection to this proposition it was agreed to, and another copy was prepared; the mandarins being at the same time informed, that if they took it upon themselves to keep back a document of such importance, when formally delivered to them for transmission, they made themselves responsible for the failure of the mission, and all consequences. Chang Tajin stated that he expected soon to receive instructions to leave us, in order to make enquiries after the ships; and this (which at the same time was probably a mere *ruse*) apparently argued a disposition to reject our terms.

The same mandarin brought the copy of a paper, professing to exhibit in detail the manner in which the embassy was to be received by the emperor, should we consent to submit to the prostration. This programme far surpassed all the anticipations that could have been formed of the degrading nature of the exhibition in the emperor's presence; and it is surprising that they should have let us see

it while the subject was under discussion, as it was only calculated to increase the determination that had already been made not to submit to their insulting treatment. Nothing in the ceremony of Lord Macartney's reception had in any degree approached to the humiliations that were detailed in this document, from which the following are extracts :—

“ When the officers around his majesty's person have proclaimed the word Pien (*whip!*) the band shall strike up the tune Che-ping (*a subjugating sway*). It shall next be proclaimed, ‘Advance and kneel!’ The ambassador and suite shall all advance and kneel. The crier shall proclaim, ‘Bow the head to the ground and arise!’ The ambassador and suite shall then, looking towards the upper end of the palace, perform the *san kwei kew-kow* (ceremony of thrice kneeling, and nine times bowing the head to the ground). This being ended, the music shall stop. The princes and royal personages, who are permitted to sit, shall conduct the ambassador and suite to the

western side (the *right*, or least honorable side), where they shall perform the ceremony of kneeling and bowing to the ground once, and then sit down.

“His majesty shall then have tea introduced; the princes, the ambassador and suite shall kneel and bow the head to the ground once; after his majesty has drank tea they shall return to their seats.

“The attending officer shall then confer on all who sit in the palace *nae-cha* (milk tea), for which all shall again perform the prostration once; after drinking the tea they shall also perform it.

“The immediate attendants on his majesty shall then proclaim the word *Pien* (whip!) and the princes, ambassador and suite shall rise up; the same word shall next be thrice proclaimed below the steps, and the band shall strike up the tune *Hien-ping* (subjugation manifested), during which his majesty shall withdraw to the inner apartment, and the music shall stop.”

Another document was produced, purporting to be a copy of the record made by the *Ly-poo*, or 'Board of Rites,' of the performance of the Tartar prostration before the late emperor, by Lord Macartney. The present emperor was declared to state that he himself witnessed its performance before his father at the time! As his majesty was determined to be so "splendidè mendax," there was no help for it; but the difficulty and embarrassment of contending against the ceremony were thereby considerably increased.

I now began to feel a great degree of indifference as to whether we advanced or returned. In proceeding to the court, we should certainly be hurried off as ungraciously, at least, as all other foreign embassies; while, if we returned, it would be impossible for the court of Peking to conceal the occasion of our return, viz., our refusal to do homage as vassals and dependents,—and this, as far as it went, was a positive advantage. I laid little stress on the apprehension of those who thought

that the consequent ill-will of the emperor might have a prejudicial effect on our trade at Canton. The trade would support itself by its own merits, and by its importance to that province; and I was as much as ever convinced that the mere complacent feeling of the court of Peking was of less real importance to the welfare of the trade, than the vindication of our national independence in the eyes of the Canton government, with which we are immediately concerned. This view of the case, however, was of course grounded on the presupposition (or rather experience) of the utter impossibility, by any means of submission whatever, of effecting good, or of establishing a permanent channel of direct intercourse with Peking.

A very improper message was brought in the same forenoon by Chang from his superiors, stating that private information had been obtained through an *E-Kwan*, or "barbarian officer" of Macao, that a large portion of the embassy consisted of persons who had been engaged in trade; that the second commis-

sioner had amassed an immense fortune, and possessed a fine house and gardens at Macao; and that he had *purchased* his situation, to which he had no proper title! There was no difficulty in tracing this tissue of absurdities and misrepresentations to the kind exertions of the Portuguese at Macao, who for nearly two hundred years have been the inflexible enemies of British interests in China; not by the open use of power and authority (which they never possessed), but by secrecy and falsehood, the usual resources of the weak and timid.

At the same time it was deemed absolutely necessary to stop anything of this kind at the commencement. The message looked so like a personal attack on the commissioner, that any appearance of acquiescence, or of backwardness in repelling it, might have emboldened the Chinese to more serious acts of annoyance. Lord Amherst accordingly sent word that whoever had been appointed by the government of Great Britain to the different situations in the embassy must be considered as the most proper and fit persons

to fill them; and his excellency desired, at the same time, that he might have no more messages on that subject.

From the known unfriendliness of the government, as well as from the evident coolness of our first reception, it was to be inferred that this species of underplot had been for some time in operation, though not brought forward until the present moment. The local government of Canton had been alarmed by the sudden appearance of the embassy on the coast, in little more than a year after the conclusion of some very serious discussions, in which the firmness of the select committee had foiled the attempts at encroachment and oppression on the part of the viceroy. There could be no doubt whatever that every exertion had been made by that officer, through his connexions at Peking, to frustrate the success of the embassy; and to this must be attributed the fruitless results of the mission, fully as much as to the difficulties of the ceremony.

Chang was informed that the letters for the ships of his majesty's squadron would be pre-

pared immediately to be forwarded to their destination, and he was at the same time requested to state to his superiors that, should the emperor be determined not to receive the ambassador, his excellency wished to spend no more time at this place, but begged to be allowed to depart as soon as possible. In the evening the letters for the squadron were delivered to the Chinese. It was reported to us that the emperor's letter to the British court was in course of preparation; but this might possibly have been a mere invention to shake the resolution of the ambassador.

Some of our party went in the afternoon to look out for horses to ride; but soon discovered that strict directions had been given to every person in the neighbourhood not to lend us any, under the pretence of their being liable to punishment should any accident happen. This disagreeable species of tutelage would have been rendered much more unbearable had the horses in question been really of a description to be coveted; but the miserable little ponies in this part of the country were precisely like

those at Canton, and therefore easily dispensed with.

Riding being out of the question, we were obliged to be contented with a walk, and accordingly proceeded to look at the mat houses intended for the reception of the presents. They were about half a mile from our place of residence, and proved to be very spacious. The facility and cheapness with which the Chinese erect these immense mat warehouses is remarkable. The admirable manner in which the use of the bamboo combines lightness with strength renders it a most valuable resource to this ingenious and industrious people. Their temporary theatres, their halls of reception on public occasions, and their warehouses for storing goods, are erected of these mats at a few hours' notice, and serve equally well to exclude the heat and the rain. They can be built of almost any height or breadth required, on account of the extreme lightness of the materials. Not a nail is used in their construction, nor even a cord; but the thin strips of the bamboo bind every part together in a

perfect manner; and, when the end of their erection has been answered, they are taken down and carried away with equal ease and despatch.

I found great advantage in the constant facilities which our situation afforded for conversing in the court, or mandarin, dialect. The only persons at Canton who use or understand it are the mandarins themselves, and a few other individuals of superior education; but here the commonest porter uses no other language. It is remarkable that almost every province (most of them as large as first-class European kingdoms) has its own peculiar dialect. Of these the most exclusive, and the farthest removed from the mandarin standard, is the pronunciation of Fokein, which remained longer separated from the rest of the empire, by maintaining its independence against the Manchow Tartars after the other provinces had submitted. One of the missionaries commenced a Dictionary of the Fokein dialect, which has never been completed; but enough was printed to show its chief peculiarities, and assist any learner in his efforts to acquire it.

August 25.—It was understood this morning that the presents for the emperor would probably be received at all events, whatever might be the result as to the reception or rejection of the embassy. This appeared to be in every respect a desirable arrangement, as it would enable us to part with the Chinese court under some semblance of good will. The presents, too, were so bulky and numerous, that their transport to Canton must be attended with vast trouble and expense.

In the course of to-day was received the copy of a paper, purporting to be the report of the Canton viceroy to the emperor, on the subject of the second commissioner's appointment as coadjutor to the ambassador. The reason stated for this was "his acquaintance with the ceremonies" of the Chinese court. Credit was given to the British government for their judicious and *respectful* conduct, and it was remarked, at the same time, that the notice forwarded by the second commissioner of his departure from Canton to join the embassy was circumspect and respectful. A remark oc-

curred in the same document, that Sir George was not the only foreigner who understood Chinese, but that several others who had accompanied him (mentioning their names) were also versed in the language. It was moreover observed that some apprehension might be entertained lest the second commissioner and his associates should "combine with traitorous natives" to do some political mischief, and that care must be taken to prevent such wicked combination. By way of putting their precepts into practice, it appeared that the military commandant of the district had been ordered to double the "army of observation" round our temporary dwelling.

There was something so annoying as well as insulting in this mode of treatment, that a determination was formed by his lordship and the commissioners to put an end to the state of suspense in which we had now passed a number of days, by writing formally to Duke Ho, and desiring to know whether it was the emperor's pleasure that we should advance or return.

After allowing everything for the jealous fears of the Tartar-Chinese government, it seemed quite absurd that a few Englishmen, sent on a complimentary embassy, should require all the surveillance to which we had been subjected to prevent their revolutionising the empire. The real explanation of the proceeding was, the wish and the attempt to effect that by intimidation which had failed by other means. The dark hints, and the “*sparsæ voces in vulgum ambiguæ*,” concerning the second commissioner, had even led some persons to suppose that the government might go so far as to make a personal attack upon him; but the prevailing caution of the Chinese *generally* (for the late proceedings of Commissioner Lin at Canton prove that it is not always the case) leads them to avoid anything beyond threats and demonstrations.

August 26.—Conformably with the resolution of the previous evening, Lord Amherst requested me to prepare a note in Chinese from himself to the chief imperial commissioner, intimating that, as he had not communi-

cated the British ambassador's address to the emperor, his lordship conceived that he had no further business at Tungchow, and accordingly, to use the diplomatic phrase of Europe, "requested his passports." I proceeded with Mr. Hayne, the private secretary, to acquaint Chang Tajin that we were commissioned by the ambassador to convey the note formally to Duke Ho, and accordingly requested him to inform the duke of our coming. He replied, *à la Chinoise*, that he could not do this without knowing the contents of the packet; but, when his lordship gave a peremptory refusal to this improper request, he said he would communicate our message, and let us know before we set out.

On the arrival of his messenger we proceeded on horseback, according to previous stipulation, attended by our English servants. It may be observed that not above one or two Chinese were at present to be found in the personal service of the embassy. My own Chinese had all been deterred by fear from quitting the province of Canton, and I should have

suffered some inconvenience had not Lord Amherst's kindness placed one of his own English servants at my disposal. On reaching the *miaou*, or temple, which formed the temporary residence of the mandarins, we were shown into a small ante-room where some well-dressed mandarins were seated. I intimated our wish to see Chang Tajin, and on his entrance informed him that, being commissioned merely to see the note safe to its destination, it was not material that we should have an audience of Duke Ho. The packet was accordingly handed in due form to one of the mandarins there assembled, and an answer was returned, before we took our leave, that Ho would communicate shortly with the ambassador.

In the evening a civil message came from him to say that he should be glad to see the ambassador in a friendly way on the following day, if his excellency would pay him a visit. An answer was returned through Chang Tajin, accepting the invitation ; and it was added that

the ambassador would be attended by the two commissioners, his son, and three other gentlemen. There was a complete alteration in the style of the duke's message, when compared with his recent behaviour to us. He seemed to have discovered that the bullying system would not answer, and was perhaps disposed to try what a contrary plan might effect.

This great change in the tone of Duke Ho led, in fact, to the serious discussion of the question, whether, in the event of a handsome reception on the morrow, it might or might not be allowable to make some relaxation in terms, and even consent to the performance of the ceremony itself, on its being guaranteed by Ho Koongyay that some of those important points of negotiation which formed the object of the mission should be conceded to us at Peking. His excellency and the third commissioner entertained views as to the affirmative of this proposition—Sir George Staunton continued to hold the opinion that our national dignity and independence would be best

maintained by refusing to perform the Tartar prostration, and that no ill consequences to the East India Company's interests at Canton need be apprehended from such refusal.*

* Subsequent experience fully confirmed the correctness of this.

CHAPTER VI.

Altered conduct of Duke Ho—consequent deliberation and its result—hurried proceedings of the Chinese—departure for Peking—Chinese team in London harness—description of the journey—City of Peking—one-horse carts—arrival at Yuenmingyuen—strange occurrences at the palace—abrupt rejection of mission—night journey to *Tungchow*—exchange of presents proposed by emperor—historical account of an ambassador's fate.

AUGUST 27.—Chairs were in waiting by an early hour, and at ten o'clock *Chang* and *Yin Tajin* came to accompany us to the residence of Duke *Ho*. The party consisted of seven, being the ambassador and his son, the two commissioners, Messrs. Hayne, Morrison, and myself. The temple which formed the duke's residence was not more than a quarter of a mile from our *koongkwán*, and on reaching it we passed through a number of open courts in the usual Chinese style, until we arrived at that where Ho and his three principal associates were assembled, with a great number of

other mandarins. The place of meeting was almost in the open air, an arrangement which very well suited the season of the year.

Chairs being placed for us, we took our seats in a row on one side, while the four Chinese commissioners sat in order on the other. Chang and Yin *stood behind* the chairs, and among those who attended in the same respectful posture we were glad to see our old friends, the "six lads of Mougden," who had only a few days before scarcely condescended to look at us! This power of occasionally adapting themselves to circumstances, with the best grace in the world, is a distinguishing feature in the Chinese character, and of great use to them in business. It would be fortunate for both sides if the Chinese government, aware at length of our being in earnest, and having had some taste of the capabilities of our armed expedition, should display a similar pliancy, and put a peaceful termination to our existing difficulties. This however is a result by no means to be relied on, if a really satisfactory treaty is contemplated.

The conversation with the mandarins began by some general questions from Duke *Ho*, relative to the number of months that had been spent on the voyage, &c., being willing, perhaps, to remind us how far we had come—a very common argument with them when they wish to carry a point by persuasion. The subject of the ceremony was then introduced, and debated with great temper by *Ho Koong-yay*, who now could hardly be identified with the vociferous and insolent Tartar that only five days ago had “vomited forth” his wrath and pride against us within the town of *Tung-chow*—“*Quantum mutatus ab illo Hectore!*” Still he did not hesitate to repeat the superiority of the Chinese emperor over every foreign sovereign, and the consequent propriety of our compliance.

In the intervals of the conversation, Duke *Ho* paid particular attention to the ambassador's son, and calling him to his seat presented him with purses, fans, and other trifles suited to a boy of his age. There was Chinese policy in this, absurd as it may seem, and only proved

the low estimate which the Chinese generally entertain of European intellects and feelings, to suppose for a moment that they could be influenced in such a way to swerve from any points of policy or duty.

Ho Koongyay at length gave a hint that, in the event of compliance, we should certainly not be without an equivalent advantage in negotiation, and that he himself would stand our friend with the emperor; and it was finally determined to go back and for the last time to deliberate if it were possible to perform the Tartar ceremony on these terms. The Chinese upon this became all that is most gracious; we were ushered to our chairs with an incumbrance of ceremony; while the six lads of Mougden accompanied us to even an *outer* gate, profuse of bows, and smiling uncouthly. I awaited with the utmost anxiety the result of the impending deliberation.

Both the ambassador and third commissioner declared their readiness to perform the ceremony on the terms proposed by Duke Ho, provided that their remaining colleague concurred

in its expediency; but they at the same time called on him to deliver his own opinion definitively, and stated that they were resolved to abide by it, as the dictate of personal knowledge and local experience. Being thus placed in a somewhat difficult and delicate position, the second commissioner thought it right to give a final corroboration to his own sentiments by referring (with the ambassador's consent) to those among us who had passed some time with him at Canton. He found us, I believe, unanimous in the main. For my own part, I merely persisted in what I had often expressed to him before, and the short answer which I gave was grounded on such reasonings as have already been stated.

It was at length decided that Duke Ho should be informed for the last time that the prostration *could not* be performed by us; and the ambassador wrote a civil but firm note, thanking Ho for his polite reception in the morning, but declaring that, after mature deliberation, he had come to the conclusion of its being impossible to perform any other ceremony than

the one already proposed, namely, three genuflexions on one knee and nine inclinations of the head. When this note had been translated and written out, it was duly signed and sealed by his excellency, and the private secretary then joined me in proceeding on horseback to the duke's residence, where we handed it formally to the mandarins.

It must be observed that, immediately after our return from the morning audience, a very large supply of provisions had been at once brought to our residence, and an unusual bustle made by the Chinese preparatory to unloading the presents; while Chang at the same time brought word that Duke Ho was coming forthwith to visit the ambassador. The intention of all this obviously was to take it for granted that his lordship had accepted the duke's terms, and that we were ready to proceed at once to Peking and "knock head." The ambassador requested me instantly to stop this indecent haste, and to tell Chang Tajin that, until his final determination in writing had reached

Duke Ho, he could not speak to him on business, though he would gladly receive him on a mere visit of ceremony.

A very short time after my return from the duke's residence his approach was announced. This appeared strange, as he had barely had time to read the note: however, in he came, radiant with smiles, and proposed that we should set off for Peking on the morrow! The ambassador asked him if he had received the letter just sent; and, on his replying in the affirmative, it was demanded if he had perfectly understood the contents? He replied that he had understood them fully. The natural conclusion from all this was, that the performance of the ceremony on our part was dispensed with, but that Duke Ho could not bring himself to express so great a concession in direct terms. The question, however, was pressed upon him, and it was explicitly demanded whether the ceremony proffered by us was sufficient to satisfy the emperor. This was answered by a nod of the head, an abundance

of smiles, and a declaration that the emperor was extremely *kwán*, or enlarged and indulgent in his disposition towards us.

After this it was not easy to decline the proposed journey. When the Koongyay had ended his visit, K'wong remained for the purpose of pressing our departure by daylight to-morrow; but this his excellency declared to be quite impossible, although he stated his willingness to proceed as soon as we could in the course of the day. That mandarin distinctly stated, in return to the interrogatories of his lordship and the commissioners, that the Tartar ceremony would be dispensed with in our favour. During the course of the same evening Chang and Yin came and sat at tea with us in a friendly way, making arrangements for the journey on the following day.

August 28.—Great exertions were made in the morning to leave Tungchow as early as possible, after a delayed residence of eight days from our first arrival. The baggage and presents were sent off first, and at about half-past four in the afternoon our party set out, being

determined not to leave the *impedimenta* behind, as had been the case in coming up the Peiho. As the two officers of the guard and myself were to ride, I had requested the mandarins overnight to let us be supplied with tolerable horses; but when these were produced, they turned out to be in a state of utter impossibility. I walked over to Kwong, and remonstrated with him, upon which he affected not to know that the animals were so bad. Chang Tajin then kindly offered me his own horse, saying that he should go in his chair; and I gladly accepted it, as, though bad enough, this beast was greatly superior to the former tender.

The Chinese breed of horses is confessedly one of the very worst, and the same may be said of all their domestic quadrupeds, excepting pigs and asses. Being kept alive on the smallest possible quantity of sustenance, they naturally degenerate in size; but the pig is the great save-all, and as he lives upon refuse, he pays well for his keep about the house or cottage; while the ass likewise thrives upon what would starve

a horse or cow. I seldom or never saw any donkeyes in the south, but near Peking we remarked that they were a particularly fine variety, and perhaps might account for the goodness of the mules, which are also a superior breed.

