SOME ACCOUNT

OF

THE PUBLIC LIFE,

AND

A SELECTION

FROM THE UNPUBLISHED WRITINGS,

OF

THE EARL OF MACARTNEY.

THE LATTER CONSISTING OF

EXTRACTS FROM AN ACCOUNT OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE: A SKETCH OF THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF IRELAND: AND A JOURNAL OF AN EMBASSY FROM THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN TO THE EMPEROR OF CHINA:

WITH AN APPENDIX TO EACH VOLUME.

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Erin nos genuit, vidit nos Africa, Gangem
Hausimus, Europæque plagas fere visimus omnes;
Nec latuit regio primum patefacta Columbo;
Sinarum licuit dextram tetigisse tyranni,
Tartaricos montes, magnum et transcendere murum,
Turbidaque impavidi tentavimus alta Pe-che-læ,
Hactenus Europæ nullis sulcata carinis:
Casibus et variis acti, terrâque marique,
Sistimus hic tandem, atque Lares veneramur Avorum. — MACARTNEY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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APPENDIX TO THE JOURNAL.

Manners and Character of the Chinese.

IF I venture to say any thing upon the Manners and Character of the Chinese, I must begin by confessing that I am very far from being a competent judge of them. Though assisted by an honest and able interpreter; though possessed of many advantages from the intercourse which my station afforded me with persons of the first rank and abilities, and from the extent of my travels through the country of China; yet I am sensible that it was impossible to avoid falling into frequent mistakes. From my not knowing the language; from sometimes misconceiving those who did; from misinterpreting looks and gestures, where our hands and our eyes were to perform the offices of our tongues and our ears, I may have formed wrong judgments, and have deceived myself; but as I do not mean that others should be deceived, I fairly own my disadvantages, and give previous notice of the nature of the information that may be expected from me. It will be chiefly the result of what I saw and heard upon the spot, however imperfectly, not of what I had read in books or been told in Europe.

It should never be absent from our recollection that there are now two distinct nations in China (though generally confounded together by Europeans) the Chinese and the Tartars, whose characters essentially differ, notwithstanding their external appearance be nearly the same, and whose minds must naturally be differently bent by the circumstances which respectively govern them. They are both subject to the most absolute authority that can be vested in a prince, but with this distinction, that to the Chinese it is a foreign tyranny; to the Tartars a domestic despotism. The latter consider themselves as, in some degree, partakers of their sovereign's dominion over the former, and that imagination may perhaps somewhat console them under the pressure of his power upon themselves; like the house servants and house negroes belonging to a great landlord in Livonia, or planter in Jamaica, who, though serfs themselves, look down upon the peasantry and field negroes of the estate as much their inferiors.

If opinions were solely to be formed of China and its inhabitants, from the accounts of the first travellers and even of later missionaries, they would often be inadequate and unjust; for those writers, although they probably did not mean to deal in fiction, yet when they do tell the truth, they do not always tell the whole truth, which is a mode of narration that leads to error almost as much as falsehood itself.

When Marco Polo, the Venetian, visited China in the thirteenth century, it was about the time of the conquest of

China by the western or Mongol Tartars, with *Kublai-khan*, a grandson of *Gengis-khan*, at their head. A little before that period the Chinese had reached their highest pitch of civilization; and no doubt they were then a very civilized people in comparison of their Tartar conquerors, and their European contemporaries; but not having improved and advanced forward, or having rather gone back, at least for these hundred and fifty years past, since the last conquest by the northern or Mantchou Tartars, whilst we have been every day rising in arts and sciences, they are actually become a semi-barbarous people in comparison with the present nations of Europe. Hence it is that they retain the vanity, conceit, and pretensions that are usually the concomitants of half-knowledge; and that, though during their intercourse with the embassy, they perceived many of the advantages we had over them, they seemed rather surprised than mortified, and sometimes affected not to see what they could not avoid feeling. In their address to strangers they are not restrained by any bashfulness or *mauvaise honte*, but present themselves with an easy confident air, as if they considered themselves the superiors, and that nothing in their manners or appearance could be found defective or inaccurate.

Their ceremonies of demeanor, which consist of various evolutions of the body, in elevating and inclining the head, in bending or stiffening the knee, in joining their hands together and then disengaging them, with a hundred other manœuvres, they consider as the highest perfection of good breeding and deportment; and look upon most other nations, who are not expert in this polite discipline, as little better

than barbarians. Nevertheless having once shown off and exhausted all these tricks of behaviour, they are glad to relapse into ease and familiarity, and seem never so happy as when indulging in free conversation with those whom they do not distrust; for they are naturally lively, loquacious, and good-humored. They were certainly much surprised to find us so mild, sociable, and cheerful.

The court character is a singular mixture of ostentatious hospitality and inbred suspicion, ceremonious civility and real rudeness, shadowy complaisance and substantial perverseness; and this prevails through all the departments connected with the court, although somewhat modified by the personal disposition of those at their head; but as to that genuine politeness, which distinguishes our manners, it cannot be expected in Orientals, considering the light in which they regard the female world.

Among the Chinese themselves, society chiefly consists of certain stated forms and expressions, a calm, equal, cold deportment, studied, hypocritical attentions, and hyperbolical professions.

Where women are excluded from appearing, all delicacy of taste and sentiment, the softness of address, the graces of elegant converse, the play of the passions, the refinements of love and friendship, must of necessity be banished. In their place, gross familiarity, coarse pleasantry, and broad allusions are indulged in, but without that honesty and expansion of heart which we have sometimes observed to arise

on such occasions among ourselves. Morality is a mere pretence in their practice, though a common topic of their discourse. Science is an intruder, and gaming the resource. An attachment to this vice accompanies even the lowest Chinese wherever he goes. No change of country divests him of it. I have been assured that the Chinese settled in our new colony at the Prince of Wales' island, pay not less than ten thousand dollars *per annum* to the government for a licence to keep gaming-houses and sell opium.

Every Chinese who aspires to preferment attaches himself to some Tartar of consequence, and professes the utmost devotion to his service; but such is the strong and radical dislike in the client to the patron, that scarcely any benefits can remove it and plant gratitude in its place. As the nature of dependence is to grow false, it cannot be wondered at if these Chinese are not strict observers of truth. They have indeed so little idea of its moral obligation, that they promise you every thing you desire, without the slightest intention of performance, and then violate their promises without scruple, having had no motive for making them that I could perceive, unless it were that they imagined what they said might be agreeable to you just at the moment. When detected or reproached they make light of the matter themselves, and appear neither surprised nor ashamed; but nevertheless it was evident that they particularly remarked our punctuality and our strict attention to truth in all our transactions with them, and respected us accordingly.

Although the difference of ranks be perhaps more distinctly marked in China than in any other country, yet I often observed that the Mandarines treat their domestic servants with great condescension, and talk to them with good nature and familiarity; but in return an unremitted attention and obedience are expected and never withheld.

A Chinese family is regulated with the same regard to subordination and economy that is observed in the government of a state; the paternal authority, though unlimited, is usually exercised with kindness and indulgence. In China children are indeed sometimes sold, and infants exposed by the parents, but only in cases of the most hopeless indigence and misery, when they must inevitably perish if kept at home; but when the thread of attachment is not thus snapped asunder by the anguish of the parent, it every day grows stronger and becomes indissoluble for life.

There is nothing more striking in the Chinese character through all ranks than this most respectable union. Affection and duty walk hand in hand, and never desire a separation. The fondness of the father is constantly felt and always increasing; the dependence of the son is perfectly understood by him; he never wishes it to be lessened. It is not necessary to coax or to cheat the child into the cutting off an entail, or the charging his inheritance with a mortgage; it is not necessary to importune the father for an irrevocable settlement. According to Chinese ideas, there is but one interest in a family; any other supposition would be unna-

tural and wicked. An undutiful child is a monster that China does not produce; the son, even after marriage, continues for the most part to live in the father's house; the labor of the whole family is thrown into one common stock under the sole management of the parent; after whose death the eldest son often retains the same authority, and continues in the same union with his younger brothers.

The houses of the better sort exhibit a certain show of grandeur and magnificence, and even of taste and elegance in their decorations; but at the same time discover, at least to our eyes, evident marks of discomfort and inconvenience. There is a want of useful furniture. They have indeed lanterns of gauze and paper and horn and diaphanous gum, most beautifully colored and disposed; and they have tables, couches, and chairs, loosely covered with rich carpeting, with gold and silver damasks, and other silks; but they have no bureaux, commodes, lustres, or looking-glasses; they have no sheets to their beds, neither does their bedding itself seem well adapted or agreeable. They do not undress themselves entirely as we do, when they go to rest; but lay themselves down upon alcoved benches, which are spread with a single mat or thin mattress, and adjusted with small pillows and cushions. Their apartments are not well contrived or distributed, according to our ideas of utility and propriety, having seldom any doors that shut with locks or proper fastenings; but in lieu of them screens and curtains, which are removed or drawn back as occasion requires. In the cold weather they are warmed by flues under the floor; for there are neither stoves, fire-places, nor fire-grates in the

rooms; but sometimes brasiers filled with charcoal are brought in and occasionally renewed.

The people, even of the first rank, though so fond of dress as to change it usually several times in a day, are yet in their persons and customs frowzy and uncleanly. Their outward garment of ceremony is richly embroidered with silks of different colors (those of the highest class of all with golden dragons), and their common habit is of plain silk, or fine broad cloth; but their drawers and their waistcoats (of which they usually wear several according to the season) are not very frequently shifted. They wear neither knit nor woven stockings; but wrap their legs round with a coarse cotton stuff, over which they have constantly drawn a pair of black satin boots without heels, but with soles nearly an inch in thickness. In summer every body carries a fan in his hand, and is flirting it incessantly.

They wear but little linen or calico, and what they do wear is extremely coarse and ill washed, the article of soap not being employed by them. They seldom have recourse to pocket handkerchiefs, but spit about the rooms without mercy, blow their noses in their fingers, and wipe them with their sleeves, or upon any thing near them. This practice is universal, and what is still more abominable, I one day observed a Tartar of distinction call his servant to hunt in his neck for a louse that was troublesome to him.

At their meals they use no towels, napkins, table-cloths, flat plates, glasses, knives nor forks; but help themselve

with their fingers, or with their chop-sticks, which are made of wood or ivory, about six inches long, round, and smooth, and not kept very cleanly. Their meat is served up ready cut in small bowls, each guest having a separate bowl to himself. Seldom more than two sit together at the same table, and never above four. They are all foul feeders, and eaters of garlick and strong-scented vegetables, and drink mutually out of the same cup which, though sometimes rinsed, is never washed or wiped clean. They make use of little vinegar, no olive oil, cyder, ale, beer, or grape wine; their chief drink is tea, or liquors distilled or prepared from rice and other vegetables, of different degrees of strength according to their taste, some of which are tolerably agreeable and resemble strong Madeira.

They almost all smoke tobacco and consider it as a compliment to offer each other a whiff of their pipes. They also take snuff, preferring that of Brazil when they can get it, but in small quantities, not in that beastly profusion which is often practised in England, even by some of our fine ladies.

They have no water-closets nor proper places of retirement; the necessaries are, in general, quite public and open; and the ordure is continually removing from them, which occasions a stench in almost every place one approaches.

They have no wheel-carriages for travelling built on a better construction than that of a higler's cart; the best of the kind are set upon four clumsy wheels, and drawn by

five horses or mules, two abreast in the shafts, and three leaders abreast before them. They are without springs, and consequently very uneasy. The saddles, bridles, and accoutrements of their horses are inelegant and ill-contrived, much heavier than is requisite, and equally inconvenient to the beast and his rider. Although so much prejudiced in favor of their own customs and fashions, they could not, after some time, withstand the superiority of ours in a variety of instances. The lightness, neatness, and commodiousness of my post-chaise, in which I travelled to Gehol, they were quite delighted with; but the fearlessness and celerity and safety with which my postilions drove it along almost petrified them with astonishment. The elegance and finishing of our saddles and other parts of horse-furniture, particularly struck the Tartars, some of whom I should think are not unlikely to adopt them by degrees.

Our knives, forks, spoons, and a thousand little trifles of personal conveniency were singularly acceptable to every body, and will probably become soon of considerable demand, although the government is certainly averse to all novelties, and wishes to discountenance a taste for any foreign article that is not absolutely necessary; but luxury is stronger than law, and it is the prerogative of wealth to draw from abroad what it cannot find at home. One great advantage indeed of the embassy is the opportunity it afforded of showing the Chinese to what a high degree of perfection the English nation had carried all the arts and accomplishments of civilized life; that their manners were calculated for the improvement of social intercourse and liberal commerce;

that though great and powerful they were generous and humane, not fierce and impetuous like the Russians, but entitled to the respect and preference of the Chinese above the other European nations, of whom they have any knowledge. This favorable impression of the English character may be confirmed and improved in them by a continuance of our own attention and cautious conduct. The restriction and discipline of our seamen at Canton are among the proper regulations for this purpose, not to mention some other arrangements that will naturally be made there, in consequence of the ground we now stand upon.