There was something diverting in the exclamation of despair with which the ambassador's London coachman viewed the four Chinese Bucephali that were presented to him for the purpose of being harnessed to the carriage. He had prepared everything with as much care and pains as for a birthday at St. James's,—the horses only were wanting; and when they appeared in the shape of four small rough ponies, he naturally cried out—"Lord, sir, these *cats* will never do!" "But they *must* do!" was the reply, for nothing better existed in the whole empire. The collars of the English harness hung down like mandarin necklaces, and the whole of the caparison sat like a loose gown. By dint of "taking in" to an extent that had never been foreseen or provided for, this unworthy team were (no doubt very much to their own surprise) attached to the handsome barouche

that was destined to roll on the granite road between Tungchow and Peking. An English carriage should never be sent to China without the horses to draw it. In our progress towards the great "northern capital" (the literal meaning of *Pë-king*) we first of all proceeded to the same gate of Tungchow that we had entered on the occasion of the earliest conference with Duke Ho. Leaving this now upon our right without entering it, we skirted the high walls of the town, which were lined with spectators, and soon came to a broad road of hewn granite, which was evidently very old, and in so ruined a state that it might have been referred to the days of *Yaou* and *Shun*. This road, or rather causeway over the low flats, extended to the gates of Peking, and though the ambassador's carriage certainly did get on by dint of the coachman's steadiness and skill, its strength and springs were greatly tried by the formidable cavities which the wheels occasionally encountered, and which gave it the motion of a ship in a heavy cross sea.

A stone bridge of three arches, at the dis-

tance of rather more than a mile from Tungchow, crossed the Peiho, or a river running into it, in this place a very inconsiderable stream. From the centre of this bridge I reconnoitered the country round. Behind us was Tungchow, with its conspicuous pagoda, or Buddhist steeple, and encircled by its high and embattled wall. On each side lay a flat country, studded here and there with woody clumps, inclosing the low dwelling-houses of the Chinese, which are surrounded mostly by walls, and consist of houses of all ranks, from the mansion of the high official magnate, to the country-box of the Peking cockney. Before us, to the north-west, lay the imperial city, the residence of the absolute monarch of a third of the human race. It is situated very nearly under the fortieth parallel of north latitude, in common with Naples and Madrid in Europe, and Philadelphia in North America, which last it resembles in climate.

Peking has been the fixed capital of China ever since the reign of Yoonglō, of the *Ming* race, by whom the Mongols were expelled.

Although situated on the northern confines of China Proper, it is central with reference to the whole empire, including Tartary. The tract in which it stands is sandy and barren, but the grand canal is admirably adapted to the purpose of feeding its vast population with the produce of more fertile provinces and districts. The most ancient portion of Peking is that area to the north which is now called the Tartar city, or city of *nine gates*, the actual number of its entrances. To the south is another inclosure, less strictly guarded, as it does not contain, like the other, the emperor's residence. The whole circumference of the two combined is not less than twenty-five miles within the walls, and independently of suburbs. A very large portion of the centre of the northern city is occupied and monopolised by the emperor, with his palaces, gardens, &c., which are surrounded by their own wall, and form what is called "the prohibited city."

What Rome was to Europe, Peking is, or has been, to the larger portion of Asia, especially when it became the seat of Zenghis and

Coblai Khan, the masters of the eastern world. While the territory of Rome, however, has degenerated into the few square leagues that constitute the patrimony of St. Peter, Peking maintains the greater portion of its ancient sovereignty in an integral state. The former city has shrunk into a corner of the area comprised by its ancient wall; while Peking has doubled its original extent, within a *new* and additional wall, and possesses considerable suburbs without the walls. It was naturally with feelings of considerable interest that we approached this singular place.

At the distance of about six miles from Tungchow our cavalcade, which like most large bodies moved slowly, halted, as it was beginning to grow dark, for refreshment. The place at which we alighted was for all the world just like the stable-yard of an inn, and the knight of La Mancha himself would never have taken it for a castle. On a table in the middle of this yard stood a most uninviting repast, which some of our party very properly denominated "a mess of broken victuals." The

principal part of the entertainment consisted of half-plucked, untrussed fowls in a boiled state, and altogether so nasty that few, if any, of our party could be induced to touch them; and there was plenty of water to be had in wooden buckets. What seemed to make this unseemly treat the more inexcusable was the fact that two of our principal conductors were with us, and therefore could not plead ignorance of its nature. Some of the Chinese, however, had such elevated notions of English refinement, that they supposed, or at least said, that it was in conformity with "the customs of our country."

As the Kinchae stated that we could not arrive at Yuenmingyuen before the next morning, I felt no desire to pass the whole night in the saddle, and exchanged my horse for one of the wretched little Chinese tilted carts. But we had not proceeded half a mile before I had abundant reason to regret the choice, for the convulsive throes of this primitive machine, without springs, on the ruined granite road, produced an effect little short of lingering

death; and the only remedy was to get out as often as possible and walk. Our expectations had been raised by Kwáng's assurance, that the gates of Peking would be kept open beyond the usual hour for our reception; and when we had passed on for about half an hour through a handsome suburb, containing shops whose fronts were richly carved and gilded, we actually reached the eastern gate towards midnight. But what was the disappointment and indignation of the whole party when the cavalcade, instead of entering the gate, turned sharp round to the right, and began skirting the city wall on the outside!

I was excessively irritated at this moment by the obtrusive curiosity of the people, who had provided themselves with multitudes of little paper lanterns, some of which were thrust forward very unceremoniously towards our persons. I was at length obliged to seize one or two of these and put them out, after which the annoyance in some degree ceased. The crowd, as might be expected, were by no means so orderly as at Tien-tsin, but partook

of the licentious and blackguard character of the rabble of a great capital. The soldiers, however, treated them very cavalierly, and made good use of their staves, whips and sheathed swords—

“ With many a stiff thwack, many a bang,
Stout crab-tree and old iron rang.”

After a tedious passage round the north side of Peking, we reached one of the western gates, and came upon the high road to *Yuen-mingyuen*. The distance was quite inconsiderable, but our average progress was a foot pace, and day began to dawn before we had attained our destination. During the darkness I and several others were separated from the ambassador and commissioners; but after a wretched night we were glad to find ourselves about day-break at *Hae-tien*, close to *Yuenmingyuen*, in the extensive range of buildings intended for our residence.

August 29.—On issuing from my Scythian plaustrum, more dead than alive, I found two of the gentlemen of the embassy pacing up and down in the open court or inclosure before the

building, while a number of mandarins were staring at them. Some of these at length showed us the range of apartments destined for us, and tired with the night's journey, we threw ourselves down to sleep, as it happened, in the ambassador's room. We were presently, however, awakened by the arrival of his lordship, accompanied by a number of the suite, and listened with surprise to the history of their most unexpected adventures at the emperor's palace.

It had evidently been the intention of the mandarins to separate as many of the party as possible from the ambassador and the commissioners, in order to effect what now, for the first time, appeared to be the object of hurrying us forward during the whole night. The carriage was conducted beyond Hae-tien to the immediate vicinity of the imperial residence, and, as soon as it stopped, (which was before five o'clock in the morning,) Kwong Tajin made his appearance and requested the inmates to alight. The ambassador naturally desired to be conducted to his hotel, or lodging; but, to

the astonishment of all the English assembled, several of whom had by this time collected round the carriage, the mandarins very earnestly urged their immediately proceeding, for a short time, to a conference with Duke Ho.

The party then were conducted to an apartment on the other side of the court before which the carriage had stopped. Here the whole truth broke upon them at once. From the great number of mandarins in their full dresses of ceremony, including princes of the blood, wearing their circular badges, it became evident that this was the moment of an imperial audience; and that the ambassador and commissioners had been inveigled by the most unworthy artifices, and the most indecent haste, to be carried before the emperor in their present unprepared state. They were presently informed that his majesty had changed the day of audience from to-morrow to this day, and that Duke Ho was waiting to conduct them at once into his presence!

The ambassador pleaded that, without his

credentials, and the letter he was charged with from his sovereign, this was impossible; requesting at the same time that it might be stated he was ill from the effects of the journey, and required some rest. Duke Ho presently appeared in person, and urged his lordship to proceed direct to the emperor, who was waiting to give him audience. It was in vain that every argument was repeated; the duke's earnestness only seemed to increase with opposition, until he at length forgot himself so far as to gripe his lordship's arm violently, while one of the lads of Mougden stepped up at the same time. The ambassador immediately shook them off, and behaved with great dignity and composure at this trying moment; telling the officer of the guard, who, like Gregory in the play, seemed inclined to "remember his swashing blow," that no swords must be drawn. The highest indignation was naturally expressed, and a fixed determination to proceed to no audience in such a manner. The party at length retired, with the appearance of an understanding that the audience should take

place on the morrow, as before agreed upon. The emperor's physician was soon after despatched to see his excellency.

The crowd of mandarins had in the meanwhile displayed a very indifferent specimen of their court breeding by crowding upon the English party, and examining their persons and dress with the most unceremonious curiosity; and another strange scene took place as the ambassador was quitting the room, for when the crowd of idlers, spurred on by their inquisitiveness, pressed on in such a manner as to impede the doorway, Duke Ho snatched a whip, with which he belaboured them handsomely on all sides. The courtly apanage (some of them with yellow girdles) dispersed like a flock of sheep. When his excellency reached our intended dwelling, they crowded in like manner into the large room, and peeped through the windows of his private apartment, making holes with their fingers in the coloured paper windows; but when the ambassador entreated some of our party to clear the place of these intruders, they fled

out at the entrance the moment they perceived in what a summary mode the writ of ejection was about to be served on them.

On first returning to us at Hae-tien, his excellency told us that he had successfully resisted the violent conduct of the Chinese, but it was impossible to say what they might do next. Shortly afterwards it was intimated to us by Chang that the emperor was in a towering passion, and that we were to go back directly to *Tung-chow*. This certainly was a barbarous, not to say brutal, measure, considering that we had only just arrived from a most fatiguing night journey; but I was not altogether sorry to hear the announcement. Whatever might have been the opinion of one or two persons on the subject of the ceremony, there could be no difference of sentiment on the present occasion. The insult offered had been so gross, and so completely developed the disposition of the Peking court, as to make it evident that we were to expect nothing in the way of favors.

In the mean while a most elegant repast

was served up by way of breakfast, consisting of the greatest delicacies, and some really fine grapes and other fruit laid out on porcelain of the richest description. This formed a singular contrast with our bait of the preceding night in the stable-yard, and the difference between our treatment, when *in* and *out* of favour, was remarkable. A mandarin from the "general of the nine gates," (a sort of prætorian prefect,) came to hasten our departure, saying that "a million of men obeyed his orders."

When the baggage, of which very little had been unloaded, was ready, we set off on our return at four in the afternoon, nearly in the same manner we had come, except that the ambassador's carriage was given up to the sick, and chairs used instead. The daylight in the early part of our journey enabled us to take a good view of the lofty walls of Peking as we skirted them, and some of the party provided themselves with fragments of the blue bricks which compose it. When darkness came on our miseries commenced, and I may safely say

that I never passed so wretched a night, except perhaps the one immediately preceding. We were rattled and jolted in a horrible manner along the old granite road, which was harder, if possible, than the emperor's heart. To be placed in one of these Chinese carts, and obliged to sit just over the axle-tree, without the intervention of a spring, was the next thing to being pounded in a mortar.

We had scarcely the alternative of a walk by the side of these "infernal machines," for it rained most violently soon after dark, and the road was inundated. Rather, however, than be shaken the whole way, I jumped out and attempted to walk or rather wade through the holes and puddles, which from the darkness were not easily avoided. Some of our party returned by the way they came, on the outside of the walls of Tung-chow; but my charioteer stopped at the gate until it was opened, and after driving through a considerable portion of the town, carried me out at another gate. Nothing was to be seen, for it was nearly dark, and the inhabitants were at rest. The day

soon afterwards began to dawn, and at half past four I reached our boats, where only a few of the party had arrived.

August 30.—One of the first arrivals was the ambassador's carriage with the invalids, which reached us in safety, though the poor men were the worse for the journey. His lordship and the commissioners did not appear until six o'clock. It was with gratification, rather than regret, that I observed the gates of our former *Koong-kwan*, or hotel, blocked up and barricaded with boards, as our boats were a far more comfortable residence, and we had inhabited the other only at the particular desire of the mandarins, and because the emperor "had very long ears." Our baggage at length began to drop in by degrees, and I was happy to make a change in my clothes after two such days and nights. It is most remarkable that the whole of the multitudinous list of articles came back, although some were unavoidably injured, (as we ourselves were,) by hard shaking, and others by the wet. Perhaps there is no country of Europe in which poor working people,

pressed into the service at random, would have so scrupulously delivered up their respective charges after such a scrambling and hurried journey as that of the past night, during which most of them must have been left to themselves, without guards or surveillance of any kind.

I had retired to rest very early, to compensate for two nights of unusual fatigue, but at ten o'clock was roused by a message from the Ambassador, to say that the two imperial legates were in his boat at that late hour, and that they waited for me as the medium of communication. I accordingly found them both with his lordship, dejected and forlorn, but charged with some presents to our sovereign from their emperor, namely, a *joo-y*, or sceptre of good fortune, made from one large piece of jade, called by the Chinese *Yu*; a dozen of the purses which the emperor wears at his side; and some necklaces of large Chaou-choo, or "court beads."

These things were paltry enough with reference to their intrinsic value, but fully equal

to the presents of the last embassy. In return, the mandarins produced a paper containing the names of a few things among our presents which the emperor desired to have, namely: the pictures of their majesties; four large maps, three of which were the United Kingdoms; and the books of engravings. It certainly was desirable that some parting exchange of this kind should be made, since we were to travel through the whole length of the empire as the guests of the government. After all that had passed, a natural feeling of soreness on both sides might have rendered our future intercourse with the Mandarins extremely unpleasant, but for this peace-offering on their part.

The Kinchaes stated in the customary strain of Chinese assumption, that the reason for the exchange of presents was their emperor's wish that our king might not be *very angry* with us on our return; but his excellency told me to inform them that he had no apprehensions whatever of the displeasure of his sovereign, being quite conscious that he

had done his duty throughout; and he took occasion to express his dissatisfaction at the treatment he had received from their government. The presents, it was added, were matters of no moment, and as the emperor desired to have them they might go to Peking.

The two legates endeavoured to throw all blame from themselves, as to being accessory to any ill-behaviour towards the ambassador, though they knew full well that we had good reason to complain of them both. His excellency had, in former interviews, been accustomed to offer his arm to the aged Soo Tajin when he rose to take leave, but on this occasion the old gentleman was allowed to make the best of his own way.

And here might be considered to have terminated the diplomatic part of our embassy, the *embrouillement* of which was due to the more than Machiavellian tortuosities and bad faith of that prince of Chinese jugglers, Duke Ho. It was highly satisfactory to us at a subsequent date, to learn from a sort of peni-

tential manifesto, issued by the emperor, that Ho and his coadjutors were all of them handsomely punished for deceiving their sovereign, and causing all the mischief that had occurred. I have no doubt whatever, that the provincial government of Canton had largely bribed the Peking Mandarins to prevent our obtaining any effectual access to the emperor. The embassy had principally arisen in the exactions and annoyances lately suffered by British subjects at Canton; and in forwarding the notice of our approach, the viceroy and his colleagues had doubtless done their best to frustrate the objects of our mission. The openness to bribery of the highest Chinese functionaries may partly be explained by the fact, that few or none of them possess hereditary patrimonies, and that most of the hangers on of the court, in the shape of descendants or offsets of the imperial family, are maintained on meagre salaries and allowances. They therefore want the independence, as to circumstances, of an hereditary aristocracy, possessing ample

private fortunes. It is in this sense that we must understand the Chinese aphorism, "Integrity and justice are generally the companions of affluence and abundance:—the poor and the destitute conceive the idea of dishonesty."

The generally cautious and prudent character of the Chinese government might be considered to have ensured the British embassy from anything *worse* than rudeness at the hands of the offended "son of heaven." Still they were within reach of the fangs of an absolute despot, while they ventured to dispute his supreme will; and an individual of the party overheard two Chinese very gravely asking each other, why the emperor did not cut off our heads for our disobedience? The following incident, from their histories, describing the treatment of an ambassador, may perhaps show that the danger was not altogether imaginary.

About the middle of the tenth century of our era, and during the fifty years and more

which succeeded the extinction of the Táng dynasty, China was divided into five different states, more or less independent of each other. A certain envoy named Sunshing was sent from one of these to the state Chow. The king of Chow treated the ambassador at first with great attention, and gave him not only a banquet, (like ours at Tien-tsin,) but an audience besides. The envoy was plied with wine by the ministers, who wished to obtain from him the secrets and intentions of his own government; but, with all due reserve on these points, our accomplished Chinese Talleyrand confined himself to general expressions of civility and good-will.

When everything had failed, either the first lord of the treasury, or the foreign minister, said to this faithful envoy, "I have a royal message to communicate: his majesty confers death upon you!" On the receipt of this surprising intelligence the ambassador neither changed countenance, nor manifested the least emotion; but composing his garments, (as

Cæsar did at the base of Pompey's statue,) turned towards the south where his sovereign resided, and bowing low, exclaimed, "I cheerfully endure death to serve my country." The history adds that upwards of a hundred persons, his official attendants, were put to death with him.

CHAPTER VII.

Preparations to travel south—Character of conducting mandarins—King and Queen's pictures—Chinese fortune-tellers—Neglect of sepulture in accidental cases—Limited extent of infanticide—Late occurrences at Peking explained—Inequality of climate—Chinese gymnastics—Superstitions—A man of general knowledge—Tortoises sacred animals—Similarity of the Chinese in the north and south—Quit the Peiho towards the canal—Importance of *Tien-tsin* in a war—Promotion of conducting mandarin, and reasons—His good-breeding—Noisy boatmen—Alluvial country—Music described—Building dedicated to summer solstice—Town of *Tsinghein*—Song of the husbandmen—Accident at *Nanpéhien*—Document from emperor—Enter Shantung province.

As preparations were rapidly making for our departure to the south, I visited the legate with a commission from Lord Amherst to explain the necessity of arranging that the baggage and stores should accompany the progress of our boats. So little attention had hitherto been paid to this, that we suffered the utmost

inconvenience, except at those intervals when the mission had been stationary. Had the supplies of the Chinese been of a fitting description, the subject would have deserved little notice; but as we had already been reduced to something very little better than starvation, it was fortunate that the embassy, to a certain extent, possessed the means of independence within itself.

The *Kinchae* fully concurred in what I said, and it required little persuasion to convince him that the less access we had to our own resources, the more we should have to draw upon his. It was therefore arranged that the junks laden with our *matériel* should not be separated from the passage-boats. Kwong Tajin then informed me, that he was commissioned by the emperor to accompany and conduct us all the way to Canton; but that our old friends Chang and Yin were only to go a part of the distance.