The common people of China are a strong hardy race, patient, industrious, and much given to traffic and all the arts of gain; cheerful and loquacious under the severest labor, and by no means that sedate, tranquil people they have been represented. In their joint efforts and exertions they work with incessant vociferation, often angrily scold one another, and seem ready to proceed to blows, but scarcely ever come to that extremity. The inevitable severity of the law probably restrains them; for the loss of a life is always punished by the death of the offender, even though he acted merely in self-defence, and without any malice aforethought.

Superstitious and suspicious in their temper they at first appeared shy and apprehensive of us, being full of prejudices against strangers, of whose cunning and ferocity a thousand ridiculous tales had been propagated and, perhaps, industriously encouraged by the government, whose political

system seems to be, to endeavor to persuade the people that they are already perfect, and can therefore learn nothing from others; but it is to little purpose: a nation that does not advance must retrograde, and finally fall back to barbarism and misery.

A Chinese boy, who was appointed to wait upon young George Staunton, would not, for a long time, trust himself to sleep in the house with our European servants, being afraid, he said, that they would eat him. The Chinese however, at all the sea-ports where we touched, were quite free from these foolish notions; and, I flatter myself, that the embassy will have effectually removed them in all the provinces through which it passed.

The lower sort most heartily detest the Mandarines and persons in authority, whose arbitrary power of punishing, oppressing, and insulting them they fear; whose injustice they feel; and whose rapacity they must feed. The Mandarines themselves are equally at the mercy of their superiors, the ministers and colaos of the court, and are punishable by confiscation, and even by death, not only for their own offences, but for what others may do amiss within the jurisdiction of their department. They are responsible for whatever happens in the place where their authority extends; accident is construed into intention, and unavoidable error into wilful neglect. But this is not all, for the penalty is often inflicted on the offender's whole family, as well as on the offender himself. The ministers and colaos too are liable to any indignity which the caprice of the emperor may chance to dictate.

The bamboo is one of the grand instruments of discipline, from which no rank nor elevation is exempt or secure. The emperor's nearest relations, even his own sons, are subject to it; and there are two of them now living upon whom it is well known to have been inflicted: but this is an argument of obedience which will probably one day refute itself.

Although the emperor, as the father of his people, affects and professes impartiality, and wishes to have it understood that he makes no distinction between Tartars and Chinese, neither Tartars nor Chinese are imposed upon by the pretence. The care taken to preserve the Mantchoo language among all the Tartars settled in China forms one unequivocal line of demarcation, exclusive of the others which I have occasionally taken notice of in these sheets. After a short residence in the country, I found no difficulty in distinguishing a Tartar from a Chinese, although their mode of dress and forms of behavior are precisely the same; but there was always something (I know not well how to describe it, *quod sentio tantum)* that indicated the difference in a moment.

In any attempt at a general sketch of the manners and character of a nation, candor and experience will naturally suggest a number of exceptions, and Christian charity will make large allowances. The composition of mankind, in all countries, is a mixture of the same materials, though blended in different proportions; but there is usually one particular essential ingredient that pervades and leavens the whole mass,

as from a predominating feature results the general cast of the countenance. If therefore the majority of the people, whom I have been describing, should be less perfect than might be wished, it is not very difficult to conjecture the cause. The Tartars perhaps imagine that their own selfish government derives a good deal of its vigor even from the unwholesome state of the juices in the body of the nation; and as a healthy constitution might be the consequence of a proper fermentation of them, the interested physician, who wishes to keep the patient as long as possible under his hands, will be in no haste to cure a disease whose duration he thinks may be long protracted without becoming fatal. The fault therefore is less in the people than in those who have the care of them.

If among others, with whom we were conversant, we met with a few superior characters, their merit is entirely their own; and to themselves, not to education or example, they chiefly owe those virtues and good qualities by which we distinguished them; for notwithstanding the high-flown eulogiums to be found in books of Chinese morality, it is in general of a very flimsy texture and little understood: the tincture is more relished than the essence; the frame is more admired than the picture; the parade of duty almost stifles the duty itself.

It so happened that of our four principal connections, the colao *Sun-ta-gin*, the viceroy *Chan-ta-gin*, and our constant companions *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*, two were Tartars,

and two Chinese; and although their respective nationalities could not escape us, yet they seemed perfectly united in their friendly and honorable conduct towards us, and made us therefore the more regret our ill fortune in having known so few others that resembled them.

As my knowledge of the female world in China was very limited, I have little to say upon the subject; but it may not be improper to say that little.

The women of the lower sort are much weather-beaten, and by no means handsome. Beauty is soon withered by early and frequent parturition, by hard labor and scanty fare. They have however a smart air, which arises partly from their manner of tying up their hair on the crown of their heads, and interspersing it with flowers and other ornaments. In the neighborhood of Pekin I met some ladies of the higher ranks in their carriages, who appeared to have fair complexions and delicate features. They were all painted, as indeed are many of the inferior classes.

There is no law to prohibit intermarriages between the Tartars and the Chinese, but they very seldom intermarry. The Mantchoo and Mongol Tartars chiefly marry together, and scarcely ever with any of the other Tartar tribes. The Mantchoos often give large portions with their daughters; the reverse is the case among the Chinese, where the parent usually receives a consideration or handsome present from his son-in-law.

The Tartar ladies have hitherto kept their legs at liberty, and have not submitted to the Chinese operation of crippling the feet, though, it is said, that many of their husbands were desirous of introducing it into their families. I made many inquiries relative to this strange practice, but with little satisfaction. *Chou-ta-gin* admitted that no very good reason could be given for it. Its being an ancient custom was the best he could assign, and he confessed that a religious adherence to ancient customs, without much investigation of their origin, was a principal feature in the Chinese character. He added however that it possibly might have taken its rise from oriental jealousy, which had always been ingenious in its contrivances for securing the ladies to their owners; and that certainly a good way of keeping them at home was to make it very troublesome and painful to them to gad abroad. The rendering useless and deformed one part of the human body that is connate with the rest is little less strange than the practice of totally cutting off another; and yet we express no disgust nor surprize at the operation of circumcision, which prevails among a large proportion of mankind, and the Italian opera has long reconciled us to the indecency of castration.

It is inconceivable from whence arises the dissatisfaction at our natural form, that seems to be felt by the whole human species, from the politest nations of Europe to the most barbarous islanders of the South Seas. Boring the ears, painting the face, and dusting and plaistering the hair with powder and grease, are equally fashionable in London and Otaheite; but this perverseness and disfiguration are not confined to

ourselves, but extended by us to the inferior creation. A noble lord of my acquaintance in Ireland contrived to put out all the eyes of Argus, and extinguish the brilliant plumage of his peacocks, and to propagate in their stead a breed of whites, greys and cream colors. The good wives of Dorking have added a supernumerary claw to all the chickens of their hatching; and our jockeys, by their docks and crops, their fan-tails, short tails, and no tails at all, make their horses as little like what God made them as can possibly be imagined. We find beauty in defects, and we create defects where we do not find them.

I by no means wish to apologise for the Chinese custom of squeezing their women's petitoes into the shoes of an infant, which, I think, an infernal distortion; yet so much are people subject to be warped and blinded by fashion, that every Chinese above the vulgar considers it as a female accomplishment not to be dispensed with. Nay, a reverend apostolic missionary at Pekin assured me that, in love affairs, the glimpse of a little fairy foot was to a Chinese a most powerful provocative. Perhaps, after all, we are not quite free from a little folly of the same kind ourselves. We have not yet indeed pushed it to the extreme which the Chinese have done, yet are we such admirers of it that, what with tight shoes, high heels, and ponderous buckles, if our ladies' feet are not crippled, they are certainly very much contracted, and it is impossible to say where the abridgment will stop. It is not a great many years ago that in England thread-paper waists, steel stays, and tight lacing were in high fashion; and the ladies' shapes were so tapered down from

the bosom to the hips, that there was some danger of breaking off in the middle upon any exertion. No woman was thought worth having who measured above eighteen inches round at the girdle. At present a contrary mode prevails: Prior's comeliness of side is exploded, and protuberance is procured wherever it can be fitted. But the Chinese ladies, like other Asiatics, never alter the costume of their dress; and I suppose the gowns they now wear are much of the same cut as those of their ancestors before the flood: but though the habit is the same, they are perhaps a little more changeable and coquettish than their ancestors were in the choice and disposition of their ornaments.

The shift is of silk netting, the waistcoat and drawers are usually of silk, and trimmed or lined with furs in cold weather; over all they wear a long sattin robe made full and loose, which is gracefully gathered round the waist and confined with a sash. These different members of their apparel are usually each of a different color; and, in the selecting and contrasting of them, the taste and fancy of the wearer are usually displayed.

They adorn and set off their hair with ribbons and flowers, with bodkins, mock pearls, or real ones below a certain size; but wear neither powder nor pomatum, diamonds nor feathers. Many of the mysteries of an European toilet they have never heard of, though perfectly versed in all those of their own, to which they devote no small portion of their time. They have not yet been initiated in the secrets of captivation by false pretences and love swindling, or of eking out a skeleton figure by a cork rump, a muslin bosom and a buckram

stomacher; for though they reckon corpulence a beauty in a man, they think it a most palpable blemish in their own sex; they therefore pay particular attention to the slimness of their shape, and have the art of preserving it in all its ease and delicacy without effort or compression.

Though a Chinese has properly but one wife at the head of his family, the number of his concubines depends on his own opulence and discretion. So far, in this point, Chinese and European manners seem pretty much alike; but they differ widely in another: the mistresses of a Chinese live in tolerable harmony together in the same house, and even under the authority of the wife, who adopts and educates their children; and these children inherit from the father equally with her own.

I have been the less reserved in what I have said upon this subject, because I was willing to convey an impartial idea of some things in China which, to our local vanity and prejudice, appear monstrous or incredible. Nor was I sorry to have this opportunity of remarking how little right we have to despise and ridicule other nations on the mere account of their differing from us in little points of manners and dress, as we can very nearly match them with similar follies and absurdities of our own.

Religion.

The project of an alliance between church and state does not seem to have entered into the contemplation of the po-

liticians of China. Perhaps the pride of despotism disdained the support of religion, or the wisdom of government rendered the aid of superstition unnecessary. The Europeans, who first visited the country, were astonished to find a general toleration of religious worship and opinions prevail; and to observe Lamas and Bonzes, Persees, Jews and Mahometans living together in peace, and believing, as they pleased, without molestation; a state of society, as yet uncommon in Europe, and, at that time, little expected to be found in Asia. It is therefore not improbable that Christians would have enjoyed the same indulgence, had it not been for the rashness of their missionaries. The pious zeal of these good fathers outran their discretion; and they seemed desirous of anticipating the promised call of the Gentiles, without patiently waiting for the day of the Lord. The jealousy of the state was naturally alarmed, and measures were adopted to repress an innovation which, if not regulated, might soon become dangerous; but if it were found innocent, might be afterwards allowed: and now, notwithstanding the disturbances at different times, occasioned by their apostolic labors, and the persecutions, as they are fond of terming them, which have raged against the Christians in China, they are neither forbidden the profession nor restrained in the exercise of their religion at Pekin, where the steeples of Christian churches and the pinnacles of Pagan pagodas are to be seen rising in the same city. They enjoy a perfect personal toleration, and are capable of holding offices in the state. Nothing more is required of them than not to interrupt the public tranquillity by working at conversions, and fishing for proselytes. In these regulations they now apparently ac-

quiesce, and conduct themselves, I believe, with much more prudence and circumspection than their predecessors; but they never lose sight of their vocation: they are silently but unceasingly employed in raising recruits for the church, and adding to the number of the elect. Some few of their neophytes may perhaps be adult persons; but the greater part are foundlings, saved by them from perishing, or children purchased from indigent parents. To aid them in their pious labors, they send some of the most promising of these youths to be educated in the Chinese community at Naples, who, at their return, are usually commissioned into the distant provinces. Those of them, whom I had occasion to know the best, appeared to be persons of acute understandings, of gentle manners and sincere piety; zealous for the propagation of their faith, but possessing little energy or powers of persuasion.

Although it is affirmed that there are at present about one hundred and fifty thousand Christians in China, the number, at the same time, is confessed to be much smaller than it was a century or two ago; but I much question whether many of those, who were then called Christians, could fairly come under that description. The first evangelical adventurers there highly magnified their own merits, and the success of their labors. They indiscriminately honored with the name of Christian every person whom they baptized; and the outward and visible sign was rated as equivalent to an inward conviction; and this, I believe, has been pretty much the real history of most of the other

Oriental missions, which we read such exaggerated accounts of in the "*Lettres Edifiantes*," and other jesuitical publications. There appear to be indeed several unfavorable circumstances to the rapid growth of Christianity in China. It is attended with no worldly advantage to the professor, and a Chinese is more likely to be allured by an immediate though transitory benefit, than by a distant reversion, however valuable and lasting. The prohibition or restriction of sensual gratifications in a despotic country, where there are so few others, is difficult to be relished. Confession is repugnant to the close and suspicious character of the nation, and penance would but aggravate the misery of him, whose inheritance is his labor, and poverty his punishment. Against it also is the state of society in China, which excludes women from their proper share of influence and importance. A religion which requires that women should at stated times communicate to priests in private their thoughts and actions, must be particularly disgusting to a Chinese husband, who had not himself been suffered to see his wife till the day of his marriage, and who but seldom suffers her afterwards to see even her near relations of another sex. A religion like that of Mahomet can only be extended by violence and terror; for the natural stubbornness of men does not readily give way to novel impressions; but the mild spirit of the Gospel is most readily infused through the means of gentleness, persuasion, and imperceptible perseverance. These are the proper instruments of conversion, and peculiarly belong to the fair sex, whose eloquence, on such occasions, gives charms to devotion and ornaments to truth. The

earliest stages of Christianity received no small support from female agency and example; and for what show of religion still appears in *our* churches, we are surely not a little indebted to the piety and attendance of the women.

The missionaries at Pekin, with the exception of one or two of the youngest, appear perfectly reconciled to their situation, and to live as contentedly and happily as they probably would do in any other place. Among them the Italians and French are best informed, the most learned, and the most liberal in their sentiments; but their coadjutors the Portuguese still retain a considerable share of ancient bigotry and rancor. They all wear the Chinese dress, acquire the language of the country, and, in outward appearance, are scarcely to be distinguished from the other inhabitants.

I come now to say a few words concerning the profane religions that are current in China. As far as I could observe none of them have much influence on the conduct of those who profess them; whatever difference may be in the dogma, the morality is pretty nearly the same, and the practice of the same social duties approved and recommended; but men's virtues do not always depend on their theological notions; and the sinners of one sect are, I believe, seldom less numerous than those of another.

There is properly no established religion in China, none to which any monopoly of particular privileges is attached; none that excludes the professors of another from office and com-

mand. The employments of the state are open to all subjects, whether they pray in a miao or a pagoda. Of those deputed by the emperor to attend my embassy, the legate followed the doctrine of the Lamas, *Van-ta-gin* was a disciple of the Bonzes, and *Chou-ta-gin* a Confucionist; and all three were joined together in the same commission.

The Tartars for the most part profess the court religion, which is the worship of *Fo*, according to the doctrine and discipline of the grand Delai-Lama, the pope or patriarch of Lassa in Thibet, of whom so many fables have been related, and sometimes credited in Europe. From the most correct accounts of him it appears that he is a kind of ecclesiastical sovereign, under the direction of a regency, whose dominions are in themselves very considerable; but whose spiritual jurisdiction stretches from the shores of the Caspian to the sea of Kamschatka, and from the mountains of Boutan to the Frozen Ocean, an extent of belief not inferior to that of Islamism or Christianity, and hitherto as flourishing as either. The emperor *Kien-Lung*, as I have observed in my journal, is not only firmly persuaded of the truth of this religion, but, from the unexampled success of all his undertakings during a fifty years' reign, seriously entertains an idea that his progenitor, the great *Fo* himself, has condescended to become incarnate in his person, and actually at this moment to animate his imperial body.

However wild and extravagant such a conceit may be regarded, we know from history how much even the best understandings may be perverted by prosperity, and that

human nature, not satisfied with the good things of this world, sometimes wishes to anticipate the condition and felicity of the next. If Alexander scorned to have less than Jupiter Ammon for his father; if many Roman emperors extorted altars and sacrifices in their life-time; if even, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, an English nobleman encouraged the belief of his descent from a swan, and was complimented in a dedication * upon his feathered pedigree, a similar infatuation may be the less inexcusable in *Kien-Lung*, a monarch, the length and happiness of whose reign, the unlimited obedience of whose incalculable subjects, and the health and vigor of whose body have hitherto kept out of his view most of those circumstances that are apt to remind other men of their misery and mortality. At all events, he is a most scrupulous practitioner of every form of the Lama religion: and the numerous and superb convents and temples, which he has erected at Gehol, the first in the world for costliness and grandeur, are incontestible evidences of the sincerity of his faith, and the fervor of his piety. The mass of the people in China are gross idolaters, and also worship a deity by the name of *Fo;* but he is understood to be by them a different personage from the *Fo* of the court, although he is reported to have come from the westward, as well as his namesake, and to have preached his revelation at a very remote period of time, long before the Christian era. The miaos or temples dedicated to this mode of religion, and the confraternities of Bonzes and Bonzesses who administer it, are prodigiously numerous

* See note relative to Stafford duke of Buckingham in Shakespear's Henry VIII.

in all parts of China. The vulgar, as elsewhere, are in general excessively superstitious. They are strict observers of lucky and unlucky days; and many of them, like their betters, are dabblers in chiromancy, divination, and astrology. In the course of my journal I have had occasion to notice the striking resemblance between the trumpery of Chinese worship and the apparatus of the church of Rome. In several of the miaos and pagodas there is a recess or alcove carefully concealed by a close curtain, the removal of which discovers the image of a beautiful woman with a crown upon her head, surrounded by a glory, and two little boys sitting at her feet; the whole seeming like a parody upon popery, or a typification of the Virgin Mary, our infant Saviour, and the young Evangelist St. John. The female figure is called the mother or parent of the gods, and is therefore sometimes represented with a number of arms branching from her shoulders, each furnished with some characteristical emblem, a sword, a spear, a sickle, a sheaf of corn, &c. A thousand legends are related and implicitly believed of this lady and her children, which are said to originate in very high antiquity, probably coeval with the Cybele of the Greeks and the Isis of Egypt. Nevertheless among all these absurdities and contradictions the Chinese, like the Indians, have a confused idea of a unity in the Godhead, and both equally pretend that though *Fo* and Bramha are supposed to split themselves into a number of divinities, who are named the God of the Sea, the God of the Mountains, the Goddess of Pleasure, the Goddess of Plenty, &c. yet that these are merely parts or emanations of one only su-

preme God over all, whose providence divides itself into separate functions for the better government and instruction of this sublunary world.

The higher ranks of the Chinese and those of good education are many of them what in England we courteously call free thinkers and philosophers, the rest are mostly disciples of Confucius, of whom there are two sects. The one consider their founder to have been a man of great wisdom and charity, endowed with talents and virtues much superior to the age he lived in. They venerate his name, sing his praises at their feasts, and drink bumpers to his memory, in the same manner as the whigs of Ireland do in honor of the glorious King William. But among the other Confucionists, this grateful recollection has degenerated into a corrupt superstition; the toast has changed into a libation, and what originally expressed a tribute to deceased merit is become a mixture of sanctified ceremony and convivial abuse. Even here the perversion did not stop. Sacrifices were added, and sheep and oxen are now immolated to the manes of Confucius, These rites are celebrated at stated times, and every person who presents the offering acts as hierophant himself; for this sect of enthusiasts, like the Quakers among ourselves, has always kept clear of an exclusive priesthood.

Although I have only mentioned the religions most prevalent, I must not omit that several Jews and Mahometans are to be found in China; but their number is not considerable, and they are melting fast into the common mass. We have been told that the Arabs or Mussehnans came into the

country at a period so early as the ninth century. The Jews can boast of a much higher origin, and are pretended to be a remnant of the captivity. I have particularly noticed the case of these nations, in order to show that the Chinese are not intolerant of any religion, from which no danger is apprehended; as well as to disprove a common opinion prevalent in Europe that, by the antient laws of the empire, foreigners were not allowed to settle there. This notion was originally insinuated by the Jesuits, with an exception as to themselves, and more particularly disseminated by the Portuguese, but it is, in a great measure, erroneous. The fundamental caution and circumspection of the government, which is awake to the slightest alarm, and perhaps not groundlessly jealous of European enterprise, naturally keep them on their guard, and prevent them from being quite so prone to encourage strangers, as many other nations are. The immense population of the country renders such recruits unnecessary; but I do not find that their policy in this respect goes beyond its mark.

Lay Europeans as well as missionaries, assuming the dress and manners of the Chinese, and desirous of entering into the emperor's service at Pekin, would, I believe, be received and naturalized without much difficulty. They might establish and propagate themselves there like Jews and Mahometans, and be christened or circumcised as they liked, without any notice of such practices by the magistrate or any malediction of their neighbors. I saw nothing at Canton to hinder any Englishman, who would wear the Chinese habit, and speak the Chinese language, from becom-

ing one of themselves if he chose it, and of becoming even a Hong merchant if possessed of a sufficient stock of money and address. It is true, he could not easily quit the country and return home without a particular permission. Several missionaries however have found the means of procuring it, and are now actually resident in Europe. But whilst we are startled with such difficulties in China, how can we forget that, at this hour, no person whatever can depart from Russia without a formal passport from the chancery? An attempt to escape from such a restriction would be highly criminal, and incur a most rigorous punishment. Every foreigner whatsoever, even the most respectable English merchant at St. Petersburgh, is subject to this regulation, as much as the meanest peasant in the empire.

The missionaries remaining at Pekin are considered upon the same footing as, or perhaps, in some respects, a better than the other subjects of their rank, in the immediate service of the court. Some of them have been honored by the Sovereign with particular marks of distinction and favor; and if the indispensable celibacy of their order had not prevented them from contracting matrimonial engagements, we might possibly have now found several of their posterity possessing high offices, and yet retaining their religion. It was formerly a part of their institution to keep at a distance, as much as they could, all Europeans who were not closely connected with, or entirely dependent upon, the missions; and the Portuguese Jesuits who remain alive still adhere to this maxim; but since the abolition of their society a great change has taken place in the sentiments and policy of the

other missionaries, and, I believe, most of them are now of opinion that an unqualified admission of Europeans into China would be rather favorable to their interests than prejudicial to their views.

I should not omit that the different missions possess, beside their churches and communities, several shops and houses in the city of Pekin, which they let out to the natives, and receive a handsome rent from them. They have also villas and vineyards in the country to retire to for health and devotion. The French Jesuits formerly had a very large estate there: but it was dissipated on the dissolution of their society, and only a very small part of it now remains in the hands of the order of St. Lazarus. The revenue of the two Portuguese seminaries at Pekin amounts to 12,000 taels, or 4,000*l.* a-year. That of the congregation *De Propaganda Fide* is very trifling, and the deficiencies are chiefly supplied from Rome. The French *Missions Etrangeres*, which are a distinct body from the Lazarists, and have their particular establishment in China, were maintained by their superiors at Paris, before the late subversion, but since that event they are left in a most deplorable situation.

In speaking of the religions of the Chinese I ought to have mentioned the *Tao-tses* or immortals, who are the most ancient of all the superstitions, being, as is pretended, some thousand years antecedent to the revelation of *Fo;* but as they are not at present very numerous, it was the less necessary to be particular on their subject. For the same reason I have not noticed the various subdivisions of the other

religions which are, from time to time, branching into new sects and fraternities, like the Methodists, Seceders, Swedenburghers, Moravians, and Muggletonians in England.

Government, Justice, and Property.

THE ancient constitution of China differed essentially from the present. Although the emperor was in truth despotic, and decorated with all the titles and epithets of Oriental hyperbole, the power and administration of the state resided in the great councils or tribunals, whose functions were not to be violated or disturbed by court intrigue or ministerial caprice. It was a government by law, and when attempts were made by their princes to render it otherwise, as often happened, rebellion was the consequence and expulsion the penalty. Hence, according to history, the regular succession of the crown was many times broken through, new sovereigns elected, and the former constitution restored. The present family on the throne is the twenty-second distinct dynasty, whose hands have swayed the sceptre of China. The government, as it now stands, is properly the tyranny of a handful of Tartars over more than three hundred millions of Chinese.

An uninterrupted succession of four emperors, all endowed with excellent understandings, uncommon vigor of mind and decision of character, has hitherto obviated the danger of such an enormous disproportion, and not only maintained itself on the throne, but enlarged its dominions to a prodigious extent.

Various causes have contributed to this wonderful phenomenon in the political world. When the Tartars entered China a century and a half ago, the country had long languished under a weak administration, had been desolated by civil wars and rebellions, and was then disputed by several unworthy competitors. The Tartars availing themselves of these circumstances, at first took part as auxiliaries in favor of one of the candidates, but they soon became principals; and, at last, by valor and perseverance, surmounted every obstacle to their own establishment. The spirit of the Chinese was now effectually subdued by the weight of calamity; they were wearied with contending for a mere choice of tyrants among themselves, and the less reluctantly submitted to a foreign usurpation. The conquerors, however terrible in arms and ferocious in their manners, were conducted by a leader of a calm judgment as well as of a resolute mind, who tempered the despotism he introduced with so much prudence and policy, that it seemed preferable to the other evils which they had so recently groaned under. A state of tranquil subjection succeeded for some time to the turbulence and horrors of a doubtful hostility; the government, though absolute, was at least methodical and regular; it menaced but did not injure; the blow might be dreaded, but it seldom was felt.