These two mandarins had conducted themselves upon the whole extremely well towards us. Chang, the civil functionary, had dis-

played occasionally something of the double dealing and the spirit of insincerity common to his class; but Yin, the soldier, was all frankness, and had particularly gained our good-will and confidence on the unfortunate morning at *Hae-tien*, when the rest deserted us. We had formed a pretty intimate acquaintance with both of them after a month's intercourse, and knew how to make allowances for the servants of such an autocrat as their emperor, whose single word was sufficient to consign them to death, in the event of any suspicion of a collusion with foreigners. It was therefore disagreeable to think that we must soon be separated from them, and consigned to the care of persons who (especially in our present untoward circumstances) might not prove such agreeable acquaintance. It was generally understood that both Soo and Kwong Tajin were to be degraded on account of the unfortunate results of the trip to Yuen-mingyuen, and that the latter especially was to lose his lucrative office of salt-commissioner at *Tien-tsin*.

I went from the legate to inspect the actual arrangements on board the flotilla of junks, and then proceeded to the huge mat-sheds before noticed, in which were to be opened and examined the presents destined for the emperor, with a view to discern and repair, if possible, any damage before they were sent to Peking. The two legates attended for the purpose of inspecting the different articles. When their majesties' pictures were opened, it naturally occurred that, as the Chinese attach such sanctity to the imagined presence of their own sovereign, when represented by only a yellow screen, it would not be right to subject these more lively representations to the vulgar gaze. Before they were taken from the cases, the place was cleared of the crowd of Chinese assembled, and only the legates remained.

These two functionaries seemed sensibly nettled by a little unexpected incident, which tended to show them that *we* entertained an opinion of the greatness of our own sovereign, fully equal to any ideas *which* they might have

inspired in us regarding theirs. When the representations of British majesty were displayed, the whole party of English present, including the ambassador, made precisely the same obeisance with which they had consented to honour the yellow curtain of the Chinese emperor on the occasion of the late feast at *Tien-tsin*. On turning round, I observed Kwong looking as black as thunder, so completely had this ceremony discomposed his established notions of the universal supremacy of the great emperor. It might be well for Chinese assumption if lessons of this kind were more frequently taught it; and the increasing means of direct communication from the west seem calculated to multiply the opportunities.

September 1.—I to-day saw what I had before only read of in Chinese books, an itinerant fortune-teller and practitioner in medicine—something between a gipsy and a quack-doctor. These impostors go about two or three together, one of them frequently blowing a cow's horn, like the respectable professors mentioned in *Hudibras*. A prescription of theirs

is for the conjuror to hold a red-hot ball in his mouth, and then drop the same into water, in which the patient is bathed. The warm ablution may be a good-enough remedy in some of the nasty diseases to which the Chinese are subject.

There are likewise witches, or female professors of the black art, who pretend to converse with the dead, and to give responses to their living kindred ; but these Chinese Canidias are discouraged and forbidden by the government. Lighted sticks of incense are placed on a table before them, with sundry other idle forms ; upon which they lay their faces on their hands, and mutter sentences as if conversing with the dead, whose answers they pretend to convey.

We left *Tungchow* at noon, on the 2nd of September, and proceeded on our way back to *Tien-tsin*. I was not sorry to see our boats' heads turned from a place where we had suffered nothing but annoyance. It soon appeared quite plain that, with all the pretended liberality of the Chinese court, we should certainly run the chance of being starved unless we pro-

cured provisions for ourselves and our people. I understood from a Chinese that Kwong and his colleagues had been amerced by the emperor for the full amount of the expenses of the embassy during its stay in China! This could be no light matter, and the evident tendency was to put us upon short commons. The Chinese themselves say, "When the fire breaks out at the city gate, the fish in the moat are sufferers,"—the water being taken to quench the fire—*Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi*. We accordingly volunteered to purchase provisions for ourselves, a proposition which was received by our conductors with just so much "sweet reluctant amorous delay," as might serve to save appearances. Henceforward it became a regular system to supply ourselves to a considerable extent.

September 3.—This morning I saw a dead body floating by in a horrible state. The Chinese are very particular in giving sepulture to their own kindred; but when a poor devil has no relations to bury him, the public authorities appear to take little care to supply the

want. I confess that it has always been my own experience to see as many corpses of grown persons as of children in this condition, which seems to militate against the notion that the children are generally instances of exposure on the part of the parents. They are more likely to be accidental cases of drowning, among the crowded population that lives upon the rivers. Infanticide certainly does exist, but the Chinese are generally too fond of their children to allow it to prevail to any great extent. With them the real cause is that destitution which springs from the excess of population beyond the means of subsistence—an excess which is fully accounted for by the undue encouragement given to increase. Juvenal tells us, that the same crime prevailed in his time, and was perpetrated by poison, but from a very different cause—the luxury and depravity of the Roman women—

“Tunc duos unâ, sævissima vipera, cœnâ,
Tunc duos?—septem, si septem fortè fuissent!”

SAT. VI.

I was not in the least surprised when Chang

Tajin informed me that the whole business of alluring us from Tungchow to the court was a trick of Duke Ho; and that it had never been intended to dispense with the Tartar prostration in any public audience whatever. The emperor was, in fact, kept in complete ignorance by Ho, who seems to have been fool enough to suppose, that after our arrival at Yuenmingyuen the ambassador might be cajoled or frightened into the performance of what he had so strenuously resolved not to perform. The emperor's resentment, then, arose, not from our refusal of the Tartar prostration (for of the refusal he was never apprised), but from the report of his excellency declining the audience on the plea of sickness, which it is probable his physician was sent to disprove. Now, the ambassador did not refuse the audience on the ground of permanent sickness, but on that of excessive fatigue; to which was to be added the impropriety of his attending the emperor on his first arrival from a night journey, without due and adequate preparation. The infamous conduct of Duke Ho, in enticing his excellency to

the palace under false pretexts, would alone have been a very proper ground. A report prevailed that some of the court grandees, incensed at the proper resentment which was displayed by our party, when the unmannerly and indecent curiosity of these gentry became intolerable, had made a purposely unfavorable report to the emperor, and induced his majesty to believe that the ambassador's indisposition was not real, but a mere pretext for escaping the proposed audience. Under any circumstances, however, we had no great loss, for a reception at court like that which seems to have been intended was, perhaps, better avoided. There is no telling what any insult or violence offered in the emperor's presence might have led to.

It was at one time suggested, in consequence of the recent intelligence, that a letter should be written to the emperor, detailing the real circumstances of the case, in order that he might not remain under a delusion; but this advice was overruled, and it was decided that no letter at all should be sent, as the emperor

might in consequence be inclined to send for us back, without any arrangement respecting the non-performance of the Tartar ceremony, by which means matters would be rendered much worse than they were at present.

Most of us were surprised by the extreme heat of the climate at so great a distance from the equator as forty degrees of north latitude. During the whole of our stay at Tungchow the thermometer at noon-day often stood at ninety degrees, while at night or towards morning it frequently fell to seventy or less, thus making a difference of twenty degrees in fourteen or fifteen hours. Under these circumstances it cannot be a very healthy climate. Many of our people were taken ill, and we buried one man at Tungchow. The common Chinese either wore a single cotton shirt, or went entirely bare to the waist; while the stores of sheepskin coats, and other skin garments in the shops, bore witness to the difference of their costume during the winter, which is here more severe than in England.

September 4.—Our boats anchored as soon

as four o'clock in the afternoon, and did not move for the rest of the day. The slowness of our progress at present was evidently the result of design, as no natural obstacles whatever existed. It was strange that they should not be in a greater hurry to get rid of such expensive guests as we must be; for the mere pay of the boats in which we were conveyed was a serious matter, the number of persons engaged being estimated at three hundred and more. We could account for it only on two suppositions—either that they had some idea of getting us back to Peking, or were desirous of delaying our arrival at Tien-stin, where the arrangements for our future progress were perhaps not completed. They are always extremely anxious to avoid the long residence of strangers in or near their large towns, either from a fear of their observations and notes, or the dread of disturbances with the natives.

The mandarin conductor of Lord Amherst's boat, who had somehow or other got the name among us of "Commodore Ko," exhibited several of his gymnastic exercises for our amusement.

He desired one of the party to make a blow at his face, and then, turning it aside, ran in and seized his antagonist by the leg to upset him. In the mean while he was at the mercy of the left hand. The importance which the Chinese attach to bodily strength and dexterity in their military officers proves the low state of the art of war among them. This mandarin of ours was a fat and good-natured fellow, of about forty, who had raised himself in our estimation by continuing the same civil and respectful behaviour since the rejection of the embassy as before, and by persisting in his daily attention and good offices unchanged.

Happening to sneeze violently, he, laughing, exclaimed, "Somebody is talking of me!" Many superstitions are in China attached to the act of sneezing, in common with other countries. The Chinese generally consider it lucky, and imagine that it denotes "good fortune, and a profitable undertaking." They have rules of divination which they practice in reference to sneezing, the twinkling of the eyelid, &c. So in Italy, if any one sneezes in a carriage,

the coachman will turn round, touch his hat, and say, "Felicítá!" These foolish observances are a pretty sure proof of the general ignorance of the people among whom they prevail, whether Asiatic or European.

Ignorance and conceit were perhaps never more strongly combined than in a certain civil mandarin of high rank, who had accompanied our progress thus far from Tungchow. His office was *ganchäsze*, or criminal judge of Peking, and his pretensions those of universal knowledge. Without condescending to ask any questions about our country, he proceeded to inform us that England was a region of Europe, extremely weak by land, though powerful at sea, and entirely dependent on commerce. He then proceeded to expatiate on the homage due to the supreme majesty of China; and must have had a high notion of the moderation and forbearance of his auditors, or, if he did not intend to offend them, a very overweening estimate of the relative superiority of himself and his country. It is likely that the latter was the real state of the case.

On the morning of the 6th an extraordinary fall of more than twenty-five degrees occurred in the thermometer, which was now reduced below sixty of Fahrenheit, much to our comfort. In the Chinese boats the extreme heat of the sun was particularly annoying, until this welcome change took place, as their flat roofs are easily heated through. This favorable weather afforded a number of our party the opportunity of exercising themselves on shore, when the boats came to an anchor rather early on the day. A friendly visit from Chang Tajin served to pass a portion of the afternoon. We showed him our books, and he was much taken with the portrait of Wan Tajin, one of the conductors of Lord Macartney's embassy.

Chang informed us that he was to accompany us to the adjoining province of Shantung, but no further; and added, that the judge who vaunted his European knowledge was to quit us there also. We could well dispense with the latter gentleman; but Chang, and his military colleague Yin, had acquired our good opinion so far as to make us wish for their

continued offices, and regret the transfer of their functions to other hands. Chang expressed himself warmly in the praise of Englishmen, and admired (he told us) their integrity and sincerity. The Chinese certainly have the *names* of these virtues, but, to use a phrase of their own—"the names only and not the reality,"—*yew ming, woo shě*.

September 6.—We reached our old anchoring place at Tien-tsin soon after mid-day. The curiosity of the people in this populous place seemed yet unsatisfied with gazing at us, for the crowds assembled on the shore were not less than on our last visit. So dense was the mass of the populace, that it was thought most prudent to confine our walk on land, in this place, to a large square space which was cleared by the soldiers. It was here that I paid particular attention to two of those columns supported by tortoises, which have excited the attention of travellers, and are of a monumental and religious nature. The famous Emperor Fohy is said to have taken his mystical numbers from the figures on the back shell of

the tortoise, which is still used by the Chinese in their divination, called *Po*. The tortoise, the dragon, the *kelin*, and the *foonghúang* (of which the three last are fabulous), constitute a list of mystical animals to which they constantly refer in their literature, and to which allusions are frequently made in their sculpture and drawings. To kill a tortoise is supposed to be extremely unlucky, and certain to bring misfortune upon the perpetrator. In the "Book of Rewards and Punishments," it is related that a certain person, who discovered a number of tortoises, killed them and made a profit by their shells. His body was in consequence covered with sores, and when he got into a bath, by way of a remedy, it suddenly assumed the form of a tortoise, and the patient soon afterwards died in great agony. The tortoise-shell used at Canton in various manufactures is all imported from abroad.

That quarter of the town of Tien-tsin which adjoined our boats possessed few features of interest. In lieu of shops the streets consisted in great measure of the dead walls

in front of dwelling-houses, which are always secluded within an inner court; and nothing in an English town would more surprise a Chinese than the publicity of the rooms of dwelling-houses looking into a street. For the exclusion of noise and other annoyances, their plan is certainly the best; but it entails an immense sacrifice of space, which is still more aggravated by their houses being of only one story. When the Emperor *Kien-loong* saw a perspective view of a street in Paris or London, he observed that the territory must be very small whose inhabitants were obliged to pile their houses to the clouds. In the poem on London, by a Chinese visitor, it is stated,—

“The houses are so lofty that you may pluck the stars.”

On the morning of the 7th September, there was some recurrence of complaints from the guard, and the men forming the band, that they were insufficiently supplied with food; and as these frequent alarms of impending starvation were not agreeable, a serious representation was made to our conductors, who

promised that the supplies should be in future more regular. I endeavoured to take a walk in the suburbs, but the dirt of the street and the pressure of the mob soon forced me to turn back. On my return I met the son of Chang Tajin, a lad of eighteen, on board Sir George Staunton's boat, where he was paying a visit. When this was concluded, I accompanied him on board the boat of the third commissioner. He was very modest and silent, as befitted his age; but seemed to take a great fancy to some cherry brandy that was offered to him. The Chinese never like our wines, though any sweet liqueur they will generally take with relish. The French and German liqueurs were among the presents which the East India Company annually sent to Canton for the mandarins; and they also form an article of considerable trade at that place. A hermetically sealed Chinese bottle, curiously covered with yellow silk, and containing some unknown liquor, was kept as a great rarity for about a *quarter of a century*, by a gentleman in England. Curiosity at length prevailed so far as

to lead to an examination of the contents, which proved to be some excellent Maraschino, which had been taken out to China, re-bottled by the natives, and sold to some Englishman as a Chinese production!

I could not help noting in this place an observation that had often struck me since our landing. On looking forward to accompanying an embassy to Peking from the neighbourhood of Canton, which lies at the immense distance of seventeen degrees (the difference between Edinburgh and Madrid), it was natural to expect a considerable disparity between China to the north and China to the south. What was our surprise, therefore, to find that there really exists scarcely the least dissimilarity in the character of the people, in their customs, in their dress, or in any single circumstance whatever. Even in their complexion, which might be expected to be considerably fairer to the northward, there was not a shade of difference; except, indeed, that the expectation of finding them lighter made us think them rather darker. It was

not likely, after observing such perfect identity at the extremes, that we should find any variation in our progress through the centre of the country. Much, however, on various points was to be learned from actual inspection of their towns and their country; and the approaching journey was fraught with interest to all. I had unfortunately got a fellow attached to my boat who, though a military mandarin with a gold ball on his cap, could not write the character so well as myself, and whose general ignorance on every subject (beyond the use of his pipe and his bowl of rice), made it vain to hope for any information from him.

On the morning of the 8th September we left Tien-tsin, and commenced our journey to the southward. Instead of going any farther down the *Peiho* towards the sea, we turned to the right up a stream which falls into the *Peiho*, and leads to the grand canal. Having reached new ground, the voyage became extremely interesting. A large portion of the city of *Tien-tsin* is situated on the right bank

of the river which we now entered, at its confluence with the Peiho. Some handsome buildings were pointed out, and among the rest the official residence of our legate conductor, when he was superintendent of the salt department at this place, but which he had now lost by the emperor's displeasure.

The suburbs were extensive and good, and continued above a couple of miles beyond the city, denoting this to be a most important and rich place, although not ranking as a regular city. The name of our river was *Nan-yun Ho*, or the "stream of southern communication," and appeared to have a *Paelow*, or consecrated gateway, inscribed to its honour on the bank. These ornamental structures are also called *Pae-fang*, and consist sometimes of wood, but generally of stone, having one larger gateway in the middle, and two smaller ones at the sides. They are occasionally reared to the honour of the living, and sometimes to commemorate the dead. A native of Canton, who was famous as a statesman under the *Ming*, or Chinese dynasty, has a *Paelow* still

remaining, inscribed, *Shing she chih chin*,—"an upright minister in flourishing times." The Tartars do not seem to have overthrown all these monuments of the native race of emperors.

The country now became extremely pretty, though perfectly flat. The neighbourhood of the great city which we had just left was laid out, along its whole level, in the garden style, and planted with vegetables of all kinds. We observed some handsome edifices of the sepulchral kind, which they told us were the tombs of priests. They were constructed of excellent brickwork, and had an urnlike shape, being narrower towards the bottom than the top, where they assumed the form of a bulb, and were surmounted with small balls. As the bodies of the Buddhist priests are burnt after death, these probably contained their ashes, and the shape of a vase or urn was sufficiently appropriate.

Tien-tsin may shortly become a spot of deep interest to us in this country. It must be viewed as the first object of attack to any force which should make an attempt in the neighbourhood

of the capital, and try the strength of Chinese troops in that quarter. Its vicinity to the sea, and its vast importance as the depôt for grain and salt, render it extremely obnoxious to foreign invasion. The pertinacity of the Chinese court may perhaps prove more troublesome than was expected. A certain emperor is reported to have said, "I have a strong leaning to obstinate resistance. When I meet with a small nation that does not show profound respect, I never can suffer it : when I meet with a great nation that is encroaching and insulting, I cannot bear it patiently." But the real motive to resistance, on the part of the present Tartar sovereign of China, will be the dread of diminishing, by submission, his influence and power over his own subjects.

Sept. 9.—We all of us received this morning some presents from our friend Chang Tajin. He sent me a coloured drawing on a roller, and a Chinese snuff-bottle ; and though these were but trifles, I kept them as testimonies of goodwill. Chang was highly elated at his new promotion (of which we were only this

day informed) to be *Gan-chǎ-sze*, or criminal judge of the province of Shantung. This was a very high office, and in the present instance said to be an introduction to something higher still. Chang had been raised in so sudden and marked a manner, that there was some ground for regarding the present embassy as the cause of his elevation.

It was probable that as he knew us on our first arrival, and had so much intercourse with us since, this mandarin had been able to form a juster estimate of our real character than any of the other functionaries; and that while Duke Ho and Kwong were sending up reports to Peking of the probability of our ultimate consent to perform the ceremony, he might have stated that, from his own observation of our character and intentions, there seemed little chance of it. Thus *truth* may for once have met with its reward, even in China, while Duke Ho and his colleague had been punished for misleading the emperor. Such a supposition derived strength from Chang's late behaviour to us, which since our rejection

by the emperor had been rather more friendly and civil than before; and he often spoke of his admiration of the blunt integrity and straightforwardness of the English character. It is certain that we shall always do ourselves more good in China by the uniform maintenance of such a character on all occasions than by any other line of conduct that we could pursue. Our best aim is to acquire the respect of the Chinese, by acting in a manner diametrically opposite to themselves.

Chang Tajin came and sat with us at dinner, but did not seem much to relish our cookery. We congratulated him on his new titles and honours. The ease and good-breeding of the better sort of Chinese, when they are on friendly terms, is very striking, and by no means what might be expected from the rigid nature of their ceremonial observances. These, however, sit upon them much easier than might be imagined; and practice serves to render them less formal than the *programme* might lead one to believe. There is nothing in the whole Chinese ritual to equal the suc-

cessive robings and unrobings, the genuflexions, bows, and crossings of a Roman Catholic bishop at high mass.

Our boatmen during the night used frequently to "keep a dreadful pother o'er our heads," and until we became accustomed to it, entirely spoiled our sleep. All their operations are conducted with uproar, and on the occurrence of difficulty or danger the noise and din of every kind exceeds belief. It is evident that this must greatly aggravate the effect of any disaster, as it is impossible for the voice of authority to be heard where every one screams at the pitch of his lungs. The contrast is great, after the perfect order and discipline that reign on board a British man-of-war, where, in exact proportion to the exigency, is the silent obedience to the voice of command.