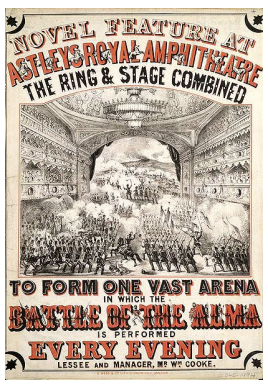
Chinese preceptors, of the highest reputation for learning and virtue, were appointed to conduct the education and instruction of the young Tartar princes, from whom were to spring the future sovereigns of the empire. The Chinese language was preserved as the language of the state, the

highest veneration was affected for the ancient institutes and laws; the established forms of office and pageantry of administration were retained, and the external manners and deportment of the vanquished were assumed by the victors. All these contributed at first to impose upon the people, and to reconcile many of them to the new government. From hence has arisen a vulgar mistake, that the Tartars had indiscriminately and sincerely adopted all the maxims, principles, and customs of the Chinese; and that the two nations were now perfectly amalgamated and incorporated together. So far as respects the habit and head-dress, they are certainly assimilated; but it is not the Tartar who has conformed to the Chinese *costume*, but the Chinese who has been obliged to imitate the Tartar. The nature and character of each continue unchanged, and their different situations and intrinsic sentiments cannot be concealed under any disguise. Superiority animates the one, depression is felt by the other. Most of our books confound them together, and talk of them, as if they made only one nation, under the general name of China; but whatever might be concluded from any outward appearances, the real distinction is never forgotten by the sovereign, who, though he pretends to be perfectly impartial, conducts himself at bottom by a systematic nationality, and never for a moment loses sight of the cradle of his power. The science of government, in the *Eastern world*, is understood by those who govern very differently from what it is in the *Western*. When the succession of a contested kingdom in Europe is once ascertained, whether by violence or compromise, the nation returns to its pristine regularity and composure; it matters

little whether a Bourbon or an Austrian fills the throne of Naples or of Spain, because the sovereign, whoever he be, then becomes to all intents and purposes a Spaniard or Neapolitan, and his descendants continue so with accelerated velocity. George the First and George the Second ceased to be foreigners from the moment our sceptre was fixed in their hands: his present majesty is as much an Englishman as king Alfred or king Edgar, and governs his people not by Teutonic but by English laws. The policy of Asia is totally opposite. There the prince regards the place of his nativity as an accident of mere indifference. If the parent-root be good, he thinks it will flourish in every soil, and, perhaps, acquire fresh vigor from transplantation. It is not locality but his own cast and family; it is not the country where he drew his breath, but the blood from which he sprung; it is not the scenery of the theatre, but the spirit of the drama, that engages his attention and occupies his thoughts. A series of two hundred years, in the succession of eight or ten monarchs, did not change the Mogul into a Hindoo, nor has a century and a half made *Kien-Lung* a Chinese. He remains at this hour, in all his maxims of policy, as true a Tartar as any of his ancestors.

The viceroys of the provinces, the commanders of the armies, the great officers of state are almost all Tartars. The detail of business indeed, and the laborious departments, are chiefly carried on by the Chinese, as being more regularly educated, more learned, and more patient than the Tartars, who, in general, have a different turn, and prefer active military duty to tranquil or sedentary occupations. In all the tribunals of

justice and finance, in all the courts of civil or military administration, an equal number of Tartar assessors is indispensably necessary to be present, in order to watch over and control the others. A Chinese may preside at the board, and pronounce the opinion, but the prompter and manager is a Tartar who directs and governs the performers. These regulations and precautions sufficiently disclose the sovereign's real opinion of his tenure of the empire, and how little he depends upon the affection and loyalty of his Chinese subjects. The government of China, as now instituted, may not inaptly be compared to Astley's amphitheatre, where a single jockey rides a number of horses at once, who are so nicely bitted and dressed that he can impel them with a whisper, or stop them with a hair; but, at the same time, he knows the consequence of mismanagement or neglect, and that if they are not properly matched, curried and fed, patted and stroked, some of them will be liable to run out of the circle, to kick at their keepers, and refuse to be mounted any longer. Considering then all circumstances, the original defect of title to the inheritance, the incessant anxiety of forcible possession, the odium of a foreign yoke, the inevitable combats of passion in a sovereign's breast, when deceived by artifice, betrayed by perfidy, or provoked by rebellion, the doubtful and intricate boundaries of reward and punishment, where vigor and indulgence may be equally misapplied, the almost incalculable population, the immense extent of dominion, the personal exertions requisite in war, and the no less difficult talents of administration in peace—considering, I say, all these circumstances, the government of such an empire must be a task of inconceivable vigilance and toil; and



yet it is a task that has hitherto been performed with wonderful ability and unparalleled success. That such singular skill in the art of reigning should have been uninterruptedly transmitted through a succession of four princes for upwards of a century and a half would be very difficult to account for, if we did not constantly bear in mind a fundamental principle of the state: all power and authority in China derive solely from the sovereign, and they are not only distributed by him in his life time, but attest their origin after his decease. The appointment of his successor is exclusively vested in him. Without regard to *primogeniture*, without the fondness of a parent, without the partiality of a friend, he acts on this occasion as the father of the state, and selects the person of his family, whom he judges the most worthy, to replace him. Every choice of this kind, as yet made by the present dynasty, has been unexceptionably fortunate. *Caung-shee* proved as great a prince as his father; *Yong-chin* was inferior to neither; and *Kien-lung* surpasses the glory of all his predecessors. Who is the Atlas destined by him to bear this load of empire when he dies is yet unknown; but on whatever shoulders it may fall, another transmigration of *Fo* into the next emperor will be necessary to enable him to sustain it on its present balance; for although, within the serene atmosphere of the court, every thing wears the face of happiness and applause, yet it cannot be concealed, that the nation in general is far from being easy or contented. The frequent insurrections in the distant provinces are unambiguous oracles of the real sentiments and temper of the people: the predominance of the Tartars and the emperor's partiality to them are the common subject of

conversation among the Chinese, whenever they meet together in private, and the constant theme of their discourse. There are certain mysterious societies in every province who are known to be disaffected; and although narrowly watched by the government, they find means to elude its vigilance, and often to hold secret assemblies, where they revive the memory of ancient glory and independence, brood over recent injuries, and meditate revenge.

Though much circumscribed in the course of our travels, we had opportunities of observation seldom afforded to others, and not neglected by us. The genuine character of the inhabitants, and the effects resulting from the refined polity and principles of the government, which are meant to restrain and direct them, naturally claimed my particular attention and inquiry. In my researches I often perceived the ground to be hollow under a vast superstructure, and in trees of the most flourishing and stately appearance I discovered symptoms of speedy decay, whilst humbler plants were held by vigorous roots, and mean edifices rested on steady foundations. The Chinese are now recovering from the blows that had stunned them; they are awaking from the political stupor they had been thrown into by the Tartar impression, and begin to feel their native energies revive. A slight collision might elicit fire from the flint, and spread flames of revolt from one extremity of China to the other. In fact, the volume of the empire is now grown too ponderous and disproportionate to be easily grasped by a single hand, be it ever so capacious and strong. It is possible, notwithstanding, that the momentum impressed on the ma-

chine by the vigor and wisdom of the present emperor, may keep it steady and entire in its orbit for a considerable time longer; but I should not be surprised if its dislocation or dismemberment were to take place before my own dissolution. Whenever such an event happens, it will probably be attended with all the horrors and atrocities from which they were delivered by the Tartar domination; but men are apt to lose the memory of former evils under the pressure of immediate suffering; and what can be expected from those who are corrupted by servitude, exasperated by despotism and maddened by despair? Their condition, however, might then become still worse than it can be at present. Like the slave who fled into the desert from his chains, and was devoured by the lion, they may draw down upon themselves oppression and destruction by their very effort to avoid them may be poisoned by their own remedies, and be buried themselves in the graves which they dug for others. A sudden transition from slavery to freedom, from dependence to authority, can seldom be borne with moderation or discretion. Every change in the state of man ought to be gentle and gradual, otherwise it is commonly dangerous to himself, and intolerable to others. A due preparation may be as necessary for liberty as for inoculation of the small-pox which, like liberty, is future health, but without due preparation is almost certain destruction. Thus then the Chinese, if not led to emancipation by degrees, but let loose on a burst of enthusiasm, would probably fall into all the excesses of folly, suffer all the paroxysms of madness, and be found as unfit for the enjoyment of freedom as the French and the negroes.

Justice. In the ancient accounts of China, the administration of its justice, the strict impartiality observed in rewarding desert, and in inflicting punishment, the equal security afforded to all men by the laws, are mentioned in such high strains of eulogy, that we are tempted to suppose this was the spot where the last footsteps of Astrea were imprinted. So long a period has elapsed since that time, that the marks are a good deal effaced, and seem to be wearing out every day. This is the natural consequence of a convulsion in the ancient government, and particularly of the last grand revolution, when it could scarcely be expected that the balance of justice should be held with an equal hand between the conquerors and the conquered. It is, however, pretended by many, that little or no alteration has been made: the common modes of procedure are continued; the usual formality in the pleadings is observed; and the same solemnity of decision is practised as before; but the consumption of the body cannot be concealed by the fullness of the robe.

My friend *Chou-ta-gin* (who, as civil governor of a city of the first rank on which several others are dependent, has a very extensive judicial range and jurisdiction) endeavored to impress me with an idea of the equity and regularity of the courts where he presided; and as I entertain a very favorable opinion of him, I dare say that few of the others are better ordered or more pure; but it escaped from him in conversation that considerable presents were often made by the suitor to the judge. I took this occasion of explaining to him as well as I could the nature and principles of our jurisprudence and

establishments, which placed the dispensers of justice above temptation by the magnitude of their salaries, and therefore rendered the acceptance of presents as unnecessary as improper. To this he answered, that the circumstance of presents in China ought not to be misinterpreted, and that the offering and receiving them formed a part of their ceremonies, and were an established usage from which no mischief was to be feared. He seemed so much prejudiced in favor of the manners of his country in this instance, and so little aware of what they must lead to, that he further informed me, that the presents on these occasions were always proportioned to the opulence of the donors, and to the rank of the persons to whom they were made; and when I expressed my suspicion that a poor man who had little to give, must run a bad chance in a law-suit with a rich man who had much, he assured me that perquisites of office (as these things are considered) had seldom any influence on the determination of a cause. Perhaps, he did not wish to deceive me; for there are some favorite points on which men are often apt to deceive themselves: but allowing his own particular conduct to be as unexceptionable as he meant me to believe it, yet I have strong ground to suspect the general course of justice to be very much otherwise; and that this practice of present, sanctioned as it is by usage and authority, is perverted to the worst purposes, and grown into an intolerable abuse. A missionary, indeed, in talking to me once upon this subject, seemed to apologize for the Chinese, by saying, that they give and receive these presents rather from custom and fashion than from bad motives, and that

if they are corrupt, they are so without being aware of it. The true meaning of all which is that, through an appearance of decency and gravity of proceeding, justice wears a double face, and that integrity is professed though bribery be allowed: another person, who had still better opportunities of knowing these matters, made no scruple of dashing out to me, that money was well known to be the great instrument of decision in their courts, which generally found reason in the bottom of the longest purse: but the influence of preliminary presents is supposed to prevail also in the other departments. No introduction can be obtained, no business effected without it. A refusal would be considered by the suitor as an unequivocal mark of hostility. This infamous system is universal among the Orientals, and is, I conceive, a principal cause of their decay and subversion. All the other great monarchies of the east, which we are acquainted with, have been overturned by it, one after another, and it will probably some day have its share in the catastrophe of China. In the criminal department capital punishment is not so comprehensive as with us. Fine and imprisonment, flagellation and exile are the usual inflictions, except in cases of blood, which admit of no pardon or commutation.

There are six modes of capital punishment.

1. Cutting into ten thousand pieces.

2. Cutting into eight pieces, or what is called double quartering, both of which operations are performed upon the living subject.

3. Beheading.

4. Strangling, which is the least infamous of all, but excessively barbarous, the patient being nine times drawn up and let down, the cord nine times restricted and relaxed, before the final suffocation.

5. Burning with green faggots.

6. Beating to death with cudgels.

The sheriffs' calendar is said to be usually very large; but there is a general gaol delivery once in every year, at which the prisoners are either punished or released, unless where particular circumstances require a longer detention.

I had been informed that a delinquent was sometimes allowed, when sentenced to be bambooed, to hire another person to undergo the punishment in his place; but the fact was strongly denied. Neither did I find it now to be true, though possibly it may have been so in former times, that a son might substitute himself for his father's punishment.

The order and administration of the gaols are said to be remarkably good; the debtor and the felon are confined in separate places, and not permitted to approach each other. This is an excellent regulation; it seems equally impolitic and immoral to associate guilt with imprudence, and confound wickedness and misfortune by promiscuous imprison-

ment. By the laws of China the case of a debtor is, in other respects, extremely cruel. Although he should resign every farthing of his property, yet if it be insufficient to discharge the whole of his debt, and his relations cannot or will not make up the deficiency, he is condemned to wear a neck yoke in public for a certain period. If his insolvency be incurred by gaming, he is liable besides to a corporal punishment.

A man may sell himself in some cases, as, for instance, to discharge a debt to the crown, or to procure money for enabling him to bury his father, but, if he behaves himself well during his servitude, he is entitled to his liberty at the end of twenty years; if otherwise he continues a slave for life, and his children also if he had included them in the original agreement. The emperor's debtors, if fraudulently such, are strangled; if such only by common misfortunes, their wives and children and property of every kind are sold, and themselves banished into the wilds of Tartary; but though this may strictly be the letter of the law, he always makes a merit of forgiving those who, from unavoidable misfortunes, have nothing left to pay. Oaths are not required in civil or criminal causes; if voluntarily offered they are always suspected; and yet, what is singular enough, the torture is sometimes used in both, to procure evidence and confession.

It is not invariably, though generally, true that all sentences of death are signed by the emperor. There have of late been several occasions, where the first magistrate has

taken upon himself to execute criminals upon the spot for treason, rebellion, atrocious murder, &c. He takes his chance for approbation, and usually obtains it.