I was sorry to observe that we were a source of great oppression and ill-usage to the poor trackers who drew our boats up against the stream. So large a number were required by us, that it was with great difficulty they could

be collected, and there was reason to believe that the mandarins did not pay them very regularly. They seemed much disposed to rebel on this occasion; but the application of the bamboo to some of the most mutinous appeared to awe the others, and restored order. From the lowest of its subjects, who have nothing but their labour to give, the Chinese government frequently exacts personal service as the only means of available taxation.

Sept. 10.—We breakfasted this morning near *Tsing-hae Hien*, a considerable town, which is laid down in the Jesuits' map of China exactly under the parallel 39°. From Peking to this point, and indeed much farther on our way to the southward, not a stone was observable, so completely did the country consist of alluvial deposits. This is the tract which we have every reason to believe was once under water, and which became drained and cleared under the directions of the great Yu. It is possible that the yellow river once flowed through some part of this immense

level, and fell into the sea to the *north* of the Shantung promontory, instead of the *south*, as it does now. The vast quantity of mud in the yellow sea, or Gulf of Pechele, and its extreme shallowness, would seem to support such an opinion.

From the want of stone we observed that the cottages of the common people were here built of mud, but their condition was generally decent, and tolerably comfortable, with chimneys, which the winter climate of this region requires, but which are never seen near Canton. Even in the *kitchens* of Canton, chimneys are not used, (the general fuel for cookery being charcoal,) but a sort of open brickwork at the sides of a raised roof. The tenements as we viewed them from our boats, generally appeared to be small, but industriously and neatly cultivated, and shaded with poplars or willows.

As Chang Tajin was soon to leave us, the ambassador and commissioners visited him on board his barge by special appointment. He sent his row-boat for the party, and his whole

behaviour was of the most friendly and polite kind. Instead of taking the first seat, like the legate, he placed all his guests above him, receiving their congratulations on his late appointment very kindly. He pointed out with great apparent satisfaction his nomination to his new office in the Peking gazette, and stated that he must return to court to be presented before he could enter on his functions as provincial judge. The antechamber of his own apartment was occupied by his clerks, busily engaged in writing.

We unfortunately stopped, about ten o'clock at night, near a spot where a number of soldiers with music were drawn up; and it was perhaps in celebration of Chang Tajin's new honours that they maintained a dismal squeaking, and disturbed our quiet. Of all burlesques upon harmony, the Chinese music is perhaps the most atrocious; every man would seem to be playing a different tune, or rather, making a different noise, and the predominance of the tones of the Scottish bagpipe does not lessen the evil by any means.

About noon on the eleventh we were near the prettiest and most picturesque-looking building that I had ever seen in the country. It consisted of three stories, and the ground plan was hexagonal. The three projecting roofs of varnished tiles were of a rich massive construction, and the proportions of the whole extremely good. The purpose of the building was religious, and it was dedicated to the Chinese constellation *Kwei*, which is Cancer, and probably signifies the summer solstice. The effect of the building was much enhanced by picturesque clumps of weeping willows, of which the Chinese are very fond, and which they constantly allude to in their poetry. Willow charcoal forms one of the ingredients of their gunpowder.

Early in the afternoon we stopped at a walled town, constituting a city of the third class, and called *Tsinghien*. The suburbs adjoining our landing-place formed, with their shops, the best portions of the place, as we found on examination that the walls were dilapidated, and the interior falling into decay. The people here

struck me as being much less civil than we had hitherto found them, and it was to be apprehended that in proportion as we proceeded southwards towards Canton, we should perceive increasing symptoms of that rude and insulting spirit which the mistaken policy of the local authorities has always encouraged towards Europeans.

On quitting *Tsinghien* we found the river assume a course so winding as occasionally to bring it back almost upon itself, forming in this manner a number of successive peninsulas.

Over the low flat fields we could frequently see sails on each side of us, and as the whole country was cultivated in the garden style with vegetables, the effect was very pleasing. The cultivators of the land in this country must certainly enjoy a sufficient degree of security to justify so much industry. In a certain Chinese poem, abounding in their usual antithetical style, the husbandmen are described as saying,—

“The sun comes forth and we work ;
The sun goes down, and we rest :
We dig a well, and can drink ;
We plough a field, and can eat.
What is the emperor’s majesty to us ?”

A party of us went ashore with the ambassador, and walked for an hour and a half followed by a considerable crowd, who were kept in very good order by the soldiers in our train.

I was shown some additional programmes, in Chinese, of ceremonies and forms which would have accompanied our reception at the court of Peking. If we were to consider these as actual plans of reception, it certainly was a fortunate circumstance that we had escaped such profitless humiliations ; for they presented the most degrading pictures that could possibly have been devised, and were more insulting by far than even the reception of the Dutch. It was reasonable, however, to suppose that these papers were mere state documents, not intended so much to be acted on as to be preserved on the records for appearance sake. It

is quite certain that no English envoy could ever be brought to undergo one-tenth part of the abominations which enter into the details of these formulæ.

On the night of the twelfth we stopped late at a city of the second order, called *Tsang-chow*; but the hour being so advanced, it was impossible to inspect it, and we left the place early on the following morning. I had reason to suspect that in some instances this plan was purposely adopted by the Chinese, in order to prevent our entering and examining the places; but happily for us this illiberal policy of theirs could not very often be put in execution, as we were often unavoidably stopped for days at considerable cities, and had a full view of them.

I employed some of my leisure time in reading and making Chinese copies of several programmes of the "entertainments" which were to have followed the "audience," had the embassy been received at court. These were all of them in the same style of intolerable assumption as the document already quoted at page 118,

and removed the last remaining feeling of regret at having quitted Peking as we did.

On the 13th we passed above a hundred sail of grain junks, all of them numbered and classed in divisions. The country through which we were now travelling was extremely low and flat, and I observed that, in the Chinese maps, the whole distance in a direct line to the sea-coast was little more than a blank, not less than sixty miles in extent. Its natural state was probably one great salt marsh. Between *Tsangchow* and the village of *Chuen-ho* was an artificial opening in the bank of the river, bounded by two stone piers, the object of which was to drain off any superfluous water into the sea.

The weather in the middle of September continued so hot during the course of the day as to render it impossible to take exercise except in the morning or evening. The average height of the glass at noon was about 80° in the shade. On the 14th I was called away from a visit to another barge of our embassy, by *Chang Tajin* sending his own row-boat, with a request that

I would join him and the third commissioner, and communicate between them. The visit from Châng was intended as a take leave, a day or two hence being fixed for his return to the emperor, (now at the palace of *Zê-hô* in Tartary,) in order to return thanks for his appointment as judge of Shantung. That mandarin afterwards came on board our dinner-boat, when the ambassador expressed his regret at the prospect of losing so kind and attentive a conductor.

In the afternoon we reached a city named *Nan-pe-Hien*, and found a concourse of people scarcely inferior in number to that seen at Tein-tsin. The intense curiosity which we excited had nearly proved fatal to many; for when the boats stopped, a large number of persons stationed on the top of a mud wall, were suddenly precipitated towards the river by the crumbling of the wall beneath their weight. Two or three of the Chinese soldiers, who were standing on it, and who fell with the rest, were excessively enraged, and began pelting the rabble and driving them back with

lumps of clay and showers of dust. The wall being low, it was fortunate that nobody was hurt, but a large portion of the crowd were nearly smothered in the ruins.

We were here, and very frequently afterwards, witnesses to a strange military evolution on the part of the guard which was assembled to honour the embassy or its conductors. On the opposite side of the river was arranged a long rank of soldiers in new dresses, and among the rest some of the tiger-coloured regiment, whom we had named "the monsters of the guard." As soon as the boats came up, the whole line fell upon their knees, and uttered a dismal shout, or rather howl. They partly reminded us of the kneeling of the troops in some Roman Catholic countries, at the word of command, upon particular religious occasions; but the howl was an addition.

Sir George Staunton obtained from Chang Tajin a copy of the Peking gazette, containing the emperor's observations on the subject of our rejection. Upon the whole, this appeared to be a clever stroke of policy on the

part of his majesty, by which he had got very well out of a disagreeable scrape. In a paper of this kind, which was to be read by the whole empire, the most awkward point was the fact that any persons should have declined to perform the Tartar prostration; and this, accordingly, was passed over with the least possible allusion to it. The whole blame of our hasty dismissal was thrown on the chief imperial commissioners who had been appointed to conduct us.

The paper commenced by observing that, as we *could not* (as if from some natural inability) perform the prostration at Tien-tsin, it was wrong in the two legates to take us any further. It then stated, in regard to Duke Ho, that he had kept the emperor in ignorance of the real truth, while we were at Tungchow, telling him we were practising the ceremony while we were doing nothing of the kind. But the greatest offence laid to the charge of Duke Ho was this: that on the instant of the ambassador's arrival at Yuenmingyuen, and his declining to proceed to an audience that

morning without due preparation, Ho had carried several disrespectful messages to the emperor, stating that his excellency and the gentlemen with him pleaded sickness, instead of the real and proper excuse, their want of appropriate dresses for the audience.

The emperor declared that had this objection been stated to him at the time, he should instantly have acquiesced in its propriety, and have "recompensed the good will which brought the envoys to him from the distance of * ten thousand Ly." He blamed the persons of high rank who were standing by in such numbers for not setting Duke Ho right by their advice. The sincerity of the emperor in this public paper had been amply evinced by the severe punishment of the offending mandarin or noble, who was disgraced and deprived of all his offices. More could scarcely be done in the way of an amende, short of the return of our embassy to Peking, which the present advanced state of the journey and the

* His majesty greatly understated the distance, which was nearer *fifty thousand*.

unsettled question of the ceremony rendered next to impossible.

The document, inasmuch as it was a public notification that the emperor was sorry for what had passed, was a very good supplement to the exchange of presents at Tung-chow, and placed our affairs on the best footing that they now admitted of. On this paper a suggestion was grounded by Dr. Morrison to forward an address to the emperor, containing a list of the requisitions that *would have been made* had we been received; but the advice was properly overruled, for if all concurred in the opinion that these propositions would probably have been refused, (most of them, if not all,) had we succeeded in obtaining an audience, the chances of rejection were infinitely multiplied under present circumstances.

Chang Tajin had proposed to Lord Amherst that he should visit the loquacious judge already mentioned, previous to the departure of that mandarin for the court; but his excellency naturally declined paying the first visit where that was evidently due to himself. It was

then arranged that a meeting should take place in Chang's boat; and, accordingly, when we stopped for the night at a place called *Lien-tsun*, (a little to the south of *Tonghwan Hien*,) the ambassador and third commissioner proceeded to the appointment. The judge talked, as usual, a great deal, and in a very tiresome manner. When the conversation turned to the reign of Kánghy, and the refusal of the Russian ambassador to perform the prostration without some equivalent in return, the judge declared that the Chinese mandarin who was authorised by Kánghy to go through the ceremony in return was a mandarin of only the fifth order, and that he prostrated himself before an altar, whereon was placed a picture or symbol of the *Tienchu* (lord of heaven), or god of the Christians, and *not* the Russian sovereign. This sufficiently proved that the prostration is not a mere ceremony, but a mark of homage to a superior.

The judge, in reply to an offer from the ambassador, said that he could not venture, under existing circumstances, to accept any presents

from us, but that on the following morning he would beg our acceptance of some from himself in the shape of provisions. They accordingly made their appearance next day, and displayed the ingenuity of our loquacious friend in reconciling his liberality with the strictest principles of economy; for the exact amount of his pretended gift was deducted from our regular supply.

About noon on the 16th our attention was excited by two large and rudely-sculptured figures of horses, which I went on shore to examine. They stood at the distance of about a dozen paces apart, and facing each other. In height they exactly corresponded to the common Chinese horse, but were terribly out of proportion in every part; and their legs, in particular, looked as if they were grievously afflicted with elephantiasis. I guessed at once that they were sepulchral, and had reference to some one buried near the place. In the play of "An Heir in Old Age," some one asks, "Where are the tigers and the goats of stone?"—alluding to the tombs.

At night we reached a considerable village called *Sáng-yuen*, or "the mulberry garden," which is just on the limits of *Pechele* and *Shantung* provinces, where a considerable change was to be made in our establishment of conductors and attendants. The revenue and disbursements of every province being strictly confined within its own limits, the expenses of our public mission became the care of a new set of officers, as soon as ever we passed from one into another. These Chinese provinces (of which there are eighteen) surpass the size of many of the most powerful European kingdoms. *Shantung*, on which we were now entering, exceeds in square miles both *England* and *Scotland* combined; and another, *Szechuen*, is considerably larger than *France*. Their population is still greater in proportion.

CHAPTER VIII.

Change of mandarin attendants—city of *Téchow*, and respectful behaviour of some mandarins—improved appearances to the southward—words *strength* and *valour* written on soldiers' dresses—reach *Lintsingchow*, where *canal* commences—pagoda in honour of relics—religious freedom on certain conditions—Stoics, Pythagoreans, and Epicureans of China—subscriptions for books of morality—**BOOK OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS.**

WE remained a day at our anchorage upon entering the province of Shantung, in order to complete the new arrangements. The three mandarin attendants on the boats of the ambassador and commissioners, "Commodore *Ko*," and his associates, *Wong* and *New*, this day took their leaves, and had no reason to complain of their services being slighted, as they were liberally rewarded, and expressed themselves very grateful. These three men, though they wore buttons on their caps, and were military officers of an inferior rank, had never been admitted by us to any higher foot-

ing than a sort of upper servants, as their manners were coarse and illiterate. The very inferior consideration of military, as compared with civil mandarins, is purely Chinese, and appears, under Tartar despotism, as a singular anomaly; so completely has Confucius retained, or rather recovered, his ascendancy since the Manchow conquest. The effect of this on the military spirit and habits of the Tartars must naturally be debilitating.

On the 18th we recommenced our journey towards the canal. The low flat country through which we had hitherto journeyed all the way from Peking, at this autumnal season, had proved very unhealthy to many of our number, and I myself was at last laid up in all the luxury of a severe tertian. It must surely have been after a fit of the ague that Milton wrote his description of the regions where

“ — all the damn'd

Are brought, and feel by turns the bitter change

Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce.”

The country still continuèd its uniformly flat appearance, but we were soon to perceive an

alteration at the point where the *Chǎ-hò*, "the river of flood-gates,"—that is, the CANAL, commences its course through a region where the inequalities of surface render those artificial aids necessary. I could already observe a difference of dialect as we advanced to the southward, the pure *Kwán hwa*, or "mandarin dialect" of Peking being gradually corrupted by provincial changes.

When we stopped in the evening at a city of the second order, by name *Těchow*, a great display of soldiers, with much firing of salutes, took place; and while our band were playing as usual in the front of the dinner-boat, two or three mandarins came up and listened with pleasure to the music. The ambassador, seeing them in the crowd, invited them to walk in, upon which they first retired and arrayed themselves in their ceremonial habits,—a trait of respectful consideration which was to be received at its full value in China. One of these offered his snuff-bottle as a present to Lord Amherst, who thereupon returned the gift with one which he held in his hand, manufac-

tured in England of cut glass, with a gold spoon, to imitate the shape and style of the Chinese bottles.

Everything appeared to wear a more prosperous and wealthy aspect as we advanced into the province of *Shantung*, and upon the whole a marked improvement took place generally as we proceeded southward. It was hereabouts that we first observed the military police, who form so large a portion of the estimated force of the country. They wore, upon the breast and back of their upper coats, a round white badge, on which was inscribed in black, "robustious* citizens"—*min chwáng*—just as the word *yoong*, "valour," is affixed to the more regular troops. In this manner, while some may be born strong and valiant, others have strength and valour "thrust upon them."

It was not until the 22nd of September that we reached *Lintsingchow*, where the canal commences. About noon on that day we passed a pagoda of nine stories (*paoutä*), in

* The word is used by Shakspeare—"a robustious, periwig-pated fellow."

a perfect state of repair ; the first that I had ever seen in actual occupation. The ground plan was octagonal, and round each story was inscribed in large characters *O-me-to-fo* (*Amita Budha*), being the constant invocation of the Buddhist priests. Several of our party went on shore to inspect it. Like all such edifices, it was erected in honour of the relics of Fō, the worship of relics being a part of their idolatry ; and the date of the pagoda was since the completion of the grand canal. Its good condition was therefore probably owing to imperial or public endowment. A winding stair of nearly two hundred steps conducts to the top, the height of which was estimated to be something under one hundred and fifty feet. The basement we observed to be excellently built of a sort of granite, and all the rest of a glazed brick, beautifully joined and cemented. Only two idols of the Buddhist sect were discovered in it ; one of these occupied a niche in the lowest, and the other in the highest story. From the top of the pagoda a very extensive and beautiful view was obtained of the surrounding country,

including the city of *Lin-tsing-chow* at its feet, full of gardens and cultivated ground interspersed with buildings.

While the Buddhists have so many well supported establishments in China, the followers of Confucius. (the sect of the learned) have their separate temples, in which the emperor himself and the officers of government are the exclusively privileged hierophants; and the third sect, that of *Laoukeun* is likewise supported by a portion of the population in this "voluntary system," though not to the extent of the other two. The most perfect freedom of profession is allowed to any sect or religion whatever, that does not presume to meddle with the authority of the government and the peace of society; and the perfect resemblance of the Roman Catholic worship to the rites of Buddhism would have insured its progress in China, had its promoters not violated these wise and wholesome conditions. Among the three prevailing systems of China, so little does there exist of mutual hostility or controversy, that many individuals might be found of the class

of the people who would be puzzled to decide to which of the three they exclusively belonged. Many of them worship in all temples, and their polytheism is on the most extended scale.

It would be difficult to find any system of religious persuasion in the whole world whose precepts and doctrine did not contain within them *something* of good, however mixed up with error, or even mischief. Before embarking on the grand canal on our way to Canton, we may take occasion of the delay to review the moral sentiments of one out of the three Chinese sects—the one, in fact, of which the most meagre and undetailed accounts have reached Europe.

The followers of Confucius may be called the Stoics of China; those of Fo, or Budha, are the Pythagoreans; and the disciples of *Laoukeun* are the Epicureans of that country. Of the last-named sect the general tenets have been fully described in a former work.* They teach men, in short, to banish every vehement

* 'Chinese,' ch. xv. Third edition.

desire, and to repress every passion ("the gales of life"—as Pope calls them) capable of troubling the tranquillity of the mind. The business of every man, according to "the doctors of reason," should be to live without care; and in order to arrive at this happy state of repose, they are exhorted to put away every retrospect of the past, and to avoid all vain and useless speculations concerning the future. Laoukeun advises his followers to be moderate in their wishes, and temperate in their means of attainment, regarding nothing as a real good that is to be purchased at the expense of disquietude and anxious pains.