Property. As in China the interests of the emperor are always the first consideration, no property can be secured against his claims: in cases of delinquency, confiscation is inevitable.

Entails are unknown in this country, and a man may dispose of his fortune, real and personal, in the manner most agreeable to himself. By law he may even devise it to the Bonzes or other religious fraternities, but of late such bequests are very rare; for the policy of the state, although unwilling positively to prohibit an ancient right, however imprudently exercised, yet renders its abuse as little hurtful as possible, by quartering officers, travellers, couriers, and others upon most of the miaos and temples that are endowed in mortmain, so that posthumous folly is defeated, and idleness made to contribute to the maintenance of industry.

A testator often leaves his estates to his wife, especially in the case of the minority of his children; but if a man dies without a will, his lands and personalty are equally divided among his sons, reserving a proper dower for the widow, which varies according to the province where she chuses to reside. The daughters have nothing, but are maintained, until they marry, by their brothers; and if there be no brothers, by their next inheriting relations.

There are many great landed estates in China, some even to the amount of 100,000*l.* a year, accumulated by various means, by legacies, by clandestine trade, that is to say, by trade carried on by inferior agents with the capitals of great men to whom trade is directly forbidden, by usury, by employments, by presents, &c. A widow at *Tien-sing*, whose husband had been enriched in this manner, and who left her his fortune (his four sons being minors) not long since sent a million of taels of silver (333,333 *l.* sterling) as a present to the emperor towards the expense of the Thibet war.

The legal interest of money is twelve per cent. but it is commonly extended to eighteen and sometimes even to thirty-six. Usury is punishable by the laws but, as in most other countries, is rarely punished. Usury, like gaming, is a dishonorable mode of getting money; but by a sort of compact between necessity and avarice, between affluence and distress, the prosecution of a Jew or a sharper is considered as not very honorable even in those who suffer from them.

In farms (which are usually let for three, five or seven years, resumable by the landlord or relinquishable by the tenant at the end of any of those terms according to the contract) the owner divides the crop with the cultivator. The latter has one half entirely to himself, the former takes the other half, and pays out of it the emperor's tax; which is considered to be always the same, whether the season be plentiful or scanty. If, however, it prove to be very unusually bad, an abatement may be made upon due representation. Five per cent. is said to be the emperor's proper share of

the valued crop; but the valuation (which is an arbitrary one of the crown officer) is generally fixed so much higher than the current price of produce, that the landlord's commutation with the crown is sometimes not less than eight or ten per cent. instead of five. Though twelve per cent. be the legal interest, yet land sells for twenty years' purchase in the neighbourhood of Pekin.

The only current money in China is a thin brass or copper coin, about the breadth of a shilling, with a square hole in the middle, for the purpose of being strung. A thousand of these pieces, which are called by us *cash*, and sometimes *sapecas*, are esteemed at a taël * or Chinese ounce of silver, and ten drachms or *chen* make a taël or 6*s*. 8*d*. sterling.

I here annex the prices current of several articles at Pekin, as I collected it from the best information I received on the spot.

	Taëls.	Sapecas.
A common horse - -	20 to 25	
An ox or beast for slaughter -	15 to 20	
A cow - - -	10 to 15	
A pound of beef - - - -		40
A pound of mutton - - - -		50
A pound of veal - - - -		45
A pound of pork - - - -		50
A pound of ham - - - -		80
A fowl - - - - -		100

* *Sapeca* and *tael* are the names introduced by the Portuguese, but the proper Chinese words are *Lee* and *Liang*.

	Taëls.	Sapecas.
A duck - - - - -		150
A goose - - - - -		500
An egg - - - - -		3
A pound of rice - - - -		24
A pound of flour - - - -		20
The complete dress of a peasant -	2 or perhaps	2500
Ditto of a Mandarine of rank	20	
Ditto of an inferior Mandarine -	8	
Ditto of ceremony of a high Mandarine	100	
Ditto if enriched - - -	1000	
A saddle and bridle -	16 to 25	
A pair of black sattin boots -	2½	
Ditto of leather - -	2	
A cap or bonnet - -	2 to 4	
Salt per pound - - - -		35

A Chinese peasant can maintain himself for fifty sapecas a day. Our boatmen who drew the yachts in the provinces which we passed through generally were paid eighty sapecas a day, or one sapeca for each *ly*, or three hundred and sixty geometrical paces.

A common weaver, joiner or other tradesman earns little more than a bare subsistence, unless he should prove remarkably expert and ingenious, in which case he would be paid according to his abilities. It does not appear that there is always sufficient employment for the people, whose multitude is so great as to exceed the means of subsistence by labor, so that many who are able and willing to work are obliged to depend upon the alms of private charity, or seek

for support in the public hospitals; and notwithstanding these resources it is affirmed that, in every year, vast numbers perish of hunger and cold. The summers are so warm that the common sort go almost naked, and the winter is so rigorous that the mortality is very great from the want of clothing and shelter. In the different provinces of the empire there are often partial famines, and whenever they are attended with serious or fatal consequences, the Mandarine of the district is punished, according to Chinese policy, for not having foreseen the calamity, and replenished the magazine sufficiently to remedy the accident. From the misery to which a large proportion of the people are thus exposed (the majority is indeed very wretched in all respects) it is not to be wondered, that they should lose every sense but that of self-preservation; that they should forget the other ties of nature, and sell their children without scruple if they find a chapman, and desert them without pity if they do not. This is the common reproach of strangers to the Chinese, but it should not be made with too much precipitation and severity; for I believe, where the parent has any possible means of supporting his offspring, there is no country where paternal affection is stronger than in China; and it is natural that it should be so, because there is no country where filial respect and gratitude are so strong.

Population.

THE population of China has always been considered by Europeans as much greater in proportion to its extent than the population of any other country. The printed accounts of it vary much. My friend Father Amyot's calculations,

as given in Grozier's description of China, seem not to have been well understood by the person who copied or digested them; for in one place he is made to say, that the population in 1743 amounted to near 200,000,000, exclusive of the province of *Fo-kien;* and, in another place, that, in the same year, it exceeded 280,000,000. I wished to have had this difficulty reconciled, but the good father being in a dying condition when I was at Pekin, and consequently not well able to review his notes, I was disappointed of the correct information which I expected from that quarter. There is another table of the population in 1761, given by Grozier, where it is stated at upwards of 198,000,000, and he tells us that it is founded on the best authority. Monsieur Pauw, and some other writers of his turn, have amused the public with their speculations upon China, and are disposed to undervalue every thing that belongs to it, and particularly to dispute its populousness.

On the other hand, I have received an enumeration strongly asserted to be genuine, which assigns no less than 333,000,000.

A foreigner from an imperfect knowledge of the language, from misapprehension or misinterpretation, from want of access to public offices, or from the scantiness or inaccuracy of private information, is often liable to argue ignorantly and falsely, sometimes to take things for granted that should be denied, and sometimes to reject what ought to be received. Whatever, therefore, I may say upon this subject, is not meant to be delivered in a tone either of conviction or disbelief in myself, but solely for the disquisition and judgment of others.

China Proper, exclusive of the Tartar dominions, contains about 831,000,000 acres, or about 1,298,000 square miles. France contains about 103,000,000, or about 162,000 square miles. If China then be eight times as large as France, the sum total of 333,000,000 is not so high an estimation as at first sight it would appear to be. Messieurs Moheau and Neckar estimate the population of France at 26,000,000, and Dr. Price carries it beyond 28,000,000. Supposing then the two countries to be equally populous in proportion to their extent, China, upon such a calculation, ought to contain 216,000,000, taking 27,000,000 as the medium between Dr. Price and the other two gentlemen. But having formerly travelled over the greatest part of France, and resided a considerable time in that kingdom, when in its most flourishing state, long before the late subversion, and having very lately travelled through China from its northern to its southern extremity, I should be inclined to say without hesitation, in judging from the respective appearances of the two countries, that China was at least twice as populous as France, whereas the above account of 333,000,000 to 216,000,000 admits the population of China to be in proportion to that of France as to $1\frac{13}{14}$ to 1, or little more than 3 to 2. In truth, the immense numbers which occurred in every part of China where I passed in the towns, the country, on the rivers, and the seas that wash its coasts, very far exceeded any idea that I had formed on the subject, especially as all the people who appeared (very few excepted, perhaps not 500 in all) were males. The state of the population, as marked in the table, was given to me by *Chou-ta-gin*, a mandarine of high rank, and supreme governor of *Tien-sing*, who was one of those appointed by the emperor

to attend my embassy from the moment of my arrival on the coast of *Pe-tche-li*. He was a man of letters and information, and from habit and frequent converse, contracted a strong friendship and affection for me. He nevertheless had all the vanity of a Chinese; and the more he was impressed with the manifest superiority of the Europeans, which he could not avoid being very sensible of in his long intercourse with us, the more was he disposed to exaggerate the grandeur of his country, its population and other circumstances of national fondness.

Table of the Population and Extent of China Proper, within the Great Wall.

Provinces.	Population.	Square Miles.	Acres.
Pe-tche-li, - -	38,000,000	58,949	37,727,360
Kiang-nan, - -	32,000,000	92,961	59,495,040
Kiang-see, - -	19,000,000	72,176	46,192,640
Tche-kiang, - -	21,000,000	39,150	25,056,000
Fo-kien, - - -	15,000,000	53,480	34,227,200
Hou-pee, Hou-nan, Hou-quang,	14,000,000 / 13,000,000	144,770	92,652,800
Honan, - - -	25,000,000	65,104	41,666,560
Chan-tong, - -	24,000,000	65,104	41,666,560
Chan-si, - - -	27,000,000	55,268	35,371,520
Chen-si, - - -	18,000,000	154,008	98,565,120
Kan-sou, - - -	12,000,000		
Se-chuen, - -	27,000,000	166,800	106,752,000
Quang-tong, - -	21,000,000	79,456	50,851,840
Quang-si, - -	10,000,000	78,250	50,080,000
Yu-nan, - - -	8,000,000	107,969	69,100,160
Koei-cheou, - -	9,000,000	64,554	41,314,560
Total	333,000,000	1,297,999	830,719,360

Thus have I given the table of population as I received it from *Chou-ta-gin*. How far it may be exact, I have no means of ascertaining; but he assured me that I might depend upon it. When I expressed my doubts upon the subject, he laughed, as if he thought it ridiculous to question a matter of such notoriety; and added, that it appears from an ancient authentic register of 200 years old, that then above 57,000,000 of males, from 20 to 50 years of age, were assessed to the capitation, such being at that time the mode of levying the taxes, which was afterwards altered, and the whole burden laid upon the land. Since the accession of the present emperor's family to the throne, the influx of people from Tartary must have greatly increased the number of inhabitants.

The contents in square miles and acres, as given in the table above, are extracted from the Jesuits' map of China, undertaken and completed in the reign of *Caun-shee* by his special command.

If one-fourth of the surface of China were to be deducted for roads, canals, marshes, mountains, and other uncultivable grounds, there would still remain 623,039,520 profitable acres, or very nearly two acres to each individual, assuming the population as above at 333,000,000, or 337 persons to a square mile. It may be added also, that almost the whole of this extent is appropriated to the cultivation of food for man.

As to the population of Chinese Tartary, it was impossible to obtain any intelligence, the Chinese being almost as ignorant of that country as we are, scarcely any of them having

ever seen it, except a few officers sent on military duty, and persons banished to it for crimes. The Chinese talk of Tartary as of a country half as big as the rest of the world besides, but their conceptions of its limits are very dark and confused. There is a wide difference between pretension and possession.

When I was the king's minister at St. Petersburg, the common idea prevalent at court there was, that the Russian dominions comprehended one-twelfth part of the land upon the globe, and since that time they have been very considerably enlarged. Upon the whole I should think that the extent of the two empires of China and Russia is pretty nearly equal; and that the two together make one-sixth part of the land on the earth's surface, and about one twenty-third of the whole terraqueous globe.

Revenue.

THE revenues of this great empire are said to be little less than two hundred millions of taëls * or 66,666,666 *l.* sterling, or about four times those of Great Britain, or three times those of France before the late subversion. They consist of

1. The impost upon land.
2. The gabelle upon salt.
3. The customs and other smaller taxes.

* I have given the revenue in round numbers, but the Chinese, who have a fanciful predilection for odd numbers, call it one hundred and ninety-nine millions, nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand, nine hundred and ninety-nine taëls.

From the produce of these three branches all the civil and military expenses and incidental and extraordinary charges are first paid on the spot, out of the treasuries of the provinces where such expenses are incurred, and the remainder is remitted to the imperial treasury at Pekin. This surplus is said to have amounted in the year 1792 to the sum of 36,614,328 taëls, or 12,204,776*l.* sterling, according to the following account which I received from *Chou-ta-gin*.

Account of Revenue received into the Imperial Treasury at Pekin from the several Provinces of China Proper.