Professor Julien, of Paris, has translated in full detail one of the principal writings of the above sect, called the "Book of Rewards and Punishments," a small selection from which it will be sufficient to give in this place. Each sentence or text is illustrated by one or more short histories or examples, which serve to show the notions of the Chinese generally on the subject of morals; since they are not confined strictly and exclusively to the particular

tenets of the sect in question. The dissemination of this, and of other religious or moral books of the kind, is considered to be an act of merit, which entitles the doer to have his most favourite wishes accomplished. When an impression is exhausted, those with whom the wooden stereotypes are lodged open a subscription which is soon filled. Some contribute money, others supply paper, while those who understand or practise printing, will take charge of that operation *gratis*. At the end of M. Julien's edition is a list of one hundred and forty-two pious persons who combined for the publication, in proportion to their means and fortune. The immediate motive of each act is generally stated; as one, to bring about the cure of a parent; another, to obtain a son; a third, to gain literary promotion, &c. The moral instruction of the "Book of Rewards and Punishments" is conveyed in short stories or apologues, from which the few following are selected:—

Deceive not your heart in the secrecy of your dwelling.

A certain person lived at *Hwae-yang*, where he exercised the business of a trader. A friend of his, who was a salt merchant of *Shensy*, being compelled by sudden business to return to his own province, deposited in his care a sum of one thousand ounces of silver, and took his departure. Three years having passed away without his hearing anything of the owner, this honest man put away the money in a place of security, and despatched an emissary into *Shensy* to find out the fate of his acquaintance. The salt merchant was dead, and had left an only son, who was altogether ignorant of the deposit which had been made by his father. The guardian of the money sent for him, and pointing to a flower-vase which held the thousand ounces of silver, "The contents of that," said he, "belong to you. They were left in my charge by your father." The son at first would not accept them; but when the other insisted on his assuming his rights, the young man

bowed to the ground, and taking the treasure departed to his home.

In reward for his honesty, this good man had a son who became elevated to the rank of first minister of state. His grandsons were presidents of the supreme tribunals and members of the Hânlin College.

Practise filial piety.

Sia-yoong was gifted with this virtue to an eminent degree, but lived in extreme poverty. He one day dreamed that his father had fallen dangerously ill, and proceeded with all haste on a journey to see him. As he was passing a forest by night, a tiger came across the middle of his path. "I hurry," he exclaimed, without a moment's delay, "to take care of my father, who is dangerously sick. Let the tiger devour me if he will; I shall proceed without fear." The beast turned round, dropped his tail, and departed quietly.

Having reached his father's dwelling, he found him almost without consciousness; but at the sight of his son he recovered and said,

“Son, did you not meet a tiger in your way? I dreamed just now, that having gone to an audience of the magistrate, I saw some stranger, who told me, ‘It was a part of your destiny to die very shortly; but the rare piety of your son has reached to heaven, and a tiger whom he met on his journey abstained from injuring him. Your age will be prolonged twelve years from this day.’”*

Rescue those who are in danger.

A certain merchant had attained to middle age without the good fortune of possessing children; and, to add to his chagrin, a skilful physiognomist said to him, “In a few months from this time a dangerous accident will happen to you.” Our merchant, who knew of old that this practitioner had an extraordinary skill in his art, packed up all his goods and proceeded hastily towards his home.

In the course of his journey by water he

* This illustrates what has been stated in the ‘Chinese,’ that the reward of parents for the merits of their children is a part of the moral and political system of the country.

saw a woman throw herself into the river with her child. He immediately called some fishermen, and promised them twenty ounces of silver if they would save these two from drowning; the men thereupon flew to their succour and drew them out of the water. Having paid these men the promised sum, the merchant turned to the woman and asked the reason of her throwing herself into the river. "My husband," she replied, "is a day-labourer. We had fattened a pig which he carried to sale yesterday, but returned home without perceiving that he had been paid in bad money. His anger was turned against myself, and he scolded and beat me. We have now nothing left us to buy food." When he had heard her story, the merchant gave her twice the value of her pig, and sent her home.

The woman, on her return, related her adventure to her husband, who would hardly believe her. However, he proceeded with his wife to see the merchant and thank him. They arrived at his lodging after he was retired to rest. Having knocked at the door, the woman

cried out, telling him who they were; and the merchant went out from his apartment to see them. No sooner had he quitted his room than the wall and roof fell in, and crushed the bed on which he had been lying! The man and his wife returned home full of surprise and admiration at this occurrence.

The merchant went forthwith to present himself to the man of destinies, who, when he had observed him, exclaimed—"I perceive you have just escaped an imminent danger; but more—you have entitled yourself to unlooked-for good fortune: you will have no further occasion to bewail your want of offspring." It so turned out that the merchant obtained an heir, who afterwards attained to high distinction and office.

Restrain the evil and exalt the good.

Tsehien having given an entertainment to his friends, one of his servants purloined some articles of silver. His master had observed the theft from behind a bamboo trellis, but abstained from convicting him. *Tsehien* soon

afterwards became promoted to the grade of minister, and all those who had served him faithfully obtained appointments of value; while the individual before mentioned remained without employ.

"It is long," said he, "that I have served your lordship; why then do I suffer this disgrace?"

"Do you remember," replied Tsehien, "that you robbed me of several articles of silver? I have been long silent regarding your offence, and never divulged it to any one. But now it is my business to 'restrain the evil and advance the good.' How could I give the aid of my countenance and credit to one who, like yourself, has committed a theft? But in pity to you, and in consideration of your former services, I give you three hundred taels.* Take them and begone!"

* M. Julien seems to have taken the word *Tsien* in the sense of the nominal sum, equal to *one hundred* copper *Tsien*, while it really means the copper *Tsien* themselves (often called *Tchen*), which constitute the only coin of China. It was possible that the master might give the worth of three

The man was seized with alarm, and shed abundance of tears. He fell at the feet of *Tshien*, thanked him, and departed.

Be faithful in service.

Towards the end of the Mongol dynasty, a certain inhabitant of *Tongkuan* placed himself at the head of a party of insurgents. *Hochin* levied troops to put him down, and promised to his soldiers that he would give ten thousand ounces of silver to him who brought the rebel leader bound into his presence. In consequence of this notice a slave of the insurgent chief brought his own master bound, and placed him in the power of *Hochin*. The latter gave him the reward he sought; but, at the same time, ordering a cauldron of boiling water to be placed on a car, he caused the slave who had betrayed his master to be thrown into it. Thus the car was paraded among the people, while a crier warned them not to imitate this servant who had betrayed

hundred ounces of silver to his servant, but not *one hundred times* that sum, equal to £10,000.

his master, that they might not share his punishment.

Forget your resentments.

Under the *Ming* dynasty, a man of *Shanghai*, by name *Chang-koong*, had been exiled to the frontier to perform military service. He was placed under a chief who had charge of an important pass; but one of the inferior officers took an aversion to him on account of his love of reading. "Slave that you are," exclaimed he, "what have you to do with reading like your superiors?" In this manner he continued to treat him with a tyrannical harshness.

Chang-koong subsequently obtained his release, and in consequence of his learning obtained, after a course of years, the grade of doctor, and at length became promoted to the criminal tribunal. His former cruel oppressor, having been accused of malversation in the department of supplies, was carried before the criminal court to be tried. When he perceived *Chang-koong* he was seized with a mortal

fright; but the latter spoke to him with kindness, and desired him to explain his case. He was at length enabled to give the prisoner his liberty. This trait of generosity and greatness of mind in *Chang-koong* was in conformity with that precept of Confucius, which says, "Render good for evil—*Pih-y* and *Shot-sy* always forget their old grudges, and had therefore few enemies."

Treat not errors as if they were crimes.

Shunjin was governor of a city of the second order. Having observed that the public prison was very full of people, he recommended it to the criminal judge to release them, after having applied to each a punishment proportioned to their offences. "These men," said the judge, "are mostly traders who have defrauded their customers—if you set them at liberty they will repeat the offence." "But what is to be done with them?" inquired *Shunjin*. "In general," replied the other, "they continue in prison, as the best way of guarding the people from their practices." "Is it just," exclaimed *Shunjin*,

"that those should die in prison whom the law doth not condemn to death?"

He immediately summoned all the prisoners before him, and admonished them severely, saying, "The judge does not restore you to liberty because you are incorrigible. He fears that you will repeat your offences, and be again committed: but, if you are ready to reform your conduct, I will release you from confinement." They all prostrated themselves before him, declaring that they should obey his injunctions, and accordingly were set at liberty. The prisoners, rejoiced at gaining their freedom once more, exhorted each other to reform their previous courses, and were no longer liable to punishment. Thus it was that *Shunjin* distinguished faults from crimes. The *Shooking* says, "When an offence is not very serious, let the penalty be light." The same authority observes, "It is better to give liberty to a criminal, than to imprison an innocent man."

Accusing another of one's own crime.

In the first year of the reign of *Hy-tsoong*,

a certain doctor, named *Wonghy*, had two servants, one of whom was clever and cunning, the other dull and simple. The first of these having robbed his master of some money, threw the accusation on his comrade. The doctor and his son, who filled public stations, gave themselves no trouble to investigate the case, but sent the stupid domestic to the magistrate, that he might be punished, and compelled to give up the money. His fellow-servants, however, suspected that he was the victim of an unjust accusation. The clever rogue persisted in his false testimony; and the object of his accusation, being unable to prove his innocence, was fastened for the night to the bottom of a high pole, to which was attached a flag; while his comrade, who had accused him, was placed as a guard. During the course of the night, the pole to which the flag was attached suddenly broke in two, and falling on the false accuser killed him on the spot. The neighbourhood was roused by this event, and on investigation the innocent simpleton was discovered safe and sound by the side of the other,

declaring that he had known nothing of the occurrence. When day returned, they made search in the chamber of the cunning and false domestic, and there discovered the sum which he had purloined, by which means the innocence of his companion was put beyond a doubt. It may be learned from this, that he who has committed a crime only aggravates it by throwing the accusation upon other persons.

Killing an enemy who surrenders.

When men give themselves up to a conqueror, or render a voluntary submission, from a reformation in their sentiments, they deserve praise for the motives which make them revert to a sense of their duty. When they do so from the pressure of necessity, we should pity their distress, and receive them with kindness. It would be barbarous absolutely to slay them. Hence the saying, "There is not a greater crime than to kill a surrendered enemy," and "He who kills an enemy that has surrendered is punished in the third generation."*

* As the Chinese Confucians have no idea of a future

Ly-kwong, who put to death eight hundred Mongols after they had surrendered to him, failed in obtaining a principality. Under the *Ming* dynasty, *Heu-tsin* faced the snow, and marched by night to search for the rebels in their retreats. A certain officer of government imagined that he was going to establish his power by massacring them; but *Heu-tsin* replied—"The only proper end of military compulsion is to restore peace to the people. I would not be so inhuman as to build my fame on the number of heads I had cut off. If I slay these unfortunates, who are reduced to extremity, and demand their lives, I shall rebel against Heaven; and he who revolts against Heaven is deprived of posterity." In this manner eight hundred men escaped the death which menaced them.

Insulting and oppressing orphans and widows.

A native of *Kieshuey* took forcible possession of a field belonging to his nephew, who was state, they teach that crimes are punished until the third and fourth generation in this world.

an orphan, and built two pavilions on it. The nephew did not venture to plead against his uncle; he contented himself with burning incense, and denouncing to Heaven the injustice that he had suffered. A violent storm arose, accompanied with thunder and lightning, which carried off the two pavilions, and restored the land in its former state to the orphan. The oppressive uncle remained for some days on his knees upon the spot before occupied by the pavilions, and could not utter a word. When speech was restored to him he acknowledged the magnitude of his crime, and after the lapse of some time he was seized with sickness, and died in great torment.

Separating those who are allied as bones and flesh.

When *Yuen-koong* lived in his native province *Shensy*, a troop of brigands suddenly arose and spread consternation through the neighbourhood. He lost his only son in these troubles, and sought an asylum in *Keangnán*, with the intention of taking a wife of the se-

cond order, hoping that he might obtain a son to succeed him. He purchased a woman of this kind from her husband for thirty ounces of silver; but she had no sooner arrived at his house than she retired to a corner and began to weep violently. When *Yuen-koong* demanded the reason of this, she replied—"We were reduced to extreme wretchedness, and should soon have died of hunger. Seeing that my husband was ready to put an end to his life in despair, I offered myself to be sold with a view to relieve his poverty. I am thinking of the kindness that he felt for me, and of our mutual attachment; this has all vanished in a day, and I am now obliged to serve a stranger. Such is the cause of the bitter tears which you see me shed."

Yuen-koong was touched with compassion, and conducted her back to her former husband, giving them a hundred ounces of silver to put them in the way of gaining their living. In gratitude for this treatment, they formed the project of seeking a woman who might produce him a son in lieu of the one he had lost. On

arriving at *Yangchow*, they met with some person who offered to sell a young boy of twelve years old to anybody who wished to adopt a son. "Let us purchase him," said they, "and offer him as an adopted son to our benefactor." They were told that the boy's price was as many ounces of silver as he was years' old, and, his age being twelve years, they gave for him twelve ounces of silver, and conveyed him to *Yuen-koong*. The latter on examining him attentively discovered that he was his own son, who had been carried off by the brigands! Such was the reward that awaited *Yuen-koong* in return for having united those who were "allied as bones and flesh."

Unjust extortion.

The riches and goods of this world are apportioned to each by the will of Heaven. He who acquires them by force or exaction always brings on himself unforeseen calamities. *Cháng*, imperial censor in the province of *Szechuen*, one day gave the following narration to a relative of his own:—

“While on a course of inspection in the province of *Yunnan*, I beheld during the night a figure clothed in red, which approached me, saying, ‘I have long had in charge for you a sum of money, and awaited your coming with impatience.’ I asked where it might be. The genius pointed to the bottom of my chair, where I found a thousand ounces of silver. ‘How shall I carry this away?’ said I. ‘It shall be conveyed to your dwelling,’ replied the genius; and so saying, disappeared. When I returned to the capital to render an account of my mission, I found an old fellow-student who solicited my good offices in order to procure a particular situation; and I made him in return give me two hundred ounces of silver. On entering my own house I fell to my prayers at midnight, and presently saw the same genius that had before appeared to me—but he brought me but eight hundred ounces of silver. Asking the reason of this, he replied—‘the sum that you miss is that which you extorted from your fellow-student.’ I was filled with surprise and confusion, and thanked the genius for this lesson.”

An intemperate use of prosperity.

There were two scholars who were born in the same year, the same month, the same day, and the same hour, and who likewise attained at the same time to the grade of doctor. Not long afterwards, one of them was named literary intendant of one district, and his friend of another. Presently the one died, and the other officiated at his funeral. The survivor thus apostrophised the deceased as he stood before his coffin,—“The same hour gave both of us birth, and we were natives of the same country; having thus entered life together, what is the reason that we are now parted? If my prayer can reach you, I entreat that you will appear and answer me in dreams.”

On the following night he dreamt that his brother intendant appeared to him, and said, “It was my own lot to be born in a high and opulent family. I early enjoyed all the advantages that accompany rank and fortune, and as I had soon used them up, my death was premature. If you survive me, the reason is

that your early condition was poor and obscure ; you have not yet enjoyed the full sum of the good allotted to you by destiny.”

A man dies as soon as he has consumed the allotment of good assigned to him ; since the sum of our prosperous fortunes is previously fixed by fate. If a man expends the revenue of many days in one, he will have nothing left for to-morrow. Therefore it is said that by the moderate enjoyment of good, a man prolongs the date of his life. (The object of this apologue is to teach a virtue constantly inculcated in China,—moderation.)

Forgetting the old for the new.

He who forgets his old connexions for new ones, proves that he has no real attachment to any thing, nor any sentiment of justice. Under the reign of *Tien-shun* there was a certain officer named *Maleang*, for whom the emperor had a great regard. His wife having died, the sovereign daily addressed to him some expressions of condolence ; but *Maleang*, in the meanwhile, ceased in a short time to appear at the

court. The emperor expressed his surprise. Having learned at length, through some of those who surrounded him, that the officer had just taken a new wife, his anger was roused. "Since," said the emperor, "this despicable man has shown so little respect for his first wife, there is no chance of his serving his master faithfully." Accordingly he condemned *Maleang* to the bastinade, and banished him for ever.

To think one thing, and say another.

A certain president of the board of civil appointments was well acquainted with the good or evil qualities of all the officers; but in public praised them all indiscriminately. When it came, however, to recommending them for employment or promotion, he changed his language, and, on his presentation list, most of those whom he had before praised did not appear. A Mandarin who had the privilege of approaching the emperor, indignant at this revolting inconsistency, presented a report wherein he proved by numerous facts that the

president sought only to obtain influence, and to enrich himself by corrupt gifts, as the price of promotion. The emperor stripped him of his ill-got fortune, and condemned him to be degraded from his high office.

Coveting riches and obtaining them by fraud.

Tsaou-hán being charged with the duty of putting down the rebels in the south, acquired a mass of wealth which amounted to many thousand ounces of silver. He presently addressed a request to the emperor, in which he stated that "he entertained a wish to build a temple to Budha, in the district of *Yingchow*. That he had seen on the mountain* *Leushán* a temple called *Tung-lin-sze*, which contained five hundred little images of the saints of Buddhism; and that he wished to carry these with him." The emperor assented to his demand, and he accordingly took a public vessel of transport and embarked on it the chests containing the treasures which he had amassed,

* See a subsequent chapter, for a description of this place.

taking care to place in the upper part of each the images of Budha. Those concerned in the carriage of the same supposed that these images formed the entire cargo.

Some time after this, *Tsaou-hán* was appointed general, with the title of *Tseangkeun*. He now pillaged openly the people whom it was his duty to protect: but his criminal proceedings were denounced by another public officer. The emperor stripped him of all his wealth, and sent him to die in exile; while his sons and grandsons were reduced to wander as beggars through the empire.

Practising on simple people.

In the first year of the reign of *Wan-leih* three men who were travelling together arrived at a river, but the only boat by which they could cross it was fastened to the opposite bank. One of them, who was a simpleton, was desired by the two others to swim across and bring the boat over. He accordingly put off his clothes and jumped into the water, and the stream running very strong, was nearly drowned for

his pains. At last he reached the boat, and brought it back for his two companions. These, however, when he wanted them to wait until he fetched his garments, pushed off from shore, crying out, "It is too late, we cannot wait for you." But just as they reached the opposite bank, the impetuosity of the stream urged the boat with such violence against the steep shore, that she bilged and sank. The two men were drowned, while their companion remained safe and sound on the other side.

Ill-treatment of a wife.

Sze-t'hang, having attained to the grade of doctor, repented him that he had not espoused the daughter of an illustrious and opulent family. From this time he treated his wife with profound disdain; while she became so much chagrined at such undeserved contumely as to fall very sick. He, however, would not so much as look at her, which made her case desperate; and as her last hour approached she addressed him, saying, "I shall die! Are you so hard-hearted as still to refuse me one

kind look." He, however, refused to take any notice of his wife.

When she died he began to entertain some feelings of uneasiness; and, as a precaution against her coming back to trouble him, he covered up her face, tied her hands, and did his best to make her secure before burying her. On the following night, however, the offended spirit appeared in a dream to her father, saying "You married me to a worthless man. During life he treated me with nothing but anger and hatred, and after I am dead he places my body in fetters. For this conduct to your daughter, heaven will deprive him of life." Sze-t'hang accordingly died the following year.

Treating ancestors with disrespect.