Provinces.		Taëls.		Total in Taëls.	Measures of Rice and other Grain.
Pe-tche-li	-	2,520,000	land	3,036,000	none.
		437,000	salt		
		79,000	taxes		
Kiang-nan	-	5,200,000	land	8,210,000	1,440,000
		2,100,000	salt		
		910,000	taxes		
Kiang-si	-	1,900,000	land	2,120,000	795,000
		220,000	taxes		
Tche-kiang	-	3,100,000	land	3,810,000	780,000
		520,000	salt		
		190,000	taxes		
Fo-kien	-	1,110,000	land	1,277,000	none.
		87,000	salt		
		80,000	taxes		
Hou-quang	Hou-pe	1,300,000	land	1,310,000	100,000
		10,000	taxes		
	Hou-nan	1,310,000	land	1,345,000	100,000
		35,000	taxes		
Carried forward		21,108,000		21,108,000	3,215,000

Provinces.	Taels.	Total in Taels.	Measures of Rice and other Grain.
Brought over - - - -		21,108,000	3,215,000
Ho-nan -	3,200,000 land 13,000 taxes	3,213,000	230,000
Chan-tong -	3,440,000 land 130,000 salt 30,000 taxes	3,600,000	360,000
Chan-si -	3,100,000 land 510,000 salt 112,000 taxes	3,722,000	none.
Chen-si	1,660,000 land 40,000 taxes	1,700,000	none.
Kiang-sou	300,000 land 40,000 taxes	340,000	220,000
Se-chuen -	640,000 land 30,000 taxes	670,000	none.
Quang-tung	1,280,000 land 50,000 salt 10,000 taxes	1,340,000	none.
Quang-si -	420,000 land 50,000 salt 30,000 taxes	500,000	none.
Yu-nan -	210,000 land	210,000	220,000
Koei-cheou -	120,000 land 10,000 salt 15,000 taxes	145,000	none.
Total Taels - -		36,548,000	4,245,000

From the preceding table the surplus revenue of 1792 received into the emperor's treasury at Pekin, after all the public expenses are defrayed, will stand as follows:

Land, salt, and taxes -	36,548,000	Taels or	12,182,666*l.* sterl.
4,245,000 measures of rice at 1¼d. per measure	66,328	- -	22,109
	36,614,328	Taels or	12,204,775*l.* sterl.

The ordinary military establishment I have calculated at 74,974,450 taëls or 24,991,483*l.**, and the civil establishment at 2,960,000 taëls or 986,666*l.** which two sums being doubled for extraordinaries, and allowing 7,500,000 taëls, or 2,500,000*l.* for unforeseen expense, and adding the emperor's residue of 36,614,328 taëls, will give the sum of 199,983,228 taëls, or 66,661,076*l.* or very nearly the total estimated revenue of China.

At Pekin are two treasuries, one called the *State Treasury*, into which the surplus above mentioned of 36,614,328 taels is paid, and out of which are issued all monies for the emperor's expenses, his palaces, pagodas, and other buildings, his tables, his gardens, wives, concubines, sons, grandsons, and more distant princes of the blood, and the general charges of the court. The other, called the *Secret Treasury*, receives the confiscations, the presents, the Tartar tributes, and some other articles, all which, together with the residue from the state treasury, form what may properly be considered as the emperor's

* See the next article under the head of "Civil and Military Ranks and Establishments."

privy purse. This is the regular course of business; but as the present government is entirely despotic, the emperor may act according to his pleasure in revenue matters, as in all others; but, it is said, he has not been known to interrupt the usual administration. His treasures are supposed to be immense, arising solely from the regular unavoidable savings of the state treasury and secret treasury, his revenue from hence very far exceeding his disbursements. The greater part is kept in Moukden, the capital of Mantchoo Tartary, for I doubt whether the Tartars yet think themselves secure at Pekin, considering the prodigious disproportion between them and the Chinese, and their mutual jealousy and antipathy. Scarcely a year passes without an insurrection in some of the distant provinces, and there are actually at present some very serious disturbances in *Se-chuen*, to quell which *Foo-chan-tong* (so often mentioned in my journal), who was formerly viceroy of Canton, and afterwards commanded in Thibet on the frontier of Napaul, has been lately appointed.

Having said above that the 12,204,776*l.* remitted to the state treasury of Pekin was the emperor's share of the general revenue, after all expenses first paid, it would seem from hence as if it were liable to variation, and that in some years it might be more, and in others less; but I have reason to imagine that it seldom, if ever, falls below that sum, because *Sun-ta-gin*, who accompanied me from Pekin to *Han-chou-foo*, informed me, that whenever any extraordinary aids or supplies became necessary, on occasion of wars and other occurrences, they were levied by additional taxes on the pro-

vinces adjacent to the scene of action; and upon this ground it was that he accounted for the encreased duties on the commerce of Canton, which our merchants complained of. Those duties, he said, had been laid on towards the support of the war in Tonquin, which country adjoins Canton, but that the war being finished, they would hereafter be reduced.

In the administration of so vast a revenue, especially in the distant provinces, those to whom it is entrusted have, no doubt, frequent opportunities of committing great abuses; and that they do not always neglect them, is pretty evident from the immense confiscations accruing to the emperor. It is indeed affirmed, that much corruption and oppression prevail in most of the departments of the state. To what degree this may be true, I know not; but admitting it in a very great extent, the subject in China may be considered as more favored in point of taxation than the subjects of any other country; for if the whole revenue were to be reduced to a capitation, it would not amouut to more than five shillings per head on the population of the empire: by an analogous computation the people of Ireland would pay to government eight shillings per head; the people of France (before the subversion) sixteen shillings per head, and the people of Great Britain, thirty-four shillings per head.

With regard to the revenue which the emperor of China draws from his Tartar dominions, I could not procure any information to be depended on of its amount. Besides what he may receive from his demesnes there, the chiefs of the Tar-

tar banners, and their vassals, pay a certain tribute which is every day encreasing, either because they are now more able, or because they are more willing to pay it than formerly.

Tartar goods, or goods imported into China by the way of Tartary, such as furs, leather, woollen cloth, &c. are liable only to a very moderate custom at the great wall on entry into China; but all the China goods exported to Tartary pass duty free.

I observed in the beginning of the present section, that the revenue consisted of three branches, the land, the salt, and the smaller taxes. The first is levied, according to a certain fixed rule, upon the produce of the land (*vide* head " Property"); the second, or salt, is a monopoly, or extensive privilege of making that article, granted by the emperor to particular persons, for which they pay to the crown a fixed proportion according to the local circumstances of the province where it is manufactured, one third being the rate settled in one district, one fourth in another, and so on. The third branch consists of certain taxes or customs upon goods passing over bridges, canals, and roads, and entering into cities and walled towns; also on the sale of cattle, and some other minuter objects. In the collection of these revenues, I understand that the subordinate officers have considerable fees and perquisites: for in China, as in some other countries, no business can be expedited through the lower departments without them.

Export and import duties ought regularly to be levied *ad valorem* of the articles, but the collector often takes upon

himself, arbitrarily, to estimate the value according to his own fancy. Thus, for instance, I have heard he has been sometimes known at Canton to tax a bale of coarse cloth as highly as a bale of superfine; and that in weighing off raw silk at the custom-house beam, he has called 120 pounds a pecul, levied the duty accordingly, and discharged the scale, although a pecul be really 133⅓ lbs. and not 120 lbs. Thus these taxes, though possibly not in themselves exorbitant, are yet so liable to abuse in the administration, as often to become serious grievances; and foreigners must remain exposed to them till they have taken the trouble of learning the language of the country, and can make themselves heard and understood; for however rapacious a Chinese officer may be, he is apt to shrink from a bold and clamorous complainant, as he is sure that though the latter may possibly not be redressed, yet notorious delinquency in himself is not likely to pass unpunished.

Civil and Military Ranks and Establishments.

In China there is properly no hereditary nobility. The children and collaterals of the sovereign enjoy a certain degree of consideration dependent on the favor with which they are regarded at court; but as that advantage is liable to grow weaker by their lengthening distance from the throne, or fountain of honor, they may in process of time sink into the mass of the people, and be scarcely distinguished from them otherwise than by their yellow and red girdles, which none but such as are of the imperial blood are privileged to wear. Those who descend from the reigning (which pretends to be

the elder) branch, are adorned with a yellow sash, those who descend from the younger, with a red one.

It is affirmed that the posterity of Confucius, who are still extant, enjoy certain hereditary honours transmitted to them from their great ancestors, but I am not precisely informed of the nature of them, nor of the advantages which they confer.

Rank in China is generally supposed to be the reward of merit and service; and it frequently is so; but there appears to be one glaring partiality in the distribution of it: a Chinese seldom attains the highest degree till very advanced in life, but I have seen Tartars already possessed of it at the age of five or six and twenty.

Formerly persons in office were chiefly known by their robe of ceremony, but as it was not constantly worn in common, the present emperor *Kien-long* invented or founded the distinction of the bead or button, which being fixed on the top of the cap, evidently and immediately denotes the title of the wearer. Of these buttons he established eight classes, attainable by the civil and military without distinction, which are as follow:

1. The button of red coral, smooth.
2. The button of red coral, carved or flourished.
3. The button of light transparent blue.
4. The button of light opake blue.

5. The button of clear white chrystal.
6. The button of opake milk white.
7. The button of brass gilt, smooth.
8. The button of brass gilt, engraved and flourished.

And besides these, there is another distinction superior to all, being a ruby colored or rather amethyst colored button, and of a larger size than the others, which is only conferred on Tartar princes, and persons allied to the emperor.

In all the public acts and papers, a Mandarine is invariably stiled according to the order of his button; and if he should be degraded to an inferior one on account of delinquency, as very frequently happens, he is obliged to be the herald or publisher of his own shame, and to write himself ——— Mandarine, formerly of the —— class, but now degraded to the —— class. This mode of punishment is considered rather as a kind of fatherly correction from the emperor to a faulty child, than as a mark of much severity; and the culprit, after a certain term of contrition and probation, is usually restored to his former dignity.

In so extensive an empire, the number of Mandarines, or persons employed in the different civil and military situations, must be prodigiously great; but I shall content myself in this sketch with giving only a list of the chief officers of business, observing at the same time that under them there are some thousands of Mandarines, who wear the gilt button, appointed by viceroys, commanders of armies and presidents

of tribunals, who are allowed that privilege when the necessity of the service requires it, but are punished if found to abuse it.

A List of the Chief Civil Officers, distinguishing their Number, Station, and Salaries.

No.		Salary of each. Taels per ann.	Total.
11.	The *Tson-tou*, or Viceroy over one or more provinces, - - - -	20,000	220,000
15.	The *Foo-yen*, or Governor under him of each province, - - - - -	16,000	240,000
19.	The *Hoo-poo*, or Fiscal, the Chief Officer of revenue, - - - - -	9,000	171,000
18.	The *An-za-tze*, or President of the criminal tribunals, - - - - -	6,000	108,000
86.	The *Tao-quen*, or Governor presiding over more than one city of the first order, and their dependencies, -	3,000	258,000
184.	The *Foo-quen*, or Governor only of one city of the first order, and its dependencies, - - - - - -	2,000	368,000
149.	The *Kiou-quen*, or Governor of a city of the second order, - - - -	1,000	149,000
1305.	The *Lieu-quen*, or Governor of a city of the third order, - - - - -	800	1,044,000
17.	The *Liou-jou*, or President of science and examinations, - - - -	3,000	402,000
117.	The *Cho-tao*, or Inspectors-General, -		
		Total Taels -	2,960,000

The salaries of these officers are sometimes lessened or increased according to the varying state of the provinces and cities, some decaying, and others improving, which is regularly reported to the *Cho-taos* or inspectors every year. Extraordinary allowances are also paid to these officers on occasion of any extraordinary trouble or expense incurred in their departments, such as by the passage of great persons, ambassadors, &c. through the places where they are to do the honors to them of their respective stations.

My information relative to the military of China is principally derived from *Van-ta-gin*, an officer of high rank in the army who, together with *Chou-ta-gin* (the Mandarine particularly mentioned under the heads of Population and Revenue), was deputed by the emperor to attend my embassy, and who remained with me from the moment of my landing in China, to my departure from Canton. *Van-ta-gin* is a man of good understanding, and of great bodily strength. Being an excellent soldier, he has raised himself from an inferior station to the rank of *Foo-zien*, or the third military degree, and to the florished red coral button, which is the second class or order of precedence in the state. In consequence of having received three wounds in the service, he has besides been honored with a peacock's feather, which is worn pendent from the back of his cap, and is a distinction solely appropriated to the army.

There are, in time of peace, 1,800,000 troops within the great wall; that is to say, 1,000,000 of infantry, and 800,000

cavalry; but in time of war, considerable detachments from them are sent abroad, or beyond the great wall.

The Tartar troops, properly so called, are mostly stationed in Tartary beyond the great wall, attached to the banners under the command of their respective chiefs, and upon quite a different footing from the 1,800,000 regular Chinese troops above mentioned; but a vast number of these latter are Tartars, who have a higher pay than their Chinese fellow soldiers; and the principal officers of confidence in the army are Tartars also.

The soldiers are all volunteers, and none are received into the service but such as are expert, healthy, strong, and sightly. Beside their ordinary pay, the emperor makes them certain presents upon particular occasions, such as when they marry, when they have male children born, and when their parents die; when they themselves die, their families are entitled to a gift of consolation. Thus, then, the condition of a soldier in China is by no means an undesirable one; and when a man is once enrolled in the military, he is generally looked upon as well provided for.

The allowances are as follow:

A Chinese horseman has three ounces and three-tenths of silver (at 6*s*. 8*d*. each) and fifteen measures of rice per month.

A Tartar horseman in the Chinese army has seven ounces and twenty measures of rice per month.

A Chinese foot soldier (in whose rank are included the artillery, pioneers, and all who do not serve on horseback) has one ounce and six-tenths of silver, and ten measures of rice per month.

A Tartar foot soldier in the Chinese army has two ounces and six-tenths, and ten measures of rice per month.

The emperor furnishes the arms and accoutrements, and the upper garment, which, for the infantry, is commonly of a dark blue cotton stuff, bound with a red galloon, coarse, clumsy, and inconvenient for active service. The horsemen and the sword and target men are differently clothed, some in yellow, some in white; the particular reason of which distinctions I know not, but I conclude it to be of no moment. The cavalry carry no pistols, and are only armed with swords, and bows and arrows.

To every division is a certain proportion of match-lockers, archers, sword and target men, and cavalry. To every two hundred men is an imperial ensign or standard; but at a parade, every tenth man carries a showy triangular pennon of red, blue, green, or yellow taffety, I presume according to the fancy of the commanding officer.

It is pretended that in the arsenal of every province there are five hundred fire-locks * in store. All the other arms are match-locks, bows and arrows, and swords and bucklers.

* Why do not the Chinese use fire-locks instead of match-locks? *Van-ta-gin* answered the question by saying, that the flints were apt to miss fire, but that the

Of eighty thousand Chinese troops employed in the last expedition to Thibet, only thirty thousand had fire-arms and those all match-locks.

A match lock in China costs	$1\frac{1}{2}$	ounce or taël of silver.
A sword - - -	$\frac{1}{2}$	an ounce.
A bow - - -	$3\frac{6}{10}$	ounces.
A sheaf of arrows -	$3\frac{6}{10}$	ounces.
An uniform - -	4	ounces.

In every walled town there is a garrison proportionate to its size for the security of the revenue, the magazines of provisions and the prisoners, whether debtors or criminals, lodged in the gaols there. It is pretended that in the magazines there are great guns belonging to every town of this description, but I never saw any mounted on the walls or bastions not even at Pekin. The gates are generally very high and consist of several stories, one above the other, with port holes that are shut with doors, on the outside of which are painted the representations of cannons which at a distance look somewhat like the sham ports of our men of war; but if real cannon were mounted there they would be of little use as, on account of the lowness of the stories, the smoke would not suffer the people remaining to serve them.

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match-locks though slow were always sure. The truth is, I believe, that there are no good flints in China, and the Chinese maxim is to do as well as they possibly can without foreign supplies. I doubt whether the flints, brought from Europe to China, be of the best kind; a change of climate could not extinguish their natural vivacity.

A List of the Chinese chief Military Officers, their Number, Ranks, and Salaries.

Number.	Rank.	Salary of each per Ann.	Total Taels.
18	The Tou-ton - -	4,000	72,000
62	The Zung-hing - -	2,400	148,800
121	The Foo-zien - -	1,300	157,300
165	The Tchoo-zien - -	800	132,000
373	The Giou-zi - -	600	223,800
425	The Tou-tze - -	400	170,000
825	The Sciou-foo - -	320	264,000
1,680	The Zien-zun - -	160	268,000
3,622	The Pa-zun - -	130	470,870
44	Commissaries of corn and provisions of the first rank -	320	14,080
330	Commissaries of corn and provisions of the second rank -	160	52,800
	Total Taëls - - -		1,974,450

A rough Calculation of the Military Establishment.

1,000,000 infantry at two ounces of silver each per month, provisions included - -	24,00,0000	
800,000 cavalry at 4 ounces each -	38,400,000	
800,000 horses at 20 ounces each, and annual wear and tear at 10 per cent. - -	1,600,000	
Uniforms for 1,800,000 men once a year, at 4 ounces each - -	7,200,000	
Yearly wear and tear of arms, accoutrements, contingencies, &c. at 1 ounce per annum - - -	1,800,000	
		73,000,000
Total Taëls - -		71,974,450

N. B. No allowance being made in the above estimate for the expense of artillery, tents, war equipage, nor for vessels of force, boats, &c., I include them in the extraordinaries of the army, which are probably equal to the ordinaries.

Arts and Sciences.

The Chinese possess great skill in many branches of the arts, particularly in the manufacture of silk stuffs, and of certain kinds of cotton cloth. They excel in the secrets of dyeing and fixing their colors, in the process also of grinding and preparing their pigments for limning, in composing and laying on varnishes, and in neatness of joining and cabinet-work; but what they are supposed to understand, in a very superior degree, is the pottery, or art of molding clay or earth to every purpose of which it is capable, and of shaping, glazing, coloring, and hardening it as they please. Hence the beauty and variety of their porcelaine, the smoothness and brilliancy of their tiles, and the neatness and solidity of their bricks. With regard to the latter, to say nothing of the great wall, I must observe, that we saw some buildings at *Yuen-min-yuen* which, as pieces of brick work, are superior, both in point of materials and workmanship, to Tyrconnel house in the south-west corner of Hanover-square, which is boasted of as the most perfect thing of the sort in England. Whatever they undertake they appear to perform with ease and dexterity. After Parker's two great lustres had been put together by our people from England, and hung up in the great hall of

Yuen-min-yuen, an operation that required considerable time, pains, and intelligency, it being found necessary to remove them to another place, two common Chinese took them down piece by piece in less than half an hour without the smallest assistance or instruction. A Chinese with his rude instrument quickly cut off a slip from the edge of a curved plate of glass, belonging to the dome of the planetarium, which our artists could not effect after repeated attempts with a diamond. This appeared the more extraordinary as the use of glass is not yet familiar to the people, their table utensils being mostly of porcelaine, their mirrors of metal, and their windows of oyster-shell or of paper. They execute all kinds of embroidery and needle-work with admirable elegance; and the commonest articles of their dress, though clumsy and cumbersome in its fashion, are yet sewed and made up with singular precision and contrivance. They can copy an European picture with great exactness; but they appear to be strangers to the principles of perspective in painting, their own original pieces being without any distribution of light and shade. This is the more extraordinary, as from the laying out of their gardens and pleasure-grounds, one would be tempted to imagine that they understood perfectly well the effects of which it is capable of producing.

In respect to science the Chinese are certainly far behind the European world. They have but a very limited knowledge of mathematics and astronomy, although from some of the printed accounts of China, one might be led to imagine that they were well versed in them. A great part

of their astronomy is mere astrological trifling, whose chief end is to point out the proper times for certain ceremonies, upon the strict observance of which the happiness of the empire and of individuals is supposed to depend. Their affectation of the science of astronomy or astrology (for they have but one word in their language to express both) induced them at a very remote period to establish a mathematical college or tribunal, the duty of which is to prepare and furnish to the nation an annual calendar, somewhat like our *Poor Robin's Almanack*, with lists of all the lucky and unlucky days of the year, predictions of the weather, directions for sowing and reaping, &c. &c. This branch is entirely confided to and conducted by the Chinese doctors, who are chosen for the purpose from among the most celebrated philomaths of the nation: but the real astronomical parts (the calculation of eclipses, the phases of the moon, the conjunction of the planets, &c.) are at present committed to the charge of three European missionaries, namely, Gouvea the bishop of Pekin, his secretary, and Padre Antonio, all of them Portuguese, but none of them eminently qualified for the business. The Chinese could not venture to depend on the calculations of their own people, as they are known to be never quite accurate, and to be often, indeed generally, very erroneous. They have however a tolerable idea of the circles of the sphere, of the annual and diurnal motions and the common phenomena, but are entirely strangers to the true principles of physical astronomy. The first introduction of Europeans into the mathematical tribunal is said to have arisen from a circumstance which in itself is alone sufficient proof of the gross ignorance of the Chinese in astronomical matters. Their

computation of time being solely lunar soon became necessarily erroneous from their defect in the knowledge of the irregularities of the moon's motion; and the errors resulting from their ignorance in this respect accumulated to such a degree that a palpable change of seasons became perceptible; in order therefore to correct this error in their calendar they added or threw out a month in certain years where it appeared to be necessary to keep the seasons in their proper places. These intercalations were made however without any system, and consequently liable to gross mistake and growing error. One of the European missionaries in 1670 undertook to explain to the court the nature of the mistakes committed by the tribunal of mathematics, and to convince them that, in that very year, they had improperly inserted an intercalary month, when it ought only to have been considered as a common year of twelve lunar months. As the Chinese are not very nice in their calculations, the Europeans have not had much difficulty, since that time, in keeping their calendar pretty near the truth. From this accident the missionaries derived many advantages, and began to acquire some consideration at court. To what height their attainments in science may have reached I know not; but we have good reason to think, that their successors of the present day have not soared many degrees above the Chinese; for, according to their own confession to Mr. Barrow, they take very little pains in calculating the eclipses on mathematical principles, but chiefly content themselves with reducing them, as given in the Paris almanacs, from the meridian of that capital to the meridian of Pekin. They expressed much uneasiness and apprehension that the subversion in France would prevent the *Connois-*

sances des Temps from being regularly transmitted to them as formerly; and were therefore highly gratified by our furnishing them with the latest of our printed nautical almanacks, and a manuscript supplement calculated for a few years to come. With regard to geometry, some few of the Chinese, attached to the board of astronomy, are acquainted with some of the most common and useful propositions: but whether they were known in the country, previous to the arrival of the missionaries, I cannot ascertain. Some of them are said likewise to have a slight knowledge of plain trigonometry, but are totally ignorant of spherical. A table of logarithms has been published in the Chinese character; but this admirable assistant to arithmetical calculations was introduced by the Jesuits in the reign of *Cang-shee*. The operations of algebra are wholly unknown among the Chinese. Gouvea, the present Portuguese bishop of Pekin, who belongs to the tribunal of mathematics, said that it had hitherto been found impossible to render this branch of mathematics intelligible to them, because their language did not admit of an alphabet; but his reverence did not seem perfectly to understand the subject himself; for algebraical quantities may certainly be represented by any mark or character, as well as by the letters of an European alphabet. The truth indeed is, that the present missionaries are very little conversant in algebra, or the higher parts of the mathematics, and but poor proficients in any other branch of science. Some of those, who were patronized by the emperor *Cang-shee*, about fourscore years ago, were men of considerable knowledge, and of indefatigable industry; they attempted to introduce experimental philosophy into China,

and from the accounts given by them of the taste of the court, and of the avidity with which their lessons and exhibitions were received, we were induced to provide and carry with us an expensive apparatus of different kinds, and of the latest inventions; but we had very little occasion to make use of them, for almost every thing of this nature, that had been taught by the Jesuits, seemed to be either entirely forgotten or considered of no value. Neither *Kien-Lung* himself nor those about him appeared to have any curiosity in these matters; it is besides the policy of the present government to discourage all novelties, and to prevent their subjects, as much as possible, from entertaining a higher opinion of foreigners than of themselves. Doctor Dinwiddie gave a few lectures and exhibited some experiments at Canton to the English factory, which were constantly attended by the principal Chinese merchants, who seemed highly delighted with them, and showed the strongest desire of farther instruction. Had Dinwiddie remained at Canton, and continued his courses, I dare say he might have soon realized a very considerable sum of money from his Chinese pupils alone. But the Mandarines in Pekin manifested very little disposition of this kind; none of them discovered the slightest notion of the physical properties of bodies, the pressure of fluids, the principles of optics, perspective, electricity, &c. although several of them had seen air-pumps, electrical machines, telescopes, prisms, magic-lanthorns, and show-boxes. Nevertheless it was observed that most of the great men, who went to see the globes, the planetarium, the barometers, and pendulums put up at *Yuen-min-yuen*, affected to view them with careless indifference, as if such things were

quite common and familiar to them, and the use of them well understood. They could not however conceal their sense of the beauty and elegance of our Derby porcelaine, when they saw the ornamental vases belonging to Vulliamy's clocks. Three young princes, sons of the emperor's eleventh son, frequently visited our artists whilst engaged at *Yuen-min-yuen*, and expressed great admiration of the workmanship and appearance of the globes, clocks, and orrery, but candidly owned that they did not comprehend the purposes of them. Though the father of these princes is the patron or inspector of the college of mathematics, it is probable he does not hold the elements taught there in very high estimation, as his children were not instructed in them, their education being solely confined to the acquirement of the Chinese and Mantchoo languages, the study of their ceremonies or ethics, and of the history of their own empire.

The Chinese bridges are generally of a light and elegant appearance, but I presume of a slight construction, for there are very few of them over which wheel-carriages are allowed to pass. The elliptical arch is unknown to them as it was to the ancient Greeks and Romans, but they have variety of what are usually called Gothic arches. Instead of a key-stone, in the form of a truncated wedge as with us, the crown of their semi-circular arch is usually a curved stone segment of a considerable span, from whence it may be presumed that their geometrical skill is not very great in the construction of bridges.