Disrespect to ancestors implies delaying their obsequies, or performing them contrary to the prescribed rites. It also refers to shortening the proper period of mourning, neglecting to visit and repair the tombs, or offering sacrifices to the manes without due veneration. Some

lay hold on the pretext that the *foong-shuey** is not propitious; others, that the period of the year, or the month, is not favourable; others again, that the place of sepulture is ill-chosen. After the remains have been committed to the earth,† some persons transport them repeatedly to other spots. When the spring period is arrived, they just go once to visit and repair the tombs; but for six months, or the whole year besides, they trouble themselves no more about the matter, than if the graves were placed in an inaccessible desert. To some, when they visit the places of sepulture, it is a pretext for roving about and amusing themselves with their friends, and they sometimes return overcome with wine. All this implies contempt for the memory and the shades of one's ancestors.

Koong-heuen having lost his only surviving parent in his mother, arrived, after several grades of promotion, at the office of keeper of the archives. He returned some time afterwards

* 'Chinese,' p. 136.

† Ibid., p. 297.

to his native place, and offered a sacrifice at her tomb. His mother appeared to him in a dream, and reproached him for his past neglect. "Since you abandoned me," said she, "the wild animals have undermined the place of burial, and thorns and brambles have choked up the path to it. You have entrusted to two women the performance of the oblations which should have come from yourself. The god of the lower regions would have punished you, but as you perform faithfully the duties of your present office, he defers it, that you may endeavour from this time to repair your past neglect."

Losing time in unprofitable occupations.

The emperor *Seuen-tsoong* of the Ming race once invited Hoong-foo to see a theatrical entertainment. He replied that he did not love such exhibitions. Another time, when the emperor desired him to play at chess, he said he did not understand it. "How is that?" inquired the emperor. "In my childhood," said he, "my father rigidly forbade me every sort of game.

He taught me solely to study books, and would not let me learn anything unprofitable." Many men have no other object than to enjoy the pleasure of a moment; and yet, in the most useless pursuits, they make as much use of their faculties as in the most important. They consume their fortune, contract maladies, and commit the gravest crimes. Add to this, that most of the pursuits of life vanish and leave no trace: but he who does what is useful to mankind will accomplish endless good. If you have talents, explain the ancient books, or make compilations of useful information. If you have wealth and power, repair wells and roads, construct dykes and bridges, establish granaries, sepultures, and places of education. All this is useful to mankind; and what is useful to mankind cannot fail to be useful to yourself.

NOTE.—It must be admitted that the foregoing are, many of them, excellent specimens of moral sentiment, though occasionally conveyed in what may strike us as a quaint or trifling manner.

CHAPTER IX.

Enter the CANAL—Extends seven degrees of latitude—Dragon robes—Military features—Flood-gates—Highest point of Canal—The dragon king—Town of *Tse-ning-chow*—Unhealthy tract—Immense inundations—Enter *Keangnân*—Improvement of country—Preparation for sacrifice—Crossing the Yellow river—Frozen in winter—Shooting the sluices—Chinese horses—Temple to empress-mother—Curious maxims of government—Boats lashed in pairs—A city below the Canal—*Paou-ying-hien* and lake—Fishing-birds—The lofty and bright temple—Change of boats—Sacred fish—Winter cap adopted by *Kinchae*.

EARLY on the 23rd September we entered the CANAL through two stone piers, and between very high banks. The mounds of earth in the immediate vicinity were evidently for the purpose of effecting repairs, which, to judge from the vestiges of inundation on either side, could not be infrequent. The canal joins the *Eu-ho*, which we had just quitted, on its right or eastern bank, as that river flows towards the *Peiho*. One of the most striking features

of the canal is the comparative clearness of its water, when contrasted with that of the two rivers on which we had hitherto travelled; a circumstance reasonably attributable to the depositions occasioned by the greater stillness of its contents.

Whatever the course of the canal might become hereafter, it was, at this commencing point, evidently in the bed of a natural river, as might be perceived from its winding course, and the irregularity, and inartificial appearance of its banks. The stone abutments and flood-gates are for the purpose of regulating its waters, which at present were in excess, and flowing out of it. As *Lintsingchow*, where the canal commences, is just under the thirty-seventh parallel of latitude, and *Hángchowfoo*, where it terminates, is nearly in 30°, the direct distance is about five hundred English miles, without allowing for windings. It is the channel not only of subsistence, but of all kinds of tribute to Peking, in a country where so large a portion of the revenue is paid in kind. We observed, on the first day of our

voyage on its waters, a large junk decorated with a yellow umbrella, and, on inquiring, found that it had the honour of bearing the "Dragon robes," as the emperor's garments are designated. These are forwarded annually, and are the peculiar tribute of the silk districts.

As we proceeded on the canal, the stone flood-gates or sluices occurred at the rate of three or four a-day, sometimes oftener, according as the inequalities in the surface of the country rendered them necessary. The change from uniform flatness to something of variety was a great relief, and on the 24th some blue mountains were hailed by us in the direction of south and east. In the afternoon we came in sight of the large city of *Tunchangfoo*, which appeared to be well built, extensive, and populous, with high walls within the suburbs. After sailing and tracking along these for a distance of some two miles, we passed nearly a mile beyond the city, and were received by an extended line of soldiers, who, in addition to their arms and accoutrements, each carried a

lantern tied to his spear or matchlock. This military feature, however, was still less amusing than certain watch-towers that had been lately remarked, formed entirely of mats, which were painted to imitate brick or stone. This was so completely "playing at soldiers," as to afford a most unequivocal proof of the unwarlike habits of the nation.

If these things excited some merriment, our compassion was moved by the miserable condition of the trackers who had been pressed for the service of our boats. They looked as if the whole province had been ransacked for its beggars, including all shapes of misery. Some of them were diseased, and others with scarcely a rag to cover them; and in a country where even the lower orders are decently and neatly dressed, more so than in Europe generally, they presented a strong contrast to the rest of the population.

I observed that as we receded from the neighbourhood of Peking, the mandarins had become more frequent and less reserved in their visits, very readily accepting any presents that

were made them. It was extremely desirable to conciliate them by civilities and trifling gifts, and the only point to be attended to, was the grade and rank of the persons who were admitted to visit the ambassador. The attentions paid to the mission at *Tungchangfoo* were rather more than common, in the decoration of the landing-places, the profusion of lights, and the number of soldiers, with their tents pitched near the anchorage of the boats. We had several times remarked that, on the ropes which enclosed the ground in the vicinity of our boats, small bells were suspended, which by their noise gave immediate intimation of any intruder into the taboo'd precincts.

As we advanced, the canal in some parts became narrower, and the banks had rather more of an artificial appearance than where we first entered it, being occasionally pretty high; but still the winding course led to the inference, that as yet the canal was for the most part only a natural river, modified and regulated by sluices and embankments. The distance between the stone-piers in some of the

flood-gates was apparently so narrow as only just to admit of the passage of our largest boats. The contrivance for arresting the course of the water through them was extremely simple. Stout boards, with ropes fastened to each end, were let down edgewise over each other through grooves in the stone-piers. A number of soldiers and workmen always attended at the sluices, and the danger to the boats in passing was diminished by coils of rope being hung down at the sides to break the force of blows.

The slowness of our progress, which for the last week averaged only twenty miles a day, gave us abundant leisure to observe the country. Its appearance continued to improve, with diversified surface and clumps of trees amidst the cultivation. The cotton shrub, tobacco, hemp, and various grains, as wheat and sesamum, appeared to be the things chiefly grown. Indeed the great quantity of cotton which we saw during our journey, seemed to prove that the importations from India must form a very inconsiderable portion of the consumption of this vast empire, in which the whole of the inferior

orders are universally clothed in cotton garments.

September 26.—When we stopped in the afternoon at a place called *Ganshanchin*, there were ornamented landing-places (called *Matow*, ‘horses’ heads,’) erected from our boats to the shore. The following sentences were inscribed over them—“The power of the Tartar dynasty is universal;”—“The winds regular and the rains favourable.” The latter sentence is frequently used by the Chinese, and expresses the advantages resulting from general peace and submission. I observed, on referring to the Jesuits’ travels in this part of the country, that the mountains of *Shantung* to the eastward of us must be very high, as goîtres are mentioned to be frequent among the population of the valleys.

We now began to make better progress on the canal than we had hitherto done. The stream, though against us, was not strong, except near the sluices, where it was confined. As the month of September drew to a close, the weather became cloudy and cold to a remark-

able degree, considering our latitude. A strong northerly wind and rain brought the thermometer in our boats down to sixty degrees in the morning.

In the afternoon we stopped at a place called *Kaeho Chin*. The last word signifies a military station, or "corps de garde," and the first two syllables imply "the opening or commencement of the river," which led to the inference that this must have been the point from whence the canal was begun; an opinion rendered still more probable by our vicinity to the highest point, whence the current runs down north and south in opposite directions.

At *Kaeho Chin* a large party of us went on shore, and took a long walk through the adjoining village. The great stone rollers* used by the Chinese for pressing the grain from the husk, or for levelling the newly-ploughed ground, appeared to be of black marble with white veins; but the stone of which the piers

* The Jesuits say, "We observed marble rollers, like portions of columns, which they drag over the fields to level them."

are constructed had a siliceous appearance, and broke like flint. The neighbouring hills must no doubt supply an abundance of stone. A famous mountain of *Shantung* is called by the Chinese *Taeshan*, and is probably the highest of the range.

On the 28th we arrived at the influx of the *Wun-ho*, where the stream turned in our favor, and flowed to the southward, being the highest point of the canal, and a place of some note. The *Wun-ho* flows into the canal on its eastern side nearly at right angles, and a part of it going to the north, the other part runs southward; while a strong facing of stone on the western bank of the canal sustains the force of the influx. This seems to have been the work of *Soongly*, who lived under the first emperor of the *Ming* dynasty, at the end of the 14th century.

In his time a part of the canal in *Shantung* province became so impassable, that the coasting passage by sea began to be most used. This was the very thing that the canal had been intended to prevent; *Soongly* accordingly adopted

the plan of an old man, named Peking, a resident in that part of the country, to concentrate the waters of the *Wun-ho* and neighbouring streams, and bring them down upon the canal as they are at present. History states that *Soongly* employed "three hundred thousand" men to carry the plan into operation, and that the work was completed in two hundred days.

On both sides of us, nearly level with the canal, were extensive swamps with a shallow covering of water, which the Chinese dignify with the name of *Hoo*, 'lakes,' and which they plant extensively with the *Nelumbium*, useful for its roots and seeds. These were occasionally separated from us by very narrow banks, along which the trackers walked, and the width of the canal sometimes did not exceed five-and-twenty yards. The boatmen paid their devotions with great assiduity at the temple of *Loong-wong*, "the dragon king," sometimes called *Hae-wong*, who presides over the watery element. A deputation from each boat burned incense, while the priests went through certain

mysteries with the accompaniment of the gong (which the Chinese gods have the bad taste to like), and the whole ceremony was concluded with an offering of some cash. These small contributions must amount to something where the traffic is so great; for, as the Chinese proverb says, *Tseih shaou ching to*, "Accumulated littles make much."

In the afternoon we reached the neighbourhood of *Tse-ning Chow*, a town* of considerable dimensions. Here was the best show of soldiers that we had yet seen, drawn up to receive us. In number they were about two hundred and fifty, but being in very open rank they made the greater show. In addition to the usual proportion of archers and matchlock-men, we observed some armed with halberds, and others with a sort of short scythe on a pole. As usual, they reminded me more of a chorus at the opera, than men whose trade was slaughter. We seemed to be treated with more distinction as we advanced to the southward. The

* The *Foo* might be named cities; the *Chow*, towns; and the *Hien*, burghs.

ma-tow, or platforms, before the principal boats had ornamental gateways over them. An immense population was collected to stare at us, and during dinner-time appeared quite absorbed by curiosity to view our band and the party at table with open windows. After dinner we some of us proceeded with the ambassador to take a walk along the banks of the canal. An orderly of the guard proved very useful in keeping off the crowd, who however were quiet and well behaved.

The night proved extremely cold, from the vicinity of so much flooded land, and the appearance, among some of our people, of the ague, from which I had just recovered, proved the insalubrity of the country we were passing through. After I had retired to rest, one of the military mandarins, our conductors, with a blue button and peacock's feather, came to visit me, but I begged to be excused at that untimely hour.

As we did not proceed on our way until late on the morning of the 29th, an opportunity was afforded for surveying the suburbs of

Tse-ning Chow, whose appearance surpassed what we had yet seen in that way. The canal seems to render this an opulent and flourishing place, to judge by the gilded and carved shops, temples, and public offices, along the eastern banks. Soon after quitting the neighbourhood of the town, we for the first time saw two boatsful of the fishing birds, but nothing would induce the fellows in the boats to come nearer for close inspection; we had abundant opportunities, however, of observing them afterwards. The canal in this part was a little raised above the level of the extensive marshes on each side, which were mostly under water.

On the 30th the swamps increased rapidly; until the whole country, as far as the eye could reach, displayed the effects of a most extensive recent inundation. The waters were on a level with those of the canal, and there was no need of dams, which were themselves nearly under water; and we occasionally observed sluices at the sides of the canal for discharging the superfluity. Clumps of large trees, cottages, and towers, were to be seen on all sides

half under water, and deserted by the inhabitants. The number of these towers led to the inference that they were provided as places of refuge in case of inundation, which must here be very frequent. Wretched villages occurred frequently on the right-hand bank, along which the tracking path was in some places so completely undermined with water, as to give way at every step. Hurdles of reeds were often laid down to afford a passage to the feet.

On reaching that part of the canal which skirts or passes through a lake called *Tou-shan Hoo*, the left bank was entirely submerged, and the canal confounded with the lake. All within range of the eye was swamp, and coldness, and desolation—in fact a vast inland sea, as many of the large boats at a distance were *hull down*, or invisible except the masts. We were here at no great distance from *Keo-fow Hien*, the birth-place of the sage Confucius, lying on our left, to whose honor we saw a temple erected, with a school or college for students, shortly before we reached the lake

just mentioned. A chain of mountains was visible at a considerable distance on the south-east.

The swamps on the following day were kept out of sight by some very decent villages on the high banks, which, from perpetual accumulation, assumed in some places the aspect of hills. After breakfast I walked for about an hour and a half with Lord Amherst, and came to that point of the canal where it is crossed at right angles by a river, which is therefore called *Shê-tsze-Ho*, or "Cross river," styled in Barrow's map "the four rivers," where the course is cut through a low hill to the depth of thirty feet. We soon afterwards came again in sight of the dreary marshes, continuing to infest our course as far as the Yellow river, where we were to arrive in about five days.

We were informed that on reaching *Yang-chow foo*, or rather *Kwa-chow*, where the Yang-tsze-keang crosses the canal, we were to turn to the right, up that mighty stream, and proceed in a south-westerly direction towards Canton, until we reached the Poyang Lake,

which we were to cross. This intelligence, proved a source of considerable satisfaction, as the whole course of the *Yang-tsze-keang* was un-trodden ground; besides which, this new route would afford us an opportunity of viewing Nanking, the ancient capital of the empire.

A part of our journey on the first of October lay along a portion of the canal where the banks, particularly to the right, were elaborately and strongly faced with stone; a precaution which seemed to imply a greater than ordinary danger from inundations. In fact the lakes, or rather floods, seemed to extend at present nearly to the feet of the mountains which lay at a distance on our left. We were now approaching that part of China which is exposed to the disastrous overflowings of the Yellow river; perpetual sources of wasteful expenditure to the government, and of peril and calamity to the people. So incurable, indeed, have been the destructive sallies of this great stream, and so useless is it (from its violence) for the purpose of internal intercourse, that it well deserves the name of *China's*

Sorrow. The European trade at Canton has been heavily taxed for it.

We observed the repairs of the banks diligently proceeding under the superintendence of the proper officers. For this purpose they use the natural soil in combination with the thick reedy stalks of the *kaou leang*, or gigantic millet, of which the harvest had not long since been completed. This appears to be the mode in which the Yellow river is checked and confined throughout its boundaries in this part of China. The *Wei-chang Hoo*, or lake through which the canal might be said to run, when we passed on the second, mingled its waters with our stream, the piers being nearly submerged; and we were carried along with such rapidity, that the only thing required was to guide and check our barges. This was done by taking ashore a small anchor from each boat, with which a man ran along the bank, and occasionally brought up the vessel's head by striking the fluke of the anchor in the ground, while we floated down stern foremost.

We were glad to quit the southern boundary of the province of *Shantung*, ravaged as it had been by the late inundations, and to reach the frontier of *Keangnân*, which we did on the evening of the second, at a place called *Ta-urh chen*, where a long rank of soldiers with lanterns was drawn out, and the ambassador was received with the usual salute of three guns. The actual viceroy of *Keangnân* and *Keang sy*, (or, as the Chinese call them, "the two Keangs,") was *Pih Tajin*, formerly viceroy at Canton, and a bitter enemy of the English at that place. It was rumoured that he was to meet the embassy shortly in person; though there was every reason to suppose that the compliment was not intended for the ambassador, but for our conductor the legate.

The treasurer, or *Pooching sze* of *Shantung*, who had the charge of our supplies since the judge quitted us, came to pay his farewell visit to the ambassador. He was more pleasing and well-bred in his manners than any of his predecessors, and appeared to avoid the subject of our quarrel with the emperor, from a true

sense of politeness. Nothing would induce him to accept any presents, and the reason he gave for this was the danger of misrepresentation. It had been invariably found that the military Mandarins were more willing to accept gifts than the civil, which might be explained on two grounds: first, that they were probably poorer than the civil functionaries; secondly, that their offices and charges were of less weight and importance, and rendered them less liable to the suspicion of corruption than the others. We were to be now under the charge of the treasurer of *Keangnán*; while the legate, our grand conductor, seemed to concern himself less immediately about us, showing in this respect a disposition and manners very different from *Saong Tajin*, the amiable and enlightened legate during the mission of Lord Macartney.

In *Keangnán* we daily found the country growing more beautiful, better cultivated, and in all respects more interesting. We were soon nearly surrounded by picturesque hills in the distance. Our very trackers displayed the

superior riches and prosperity of the province just entered upon, being clad in a uniform of blue and red, resembling that of the soldiers. During two preceding days, we had no occasion for any tracking, but dropped down with the stream stern foremost, in the manner before described, for the convenience of bringing up by the head without swinging. As the stream was now less rapid, we proceeded with trackers in the usual manner.

About midnight on the fourth of October we came to an anchor near *Sootsien Hien*, on the western bank of the canal. It is curious to observe, in the itinerary of four Jesuits who passed up this way, on their journey to Peking, more than a century and a half ago, this place described just as it exists at present. "Cette ville est sur une petite éminence ; les murailles en sont à demi ruinées ; chacun de ses deux faubourgs vaut mieux que la ville. Nous vîmes proche des murs une espèce de palais nouvellement bâti. C'est un monument en l'honneur de l'empereur Cang-hy, qui passa par cette ville en allant à Soo-chow. La principale partie de

cet édifice est une espèce de salon quarré, oblong, ouvert de tous côtés, à double toit, couvert de briques vernissées de jaune."

As the country was now becoming more flat, we found the sluices in this part of the canal much less frequent, and on the fifth of October passed through only one of them. From *Sootsien Hien* to the point of junction with the Yellow river, a length of about fifty miles, that great stream and the canal run nearly parallel with each other, at an average distance of four or five miles, and sometimes much nearer. As this was the season which the Chinese call "mid-autumn," (*choong-tsew*), the crews of our different boats had dressed up the shrines of their idols, and placed offerings before them of different kinds. The approaching operation of crossing the Yellow river, at all times considered as formidable, had occasioned our being abundantly stocked with live cocks, destined to be sacrificed in crossing the river. These troublesome and noisy birds plagued us so incessantly by their crowing on the top of the boat, that we looked forward with some

impatience to the event which was to consign them to everlasting silence. The boatmen sent us red paper petitions, (called *Pin*, a word which has lately been discussed within the house of commons,) begging for aid in enabling them to provide the needful supplies.

Our boats on the sixth proceeded with great rapidity, having both the wind and the stream in their favour. I walked on shore for about half an hour, and was obliged to keep up a good round pace to avoid being left far behind.

About noon we reached a place called *Yang-kea Chuáng*, not many hundred yards from the spot where the canal joins the Yellow river. On our left was a stream called the *Sin-yen-ho*, or "New salt river," communicating probably with the sea to the north-eastward, about sixty miles distant from this spot. On our right we had for several days been very close to the Yellow river, which just before this point of junction with the canal, suddenly turns north-eastward to the sea, after having run in a south-easterly direction for some hundred miles.

After passing a considerable time at anchor, during which interval some of the principal mandarins visited the ambassador, we all weighed and prepared to cross the *Hoangho*. From the inflated accounts of former visitors we were led to expect something very uncommon, and even hazardous; we were, therefore, almost disappointed on finding the passage to be comparatively easy. The water, however, was most profusely charged with soil, and its colour fully entitled it to the name which it bears in reference to that circumstance. The depositions of mud at its embouchure must be enormously great, and calculated, at no distant period, to shut up its communication with the sea, or at least greatly to elevate its level inland. It is to this circumstance that the increasing difficulties must be attributed of restraining its destructive inundations.

The river in this part appeared to be about two-thirds of a mile across, and certainly a fine stream from its breadth; but as regarded the vessels on its surface, or the appearance of its banks, which were low, and scattered with

wretched mud hovels, by no means a beautiful or remarkable object. A much finer awaited us yet in the *Yángtse-keang*. We observed some vessels constructed exactly in the form of oblong boxes, calculated to draw the least possible depth of water. These were laden with the straw or stalk of the gigantic millet, ready to be transported to different parts of the river and canal for the repair of the banks.

The stream was excessively violent, and carried us down a considerable way before we could reach the opposite bank; but the worst was yet to come in passing through a sluice, on the outside of which the water, confined in its passage between the abutments, raged in the most violent manner, forming eddies which sucked down large floating substances. The two projections, which formed this great opening of nearly a hundred yards wide, were not constructed of stone, but of the perishable stalks of millet already mentioned, combined with earth, and strongly bound together with cordage. This construction may perhaps diminish the dangers from striking; but we in-

curred little risk, the boats being drawn forward against the violent current by means of ropes or cables, hove in by capstans worked on the bank; and in this manner we were all dragged through the sluice, and against a fall of about two feet, without any accident.

The Jesuits who crossed here in the year 1687, during the month of January, state that it took them the whole day, in consequence of the *ice*, which it was necessary to break through, and the floating accumulations which retarded their passage. The freezing of so rapid a stream as the Yellow river indicates a very extreme degree of cold; and if such be the case in latitude $33\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, it must be much more severe at Peking, in latitude 40° . To us the whole scene of the passage was most interesting. The difficulties which the Chinese, with their defective science, must have struggled through, in this junction of the canal with the Hoangho, are incalculable, and it is impossible to deny them the praise of the highest perseverance and industry.

Could the science of a Brunel be admitted

to operate on those two great sources of trouble and expense to the Chinese empire (the Yellow river, and the canal), a benefit might be conferred that would more than compensate for all the evil that we have inflicted with our opium and our guns. There exists nowhere in the world a finer field for the exercise of profound science and engineering ability. To the imperfect knowledge which the Chinese possess of hydrostatics and geometry must be attributed the perpetually recurring inundations which devastate the southern parts of *Shantung*, and the north of *Keangnân*.

Some considerable change had evidently taken place at the intersection of the canal with the river since the passage of Lord Macartney's embassy. It was plain to us all that after crossing the *Hoangho* we did not re-enter immediately into the canal, but that the waters, which rushed with such impetuosity through the sluice into which we entered, were discharged from a neighbouring lake to the S.W., called *Hoongtse Hoo*. This was confirmed on the following morning, as we suddenly quitted

the stream along which we had travelled for some hours, and turned off into the canal. It was probable that this was a temporary expedient, consequent on the unusual inundations of the past season.

On the 7th the ambassador and commissioners went on shore at the *Kinchae's* invitation, and proceeded in chairs to a tent erected on the bank, for the purpose of waiting until our boats had shot through a rather dangerous sluice. After some little discussion with the Chinese on the subject of precedence (upon this rather public occasion *in conspectu classis*), the whole party sat down in the tent, while the boats were coming up to the point of danger. The legate offered us a breakfast, but this was declined. After a short conversation, the ambassador proposed that we should walk out and view the boats passing through the sluice, to which the *Kinchae* readily agreed. We stood close to the edge of the stone piers, between which the water rushed with great velocity, as the construction of the passage was equal just to the breadth of a single boat, and

the fall of water not less than two or three feet. All this might have been prevented by a *couple of flood-gates*, and the passage, instead of being really hazardous, rendered perfectly safe and easy : but here, as on some other occasions, the Chinese are quite primitive and inartificial. It was really a very curious and pretty sight, to view the large boats shooting through between the abutments with a momentum which carried them, like a ship when launched, several hundred yards without the aid of sail or oar. They were managed with very great dexterity, and not a single accident occurred to our whole fleet.

Soon after the boats had passed, it was proposed that we should proceed some way further down on the bank, and meet them at a convenient spot for embarkation ; but before Lord Amherst and the commissioners entered their chairs, his lordship requested that the other gentlemen should be provided with horses. Though the reply was that no horses were to be had, there were evidently plenty on the outside of the tent, and some of our party accordingly

helped themselves, and rode off to the place of rendezvous. Of all possible varieties of the animal, the Chinese horse is the most wretched and the lowest bred; and this seems to have been its character a century and a half ago—probably from the very first. The peculiar economy of the Chinese entirely banishes the larger domestic quadrupeds, or starves those which are kept. One of the early Jesuits observes—“ We did not meet with a single flock of sheep on our land journey, but several of goats, and of black pigs; few oxen or buffaloes, a number of little mules, asses, and bad horses, which are the ordinary conveyance of travellers—we did not see one tolerably good horse.”

On arriving at the place of embarkation, we proceeded on the voyage, but stopped in the afternoon at a spot called *Sanchâ*, or “ the third sluice,” that is, the third from the Yellow river. Our attention was presently attracted by a very handsome building on the other side of the canal, and I went over with a party to inspect it. This new and really elegant temple was dedicated to the reigning emperor’s mother,

and therefore called *Neangneang Meaou*,—“Our Lady’s Shrine.” In front was a *Pae-low*, or honorary gateway, on the entablature of which was inscribed the name of the building. The roof of the temple was covered with yellow varnished tiles, and the walls coloured red. A small statue of the old empress, clothed in yellow, was placed in the sanctum sanctorum, and in galleries on the outside of this were all kinds of guardian deities—“Omnigenumque Deûm monstra.” At the entrance stood a great figure of *Loongwong*, “the dragon king,” (or as he is sometimes styled *Hae shin*,) keeping guard with his sword drawn. His peculiar office was no doubt to control the waters of the canal, and prevent their drowning the image of the old empress.

He has, however, a particular connexion with Chinese royalty. The word *Loong* is applied as an epithet to most things pertaining to the emperor. *Loong-wei*, “the dragon-seat,” is the imperial throne. The dragon is the badge, or coat of arms, affixed to his books and his standards. In this temple we observed

that, in the apartment containing the empress mother's figure, the ornamented beams were covered with dragons richly gilt on a light blue ground. To render the apotheosis of the old lady complete, a pagoda-shaped vessel of bronze contained incense, which one of the priests informed me was kept perpetually burning. There was nothing inconsistent in this; if the Chinese regard their emperor as the "son of heaven," his mother must of course be considered as the wife, or the queen of heaven.

With all this, however, it is very remarkable that they have maxims and allusions which would seem to make the emperor only subordinate to his people. An ancient writer compares him to a fish in water—"the water can do without the fish; but the fish cannot do without the water." In like manner it is said that "the Son of heaven was established for the sake of the world; the world was not established for his sake." Again, it was the remark of an ancient emperor himself, that "the sovereign is a splendid vessel floating on the water; but the water which supports it can

also overwhelm it." The consideration of these wholesome maxims has no doubt tended greatly to temper and mitigate Chinese despotism.

Their books say of government, that "when the people in all quarters have a sufficiency, the nation will enjoy tranquillity; when the government is liberally conducted, and exercises clemency, plots will be prevented; but if oppressive, it becomes impossible to exterminate plots." At the same time, the theory of the constitution is perfectly despotic, as appears from the following comparison:—"The emperor is a charioteer—the ministers of the court are his hands—the officers below them are the reins—the laws are the bits—and punishments the lash." Dr. Morrison, who quotes this in his dictionary, observes that we likewise talk of "the reins of government."

On having quitted the interesting spot above described, we found the fall of water at this third sluice fully as great as at the former ones, proving that the level of the country was descending as we proceeded towards the Yang-tsekeang. Early on the morning of the 8th we

found ourselves at *Tsing-keang-poo*, a considerable town, though not classed under any of the three denominations of *Foo*, *Chow*, and *Hien*. As far as this point, our course appeared to have been very winding and circuitous, probably to obviate some difficulties in the general level near the Yellow river. We now appeared to steer our proper course to the southward, and the direction of the canal was more straight and uniform. One remarkable circumstance in our navigation was the *lashing the boats together by pairs*, which our boatmen stated was to prevent them drifting to leeward with the wind.

At noon on the same day we reached the large city of *Hoae-gan-Foo*, whose situation is in every respect remarkable. A part of the town was so much below the level of the canal, that only the tops of the walls (at least twenty-five feet high) could be seen from our boats. This was something worse than the sword of Damocles perpetually hanging over the inhabitants; and yet it proved to be, next to *Tientsin*, by far the largest and most populous place

we had yet seen, the capital itself excepted. It is melancholy to think that at a later date, and some time subsequent to our visit, this place was completely flooded by the bursting of the canal! We may here repeat, what has been remarked before, that a first-rate engineer might find ample employment for his science, and confer a benefit on China equal to the introduction and diffusion of vaccination there by Pearson. *These* would be the proper forerunners of the missionaries,* whose objects are not likely to be promoted by war and the combined effects of opium and the sword.

My attention was excited, in the immediate vicinity of *Hoae-gan-Foo*, by the vast numbers of vessels which were ranged along the banks of the canal in exact order; and on inquiry it appeared that a command had been issued by the local authorities, to make way in this manner for the fleet of boats which conveyed the embassy. It was observed, at the

* One of these gentlemen, some years since, oddly enough distributed religious tracts from an opium-ship.

same time, that the viceroy himself of the province could not expect such a mark of respect. It is probable, however, that the real cause of this was rather the necessity for leaving an open passage for our very numerous flotilla of barges, than any intention to flatter or compliment the embassy.

About six miles beyond the city we brought to for the night, a guard of soldiers being arranged on shore, with their tents pitched. The *Kinchaë*, our conductor, apologised for our stopping here, and stated that the contrary wind had, by its violence, compelled the whole fleet to stop short of their intended anchorage by about forty ly. It would have been more agreeable to our party had we remained at *Hoae-gan-Foo*, but there seemed a marked anxiety to keep us away from their large cities, if possible. Fortunately for us, circumstances did not always, or indeed generally, render this practicable.

On the morning of the 9th of October we reached *Paouying Hien*, a populous place, and, like the larger city which we had lately

passed, considerably below the level of the canal. Here, however, the artificial level was not more than ten or fifteen feet above the plain; while at *Hoae-gan-Foo* it was greatly beyond that.

In the course of the day, while making an excursion from the boats, we saw on the *Paou-ying Hoo*, an extensive swamp, or lake, on our right, five or six boats crowded with the fishing-birds, which they called *Yu-ying*, "fishing hawk," and others *Yu-ya*, "fishing duck," without much regard to specific accuracy. We prevailed on one of the men to bring his boat close to the shore, and had a narrow view of them. They stand about as high as a goose, but are not so heavy in make, with a very long bill, of which the upper mandible is hooked at the end, like all birds that prey on so slippery a subject as fish. Their colour on the back is darkish, approaching to black, and they appear to be something between a pelican and a cormorant. The people were very unwilling to sell them, and with sufficient reason, as the difficulty of training them for the service of

the fishing-boats must be considerable. They were all secured by the leg, and some had a collar to prevent their gulping the fish.

We made great expedition during the 10th, and a party of us who went on shore to walk were obliged to keep up a brisk pace for full three hours. At noon we reached *Chaou-pě*, a small neat town, where the houses, being whitewashed, with a story above the ground floor, and furnished with regularly built chimnies, had a very European look. In the course of our walk we were forced by the rain to take shelter in a temple, where they were making some idols of clay. The country continued to bear the same general appearance of a morass; there, for the *first* time, we observed the cultivation of rice, so universal in the southern provinces of the empire. Since we had been to the south of the Yellow river, a very marked improvement took place in the appearance of everything; we were in fact approaching the richest part of the empire, consisting of the tea and silk provinces.

The distance between the Yellow river and

the *Yang-tse-keang* by the canal is about a hundred English miles, and we were now rapidly approaching the last-named great stream, along a considerable portion of which it was destined that we should travel. From the village of *Chaou-pě* to *Yang-chow Foo*, the last large city to the north of the Keang, was forty *ly*, and we accordingly did not reach the latter place until night. To our surprise, instead of stopping there, our whole squadron continued its course, and did not come to an anchor until a very late hour, at a place much nearer to the great Keang, called *Kaouming-tsze*, "the lofty and bright temple," where we found amusement and occupation for several days; while the local advantages of an open, dry, and very pretty country compensated for the disappointment of not stopping at *Yang-chow Foo*.

We met at this place the boats intended for our voyage on the *Yang-tsze Keang*. They were rather larger than our former ones, and better calculated, by their comparative strength of build, to buffet with the waves of the river,

concerning which the Chinese have formidable ideas. On the morning after our arrival, we expressed a desire to see a very elegant-looking *Paou-tă*, or pagoda, which was close at hand, and some mandarins politely attended us to view it. This was the tower of *five* stories mentioned by Desguignes, who merely viewed it from his boat in passing; but it consists of seven stories, two of which are hidden by the other buildings. It was situated in the inner court of a temple of Budha, founded by one of the emperors, the outer walls of which were accordingly painted dark red. Contrary to the advice of the mandarins and priests, who stated that it required repair, we ascended the spiral staircase to the fifth story, the two others being inaccessible. The solid brickwork of this lofty tower, (which we calculated to be one hundred and forty feet in height,) was surrounded at each story by a light wooden verandah roofed with varnished tiles, and hung at the corners with bells. The view from the highest point we reached was beautiful, commanding a great extent of country, and

including within the range of vision the city of *Yang-chow Foo* to the north, the celebrated *Kinshan*, or "golden island," to the south-east, and the great Keang, like a branch of the sea, extending away to the south-west as far as the eye could reach.

These truly Chinese towers are so constantly a leading feature in the scenery of the country, that they deserve some particular notice. A good account of them is contained in the first part of Dr. Morrison's dictionary. The *Paou-tă* is generally, though not always, placed on an eminence; the inside is hollow through the centre to the very top, and there is a spiral stair in the wall around, not unlike those in the well known columns at Rome, London, and Paris. The term *Paou-tă* has a reference to Budha; these monuments are in fact dedicated to him, and were introduced with his religion into China.

At *Shaouking Foo*, in the province of Canton, there is a pagoda to which many people repair, and present a sum of money from six to a hundred dollars, in order to illuminate it.

There is supposed to be a merit in this act which ensures prosperity to the donors, and the priests are dispensed, by these liberal donations, from the necessity of going forth to solicit alms, like the generality of their order. The pagodas are commonly of five, seven, or nine stories, and the most modern ones are usually the lowest. We shall presently have to notice the famous "porcelain tower" of Nanking.

The temple, in one of the courts of which stood the pagoda already described, was not unlike the celebrated one near Canton. The priests were very attentive and polite, and entertained us in the principal hall with much ceremony, presenting tea and refreshments. Their salute was, as usual, with the two palms joined, and unlike that of the laity in China. A very large bell in one of the courts, which was struck on the outside with a mallet to make it sound, they informed me was to rouse the attention of Budha to their prayers; a measure highly requisite, if we were to judge from the stupid and sleepy countenance of their god.

The trans-shipment of the baggage and stores into our new boats was, as before, a long and operose process, entailing a delay at this place of two or three days. This gave us time to examine every object of interest in the neighbourhood. Among the rest was a small temple, enveloped in trees, on a rising ground at no great distance from our boats. The priests were of the Buddhist persuasion, and showed us round the hall, containing idols of the Indian god in his threefold personification. They presented us with some copies of their books of prayers, and recommended them with much solemnity of manner to our attention.

From hence we proceeded to view a large pond, overhung with weeping willows, in front of the temple. The priest furnished us with pieces of bread or cake, which being thrown into the water were greedily swallowed by fish of two or three feet in length. One of the principal tenets of the Budhists being the preservation of animal life, most of these temples maintain, in a similar state of well-fed

security, some particular kind of animal. Here it was fish; but near Canton the selection was less agreeable, as it consisted in a herd of overgrown swine, in a disgusting state of dirt and obesity. The priests told us that to attempt the lives of their privileged fish with either nets or lines, would be a crime of the deepest dye.

We observed, for the first time since we had been in the north of China, some bamboos in this place, of a growth and size much inferior to those in the south; proving that the climate here was not sufficiently warm for their full development. The growth of particular plants, when their habits are ascertained, is not a bad criterion of climate; and I was rather surprised to find a tropical plant, like the bamboo, growing at all so far north as latitude $32\frac{1}{2}$ degrees.

On the evening of the same day our legate Kwong visited the ambassador in his boat, and talked as usual of trifling and indifferent matters, being always anxious to avoid anything of an official or business-like nature. He had the

vanity to state that the mandarins and others in this province had changed their summer caps for winter ones, after his example, and in compliment to him, not waiting for the viceroy; the inference from which was, that (as a special imperial commissioner) he was a greater man than the viceroy himself.

The cap is the most ceremonial appendage among the Chinese. With the ball on its conical top it is a distinctive mark of titular rank. As on most other occasions, their customs as to covering the head are the very reverse of our own. We consider it a mark of respect to uncover the head; with them it would be a great violation of decorum, unless among intimates, and with leave previously asked. In hot weather, when friends interchange visits, and it is more agreeable to be uncovered, the host says to his guest, "*Shing kwán!*"—raise, or put off the cap,—after which the scruple no longer exists.

We had every reason to be pleased with the behaviour of the mandarins in charge of our embassy through this part of China. Their

conduct in regard to the change into our new boats was most willing and accommodating. As the approaching voyage along the *Yangtse-keang*, after quitting the canal, did not admit of our daily meeting to dine together in the same boat, arrangements were made for living entirely on board our respective vessels; in which, as before, we were divided into parties of two, three, or four persons, with the several attendants. There was every prospect of our finding the new boats sufficiently comfortable, and rather larger than the previous ones.

CHAPTER X.

A man drowned—inhumanity of the crew—indiscriminate law of homicide—tale of the POOR SCHOLAR in illustration—a misfortune remedied—a calamity—measures of concealment—the doctor called—fails to come—a slave punished—his revenge—the scholar accused—evidence against him—forced admission of guilt—a ghost—the dead alive—a scheme of villany disclosed—the accused acquitted—conclusion.

BEFORE taking a final leave of the grand canal, we may notice an incident which occurred on board the boat in which I travelled, and which made a strong impression on my mind, evincing as it did the effects of the indiscriminating character of Chinese law in cases of homicide, accidental or otherwise. The boatmen had been feasting on certain sacrifices and oblations of eatables and drinkables, considered indispensable upon entering the canal; the smallest possible quantity of which good things had been thrown overboard

for the gods, and the lion's share very prudently kept for the sacrificers—*pro salute corporum*.

It appeared that one of the crew had become so zealously drunk as to occasion his falling overboard in the dark; but his messmates, being either in a similar condition themselves, or afraid to interfere, he was drowned. Not a Chinese hand was stretched to save him,—to use a native phrase, they had “iron hearts and stone entrails,” *teih sin, shě chang*. But some of our own people bestirred themselves, and at length drew him up, though not before he was quite dead.

When out of the water, our Chinese crew would not let the body be brought on board; so it was carried in the punt on shore, and subjected to a kind of inquest by the local mandarin, who at length directed that it should be buried. The extraordinary conduct of our boat-people on this occasion was only to be explained by the state of the Chinese law, which always regards the individuals last seen with the deceased as *primâ facie* guilty,

and treats mere witnesses as harshly as criminals.

I have often seen *face-slapping* (no slight punishment in itself) inflicted on a witness; and, where any particular point is to be gained, they apply the ankle-pressers to men and the thumbikins to women. This may fully account for the fright with which every Chinese regards the mandarin's tribunal. The magistrate has, in fact, an undue interest in finding *some one* guilty of homicide, as in case of failing to detect the perpetrator he is in danger of punishment himself.

This subject is somewhat illustrated by a story familiar to the popular literature of the Chinese, and forming one of a collection from which Père Dentrecolles made some French translations. A short *précis* of this will answer our purpose as well as a translation, and occupy less time and space. There lived, then, in the province of *Ché-keang*, a certain scholar named *Wong*, whose whole time was passed among his books. He had a wife, who was a model of perfection, excepting only that,

in lieu of a family of sons, she had borne him a single daughter. In other respects she suited our scholar perfectly, and they lived together in the most undisturbed harmony.

One fine day in spring a few friends called upon *Wong*, and persuaded him to accompany them on an excursion beyond the town. Transported by the beauties of the season, they thought of nothing but diversion. An entertainment was ordered to be provided, at which the friends regaled themselves; and before they separated to their homes, a good number of cups had been "drunk on the premises."

Wong, on returning to his house, found at the door two of his servants engaged in an altercation with a stranger. They complained that he wanted them to pay too dear for something that they had just purchased out of a basket which he carried; while he, on the other hand, maintained that the price was a fair one. Our scholar, after asking some questions, turned round to the man, and telling him that he was already very well paid, bade him

begone, and not make such an uproar at his door.

The stranger upon this complained of the hardship of being denied his due, and reproached *Wong* with the intention of oppressing a poor man like himself. The latter, who had just quitted his drinking party, flew into a violent rage. "Rascal that you are," said he, "how dare you address your betters in this style?" And with this, unmindful that the stranger was an old man, he pushed him violently and threw him on his back. For this intemperate conduct *Wong* was fully punished by his fright, when he perceived that the poor man lay without sense or motion.

He cried out for help, and with the assistance of his domestics conveyed the stranger into a neighbouring apartment. There they plied him with hot tea, until he at length recovered from what appeared to be only a swoon. *Wong*, after making many excuses for his own violent conduct, gave him some wine to revive him, and added a present of a piece of silk, which the poor man might turn to some

account. This good treatment converted the stranger's misfortune into something like good luck; he returned a thousand thanks, and taking his leave repaired to the banks of the river, which it was necessary for him to cross before night.

Could Wong have looked into futurity, he would have detained the old man some time in his house, and thereby avoided the calamity which was destined so soon to overtake him. No sooner, however, had the troublesome guest departed, than he hurried into the house, and began to take credit to himself with his wife for being so well rid of a bad business.

As it was now late, the lady summoned her domestics, and ordered supper. She made her husband drink a good cup of warm wine to recover him from the effects of the late fright; and he had already regained his spirits and began to feel himself comfortable, when a loud knocking was heard at the door. What could this mean? He seized a lamp, and hurried to inquire the cause at the entrance, where he found the head man of the passage-boat, by

which the river is crossed, holding in his hand the piece of silk and the basket of the old stranger who had lately departed.

On seeing *Wong* the boatman cried out, "You have got into a dreadful scrape; it is all over with you! How could a scholar like yourself kill a poor travelling pedlar?" This came like a thunderbolt upon the unfortunate *Wong*, and he asked the other in a fright to explain himself. "Don't you understand me?" said the boatman. "Look at this piece of silk and this basket." *Wong* then said that an itinerant dealer had come to his house, and that the silk and the basket certainly belonged to him. "How came these things," added he, "into your possession?"

"It was already dark," replied the other, "when the owner of them applied to me for a passage in my boat. Scarcely had he embarked, when he was seized with an internal pain which reduced him to extremity. As he lay dying, he informed me that it was the consequence of the blows which you had inflicted on him. 'Take this piece of silk,' said he,

‘and this basket,—they will serve as proofs when you bring my murderer (as I conjure you to do) to justice.’ So saying he expired.”

Poor Wong was so terrified at this story that he could not utter a word. His heart was agitated like that of a young deer, which beats itself against its prison in trying to escape. Recovering himself a little, he at length exclaimed, “What you say is impossible.” Nevertheless he desired a domestic to proceed to the vessel, and to satisfy himself of the real truth. This man on his return declared that the dead body was really there.

Wong was a man of a timid nature, and devoid of all presence of mind. He rushed into his house in a state of distraction, and telling his wife what had occurred, “I am a lost man,” cried he; “the storm is ready to burst upon my head. I see no help for it but to bribe the boatman to dispose in some way of the corpse!”

With that he took a packet of silver which made in all about twenty taels, and returned to the boatman. “I depend,” said he, “on your

keeping my secret, and am going to speak to you in confidence. I certainly brought this unhappy affair upon myself, but it was more from accident than malice. We are both of the same district, and I trust that you will behave to me as a neighbour. Would you ruin me for the sake of a stranger? Is it not better to hush up this matter? My gratitude shall be proportioned to your kindness. Take the body; throw it into some out-of-the-way place; the darkness of the night favours the design."

"Where shall I throw it?" replied the boatman: "if somebody should chance to discover it to-morrow, and the case comes before the magistrate, I shall be considered as a sharer in the murder, and be mixed up with yourself for my pains."

"You know," said *Wong*, "that the burial-place of my father is near to this, and that it is a retired spot. The night is dark, and there is no chance of meeting any one. Be so good, then, as to transport the body on board your boat."

“This is very well,” said the boatman, “but how will you pay me for this service?” Wong now took out the packet of silver, and gave it to him. The boatman weighing it in his hand, exclaimed, with a look of disdain, “Here is a man killed, and you pretend to be quit of it at this cheap rate! It was my good fortune which brought the old man to me—a chance has been afforded for bettering my condition—a hundred taels is the least I can expect.”

The poor scholar, in his anxiety to get out of the scrape, did not venture to dispute it with him; but returning into the house collected what silver remained, together with some other effects, which made up a sum of about sixty taels, which he delivered to the boatman, telling him it was all that his poverty afforded. The other then relented, and said that he should be contented with this, and hoped for his good offices as a man of letters hereafter.

Wong then gave the boatman something to eat, and in the mean while desired two of his domestic slaves to prepare shovels and hoes.

With these they went on board the boat, and proceeded in it to the place of sepulture, where they selected a spot in which the ground was soft, and easy to be worked. Having dug a grave, and interred the body, they all returned to the house ; but the whole transaction had occupied the night, and when they came back it was already dawn. The scholar retired to his apartment, to talk over his misfortune with his wife.

“Alas,” cried he, “that a man of my profession, and of so ancient a family, should be reduced so low by a wretched scoundrel!” His wife here tried to console him, by arguing that it was his inevitable destiny, and that he should submit with patience. “Thank heaven,” said she, “that it is no worse with you in so dangerous a predicament. Go and take some repose—you have need of it after such a night.” Wong took her advice, and retired to rest.

After the lapse of some time, our scholar, finding that the late unfortunate affair remained unnoticed, procured some offerings to the gods, and thanked them, in conjunction with his

ancestors. The boatman in the mean while sold his vessel, and with the money which he had obtained from poor *Wong* he set up a shop and addicted himself to trade.

The scholar had been betrayed into the utmost improvidence and want of foresight in only burying the dead body, instead of burning it, by which means he would have destroyed all traces of the unfortunate occurrence. Instead of which, he behaved like those who only cut down the weeds, without rooting them up, and thus leave the sources of future trouble.

It is an old and true saying, “ that good luck comes leisurely, but misfortunes travel by express.” The only daughter of *Wong* had just commenced her third year, when she was attacked by a very virulent small-pox. They prayed for her—they consulted the lots—and called in good medical aid—but all in vain. The father and mother passed days by the bedside of the sick in tears. At length they discovered that there was one doctor in the neighbourhood, deeply skilled in the treatment of the

disease, and who had saved the lives of many persons afflicted with it.

The scholar immediately wrote a very pressing letter, which he delivered to one of his domestic slaves, charging him to hasten with all diligence. He counted the hours in hopes of the doctor's arrival, but he never came. The disease in the mean time grew worse, and the child at length died amidst the tears and lamentation of her parents.

The messenger did not return until the next day. His answer was, "that the doctor had been from home, and that he waited the whole day for him to no purpose." The grief of the unhappy Wong was renewed at this recital. "Alas," cried he, "it was the destiny of my poor daughter that she should be denied the succour of so able a physician!" and with that his tears flowed afresh.

A few days afterwards it came to light, through the means of the other domestics, that the messenger, instead of delivering his commission, had stopped to drink at a tavern mid-

way. Having made himself tipsy, he lost the letter with which he was charged, and then returned home to concert the lie which he had told to his master. Transported with indignation, the scholar summoned his other slaves, "Take that scoundrel," cried he, "lay him down on the ground and give him fifty blows with the bamboo as hard as you can." When he had seen this done, he retired to his apartment overcome with grief.

The slave, half dead with his flagellation, rose up and retired to his quarters. Being naturally a very brutal fellow, this punishment roused all his evil passions. "Ah," said he, "this flogging shall cost you very dear, my master!—I will be handsomely revenged." After a little consideration he made up his mind as to the mode; "As soon as I have recovered from this beating," cried he, "you shall see what I can do in the way of return!"

Our scholar in the mean while, a victim to his sorrow, was invited by some relations to spend a little time among them, and there he gradually learned to bear with his fate. On

his return to his own house, as he was walking about at leisure, a number of the police suddenly made their appearance, and coming up to poor *Wong* threw a chain round his neck. "What!" exclaimed the scholar, in consternation—"do you treat one of my profession in such away as this?"

The police, however, only made a jest of his remonstrances, telling him that "a scholar had no business to commit murder." So saying, they dragged him before the tribunal of the magistrate, where, as soon as they had placed him upon his knees, he perceived the slave, who had become his accuser, and who betrayed in his countenance the joy that he felt at his master's disgrace. It became at once clear that the fellow had originated this prosecution in revenge for his late punishment.

"You stand accused," said the magistrate, "of the murder of a travelling vendor of goods. What have you to say to this charge?" "Ah, sir," exclaimed *Wong*, "holding as you do the delegated office of the just heavens, do not listen to the calumnies of this wretch. Consider that

a scholar by profession, weak and timid as I am, could hardly have fought with and killed another man. My accuser is one of my own slaves, whom I detected in a heavy offence, and punished according to the right which I possessed over him. In revenge he has contrived this plot for my ruin; but I look to your wisdom and justice to unmask his dark schemes."

The slave, when he had touched the ground with his forehead, interposed by entreating the magistrate not to listen to the stories of that scholar, who had great skill in misrepresentation. The bones of the murdered man, he added, were still in the place of burial. Let them be examined; if found, they would prove the fact; if not, he would be content to suffer the full penalties of a false accuser.

The magistrate accordingly sent a party to the spot, where, under the guidance of the slave, they searched for and found the body in question. No possibility of distinguishing it remained, but they carried it on a litter to the court of the magistrate, who, when he had viewed the same, declared that the accusation was sub-

stantiated. The question was about to be applied to the poor scholar, when he entreated to be heard as follows:—

“The state of this body will prove that it has been long under ground. If, then, I was the murderer, why did my accuser not denounce me before? It is quite as likely that he placed it there himself, to bring this charge against me.” “There is some reason in this,” said the magistrate; but the slave declared that the neighbours would prove such a person as the deceased having come at a particular bygone date to the scholar’s house, and there been struck by him.

Some of the neighbours were accordingly summoned, and asked if they knew anything of the circumstances. They declared “that the scholar, at a particular date, had beaten a man who came to his door, in such a manner as apparently to have killed him. He was revived, however, after an interval; and since then they had heard nothing of him.” The poor scholar was overcome by this weight of evidence against himself, and could say nothing more.

"The prisoner is clearly guilty," said the magistrate, "but he will confess nothing until he is compelled. Give him the bastonade." In an instant two executioners of the court seized upon *Wong* with a loud cry, and laid him at length on the ground, where they applied twenty blows with the bamboo, well laid on. He could ill bear up against this, and to avoid worse treatment readily confessed to all that was demanded.

"You deserve death," observed the judge, "but as the relations of the deceased have not yet appeared, there is still time to pass sentence. When these shall have claimed the body, I will determine on the mode of punishment." The scholar was forthwith conducted to prison, and the remains of the body re-interred where they had been found, with a strict injunction that they should lie undisturbed until the relations appeared.

The slave retired well pleased with the results of his malicious accusation; but when the poor scholar's wife was informed of the proceedings at the Mandarin's court, by those

whom she had despatched for the purpose, her grief and alarm deprived her of sense and motion. As soon as the first access was over, this unhappy woman collected the money that was in the house, and taking with her two female domestics, repaired to the prison where her husband was confined.

The meeting was a very mournful one. As soon as he could speak, the poor scholar exclaimed against the malicious wretch who had brought all this upon him, and expressed his conviction that the blackness of his perfidy must one day be punished. This was their only hope and consolation in the midst of a calamity for which there seemed no present prospect of a remedy. Compelled at length to separate from her husband, the scholar's wife distributed such a sum among his guards as was calculated to diminish the hardships of his treatment.

Her servants, in the mean while, were in great affliction for their master, and as little able as herself to devise a remedy for his misfortune. While they were assembled together

in the house, an old man suddenly made his appearance, bringing with him some presents, and inquiring for their master, if he was at home. In another moment the servants were tumbling over one another as they made their escape in all directions, crying out "*it was a ghost!*" This was the apparition of the old man supposed to have been killed.

"Are you all mad?" said the ghost, as he seized one of them by the arm, "I come to see your master. What do you take me for?" The scholar's wife, hearing the uproar, came out to inquire the cause, when the old man advanced and respectfully saluted her, saying, "Madam, you doubtless recollect the last time I was here. The kindness of the scholar, your husband, is not forgotten by me. I remember the supper he gave me, and the present of a piece of silk, and have brought back some trifles on my way through the country, which I beg to offer to your husband. I cannot imagine what has led your domestics to take me for a wandering spirit."*

* *Kwei*, the name applied to Europeans.

One of the servants from a corner of the enclosure roared out, "Madam, take care! It is the ghost of the dead come on purpose to complete the ruin of our master." "Silence!" exclaimed the scholar's wife. "I am persuaded it is no ghost, but the old man himself. My husband has suffered greatly on your account!" added she, addressing the stranger.

"What!" cried he, astonished to hear this, "what could I have done to injure so worthy a person?" She then recounted in a few words how the boatman had produced a dead body on the same dark night, and asserted it to be his, together with the basket and the piece of silk. How the same boatman had been gained over by money to conceal the circumstances, and to assist in interring the dead body. How the vindictive slave had afterwards denounced his master for a murderer, and the train of evidence, with the torture, which had led to her husband's forced confession and condemnation.

The old man struck his breast as he listened to this strange recital. "Madam," exclaimed

he, " is it possible that such a wretch can exist? I went straight from your house to the boat. Seeing the piece of silk, the boatman asked me where I obtained it. I told him very truly that having been struck by the scholar, your husband, I lay for some time without motion. That on recovering I was very kindly treated, and presented with that piece of silk. He asked me to sell it to him, which I did. He likewise wished to have my basket of bamboo, and this I delivered in payment for my passage. Could I imagine he possessed himself of these things to put in practice so horrible a scheme of treachery?"

" Until you appeared," said the lady, " I myself was convinced that you were dead. But where could that body have come from, which the boatman said was your's?" After a little recollection, " I understand it," cried the old man; " while I was on board, detailing my history to the boatman, I saw a body floating on the water; I observed it attentively, and am sure it was the corpse of some person drowned by accident. That boatman is a dreadful mon-

ster!—There is no time to be lost—receive, I pray you, these little presents, and let us proceed at once to the audience of the magistrate. I will convince him of the false accusation, and obtain the liberty of the scholar, your husband.”

The scholar's wife presently drew up an address to the magistrate, detailing the particulars, and then proceeded with the old man to the audience. Arrived there, they both declared the innocence of the accused, and answered the various queries that were addressed to them. As the mandarin seemed to suspect some collusion between the parties, the old man named several inhabitants of the place, who knew him personally, and who, on being summoned, immediately recognised him, expressing their astonishment at seeing him still alive.

Secrecy having been enjoined on all the parties, the magistrate ordered some of his people to search out the boatman who had invented the tale of the old man's death, and to bring him into court, together with the malicious

slave who had originated the false accusation against his master. The scholar's wife in the mean while hurried to the place of her husband's confinement, and rejoiced him by the announcement of his approaching deliverance.

The boatman, who little suspected what awaited him, hurried to the audience with great confidence, but, on seeing the unexpected stranger, betrayed the terror which suddenly seized him. "Friend," cried the old man, "how have you been since that day when I sold you the piece of silk and the bamboo basket? Has trade thriven with you lately?" The slave was next introduced. "Do you know that man?" asked the magistrate, pointing with his finger to the aged stranger supposed to be dead. The same astonishment and terror were visible in his countenance, and both the rogues stood as it were entranced, and unable to utter a word.

Being put to the question, these two miscreants presently confessed the whole of their guilt. The boatman's statement corroborated the account given by the old man. "There

is only one point," observed the magistrate, "which I do not understand. How happened it that a dead body was found so opportunely by the boatman, and that it so exactly resembled the old man? He must have committed the murder himself, and sought to fasten it on the other."

"Alas, sir!" exclaimed the boatman, "when I saw a corpse floating on the water, it seemed easy to deceive the scholar Wong, and the same motive led me to buy the silk and the basket from the old man. The darkness of the night was such that they failed to detect the trick. I swear that I am utterly ignorant of the history of the dead body, but suppose it was some person who fell into the river and was drowned." The old man here interposed, and confirmed this part of the evidence by saying that he saw the floating corpse himself.

"Have pity on me," cried the boatman; "I wished only to obtain the scholar's money, without injuring his person!" "Wretch!" exclaimed the mandarin, "do you dare to ask for mercy after contriving the ruin of an inno-