It sometimes happens that men by mere dint of natural parts, without the advantage of education (such, for example, as Arkwright and Brindley) will hit upon methods of accomplishing great undertakings, where the most plausible theories have been found insufficient or inapplicable to the purpose; but this can rarely happen except in a country like Europe, where the general effect of the mechanical powers is familiar to the vulgar, from the daily observance of the application of some one or other of such powers. Thus every common laborer will have recourse to a pulley, a lever, a tooth and pinion wheel, because he has seen them perform their functions a thousand times, and although he has no just idea of their exact powers, yet, by repeated trials, he is sure of succeeding in his object; but in a country like China, where the sciences, which probably first pointed out those artificial powers, are little known and little cultivated, difficulties where they occur are usually surmounted by the increase and bodily exertions of numbers. Perhaps, indeed, it may not be refining too much to suppose, that the Chinese neglect of science as applicable to practice is the result of reflexion, and that it is true wisdom in the government to discountenance the general use of the mechanical powers, employing such artificial aid only where it is absolutely unavoidable, because the existence of so many millions of the people depends chiefly upon their manual labor. Most of the things which the Chinese know they seem to have invented themselves, to have applied them solely to the purpose wanted, and to have never thought of improving or extending them farther. They know so far as

that natural bodily force may be assisted by means of the single pulley and the lever. The first we observed at *Ta-cou* in the transhipping of our packages from the sea-junks into the river ones, for which operation they employed three or four single pullies each with its separate *fall* or rope to each of the packages. These pullies were made fast to a horizontal rope stretched between the masts, and four or five men applied their strength to each rope. So far they have proceeded in this contrivance, but seemingly no farther, because probably the immense population of the country can at all times supply any number of hands that may be required; and it may also be an object to them rather to gain in point of time than in power, otherwise having already employed the single pulley, the double one, it might be supposed, would easily have occurred to them. For raising the anchors of the large sea junks that make distant voyages, they have a machine or kind of windlass, to which several levers are fixed, and which, instead of being stopped by palls, is stopped by a wedge inserted between the rollers and the deck. A machine of the same kind placed vertically, is said to be used for drawing their vessels up a glacis from the lower level of a canal to an upper one; but of this singular method of overcoming inequalities of surface in inland navigation, without the use of locks and sluices, I am not qualified to give a proper account, as nothing of the sort occurred in the course of our passage, but it is often practised in several other parts of the country. There are indeed no undertakings of utility and invention for which the Chinese are more celebrated than the numberless communications by water through the interior of their vast empire. These have excited general admiration among foreigners. As a con-

siderable part our journey from Pekin to *Hang-tchoo-foo*, was upon what is usually called the grand or imperial canal, I am enabled to give some account of it. This great work was executed for the purpose of laying open to each other the northern and southern provinces of the empire. It is more properly an improved river than an entirely artificial canal, according to our general acceptation of the term, for it has a descent almost in every part, and generally runs with considerable velocity. Although it is evident that the projectors were very little, if at all, acquainted with the principles of levelling, they possessed sufficient sagacity to avail themselves of all the natural advantages resulting from the ground over which the water was to be conveyed. If we turn our attention to that particular part of the canal which lies between the *Eu-ho* and the *Hoang-ho*, and which effects the communication of these two rivers, a tolerable idea may be formed of the extent of Chinese knowledge and contrivance in enterprises of this nature. The direct distance of the *Eu-ho* to the *Hoang-ho*, where the canal unites them, may be about two hundred miles. The beds of these two rivers are pretty nearly on the same level, but the interjacent country rises from each with an imperceptible ascent and is highest about midway. The Chinese had no instrument or other means of art to ascertain this point of elevation, but nature seems to have indicated it to them by the course of the river, which, rising in *Chan-tong* to the eastward, and running westward in the intermediate space between the *Eu-ho* and *Hoang-ho*, is obstructed in its passage, and then divides into two branches, one of which takes a northern course and falls into the *Eu-ho*, the other pursues a southern route and descends into the *Hoang-ho*. The northern stream seems

to have been generally traced according to all its windings, the bed of it enlarged, and formed with an uniform descent, and its navigation improved by flood-gates thrown across at certain distances, sometimes of two, three, or more miles asunder, in order to prevent too great or too sudden a loss of water. These flood-gates are no more than a few loose planks, sliding between two grooves, cut in the stone piers or abutments, which project on each side from the banks of the canal, and approach so near as to leave in the middle only a sufficient space for the largest junks or vessels to pass through. A few miles before the northern branch joins the *Eu-ho*, instead of following, as formerly, the natural meanders of the stream, it is carried straight forward in one direction, by a deep cut of forty feet through a partial elevation of the surface of the ground. The task was not difficult, as the soil is a mixture of light sand and clay, entirely free from rocks or any sort of stone. But the southern branch required more management and address, as its progress was to be directed over a great extent of swampy grounds and lakes, and from thence through an ascending country to the *Hoang-ho*. On approaching this morass, they were obliged to cut very deep below the surface of the ground, for the purpose of giving the water a velocity sufficient to force itself between two high banks raised above the inundated country with incredible labor and expense. In one place it traverses a vast lake, whose surface is far below its own, and there its banks are rivetted with enormous blocks of marble, clasped together at the top with iron; and lest the body of water in the canal should prove too strong for the resistance of the banks, they are intersected with sluices at certain distances, through which

the superfluous water passes into deep ditches or hollows formed on each side in the middle of the banks themselves. The surface of the water let into these ditches or hollows being kept at a mean height between the surfaces of the canal and the lake or inundation, the pressure of the body of water is diminished by one half, and the danger of disruption considerably removed. The canal then proceeds through a rising country, being often thirty and forty feet below the surface of the ground, and falls into the *Hoang-ho* with a current of two to three miles per hour.

From the above account it may be inferred, that the Chinese in flat or nearly flat countries are chiefly directed by the apparent course of the natural streams, follow it as nearly as possible, without regarding the labor or expense attending such a system, and when they come to a difficulty not easily surmounted by their other means, they have recourse to a *glacis*, up and down which the vessels are passed between two canals of different levels *.

* Note. Since writing the above, I have received the following note from Dr. Dinwiddie, who having separated from me at *Han-chou-fou* in order to proceed to *Cheu-san*, for the purpose of embarking on the Hindostan for Canton, had an opportunity of examining more at leisure, not only the common canal, but also the others whose communication is preserved by means of a *glacis*.

" The flood-gates in the canals of China are preferable to English locks, in " every situation where the canal is nearly level, and are constructed at a quarter of " the expense.

" The inclined plane down which the boats are launched and up which they " are drawn is a mode superior to our practice, for besides their being cheaper " they are much more expeditious. The power employed consists of two wind- " lasses, placed opposite to each other on the banks or abutments of the canal, " the axis perpendicular, the gudgeons of the lower end supported on a stone and the

The Chinese have an excellent method of carrying heavy packages, by dividing the burden pretty equally among the bearers. This is effected by applying two long poles parallelwise to the object of conveyance, and by crossing these at their extremities with two others. Eight men are thus admitted to an equal participation of the weight. By lengthening the first poles with four others, and by applying to their extremities two transverse ones as before, sixteen men may be engaged together in this machinery, and so on to a greater number; but I do not recollect to have seen more than thirty-two men employed at once in the carrying of a single burden. I had already slightly mentioned this method of carrying packages in my Journal of the 21st August 1793.

As it is generally supposed that the art of printing is of great antiquity among the Chinese, I must not pass it by without some notice. Their printing, such as I saw, is merely the impression of a wooden cut, or rather perhaps from an embossing or carving in *alto relievo* upon a flat board or tablet, which when wetted with ink and impressed by the paper, delivers a reversed copy of itself. From the size of the page, which is incapable of decomposition, from the necessary accuracy of the process, and the tediousness of the execution, it would seem that new publications are not very frequent, and that knowledge is not so rapidly disseminated in China

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" upper end turning between two stones, sustained in an horizontal position on " four upright stones. Each windlass has four bars which are manned with " twelve to sixteen persons. The time employed in one instance observed was " two minutes and a half, and in another about three."

as in England by reviews, magazines, and such other periodical oracles of taste and literature.

Du Halde and Grosier tell us that the Chinese have moveable types made of wood, not of cast metal as with us, but that they use them only for the corrections and changes in the Pekin Court Register, or list of public officers, which is renewed every three months. In this case, however, I suspect that they have no letter fount, but that they cut away the old characters or names that are to be altered, and fill up the space by gluing or otherwise fastening the new ones upon it. The weekly gazettes, published in most of the great cities of the empire, are, I believe, struck off in their common method of block-printing.

Whether printing as practised by us be an original European invention, or whether the first hint of it was received by way of Tartary from China, I will not presume to determine, but it is certain that the art was not known in Europe till one hundred and fifty years after Marco Polo's return from China. As he did not impart the discovery I conclude he was ignorant of it, and that such books as he may have seen there, he mistook for manuscripts, and, indeed, to the eye of a stranger they have much of that appearance.

The structure of the Chinese language, which, it is said, consists of eighty thousand words or characters, each word however originally formed, being a distinct, indivisible hieroglyphic or representation of an idea, is such as to render the use of immoveable types totally inapplicable to

Chinese printing; for as the Chinese have no alphabet of letters, or elements of composition as we have, it would be necessary for them (instead of a fount of twenty-four divisions which are sufficient for languages like ours) to have a fount of eighty thousand divisions for theirs, or a division for every separate character, a project impossible to be reduced to practice.

The skill of the Chinese in medicine, surgery, and chemistry is certainly very limited, notwithstanding what we have read in many authors of their proficiency in those arts.

The excellent quality of the China silk, and the beauty of the stuffs, which are manufactured with it, have claimed the admiration of the world from the earliest ages. The raw material itself is, I understand, superior to any of the same kind of any other country; but I have been assured that the fabrics of Lyons and Spitalfields are sometimes even superior to those of Nankin. Of this I cannot pretend to judge; but admitting that the Chinese can weave the best silks in the world, it is no less true that they also make the worst, for they suffer nothing to be lost; the flosses, combings, refuse, &c. are all carefully saved and worked into some useful texture or other, such as nettings, curtains, gauzes, girdles, &c. All that I could learn relative to the silk, silk-worms, and mulberry-trees of China is contained in my answers to the Honorable East India Company's queries on these subjects; but I am concerned to say, that they are not very satisfactory, for I found it impossible to obtain all the information I wanted.

With regard to the agriculture of the Chinese, who are cestainly most admirable husbandmen, such observations and remarks as I had occasion to make upon the subject, during the course of my travels, being interspersed through my journal, it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

Having given an extensive description of the emperor's gardens at Gehol, in my account of that place, I have the less to add upon Chinese scenography, or art of laying out pleasure-grounds, upon which they value themselves so highly, as they do indeed upon every thing else that affords them the slightest pretension. Whether our style of gardening was really copied from the Chinese, or originated with ourselves, I leave for vanity to assert, and idleness to discuss. A discovery, which is the result of good sense and reflection, may equally occur to the most distant nations without either borrowing from the other. There is certainly a great analogy between our gardening and the Chinese; but our excellence seems to be rather in improving nature, theirs to conquer her, and yet produce the same effect. It is indifferent to a Chinese where he makes his garden, whether on a spot favoured or abandoned by the rural deities. If the latter, he invites them or compels them to return. His point is to change every thing from what he found it; to explode the old fashion of the creation, and introduce novelty in every corner. If there be a waste, he adorns it with trees; if a dry desert, he waters it with a river or floats it with a lake. If there be a smooth flat, he varies it with all possible conversions. He undulates the surface, he raises it in hills, scoops it into vallies, and roughens it with rocks. He softens

asperities, brings amenity into the wilderness, or animates the tameness of an expanse by accompanying it with the majesty of a forest. Deceptions and eye-traps the Chinese are not unacquainted with, but they use them very sparingly. I observed no artificial ruins, caves or hermitages. Though the sublime predominates in its proper station, you are insensibly led to contemplate it, not startled by its sudden intrusion; for in the plan cheerfulness is the principal feature, and lights up the face of the scene. To enliven it still more the aid of architecture is invited. All the buildings are perfect of their kind, either elegantly simple or highly decorated according to the effect that is intended to arise, erected at suitable distances and judiciously contrasted, never crowded together in confusion, nor affectedly confronted, and staring at each other without meaning. Proper edifices in proper places is the stile which they admire. The summer-houses, the pavilion, the pagoda, have all their respective situations, which *they* distinguish and improve, but which any other structures would injure or deform. The only things disagreeable to my eye are the large porcelain figures of lions, tigers, dragons, &c. and the rough-hewn steps and huge masses of rock-work which they seem studious of introducing near many of their houses and palaces. Considering their general good taste in the other points I was much surprised at this, and could only account for it by the expense and the difficulty of bringing together such incongruities; for it is a common effect of enormous riches to push every thing they can procure to bombast and extravagance, which are the death of taste. In other countries, however, as well as in China, I have seen some of the most boasted seats, either outgrowing

their beauty from a plethora of their owner's wealth, or becoming capricious or hypochondriacal by a quackish application of it. A few fine places even in England might be pointed out that are laboring under these disorders; not to mention some celebrated houses where twisted stair-cases, window-glass cupolas, and embroidered chimney pieces convey nothing to us but the whims and dreams of sickly fancy, without an atom of grandeur, taste, or propriety.

The architecture of the Chinese is of a peculiar stile, totally unlike any other, irreducible to our rules, but perfectly consistent with its own. It has certain principles from which it never deviates; and although, when examined, according to ours, it sins against the ideas we have imbibed of distribution, composition, and proportions, yet, upon the whole, it often produces a most pleasing effect; as we sometimes see a person without a single good feature in his face, have nevertheless a very agreeable countenance.

Navigation.

In my journal of the 11th of August 1793, I gave some account of the junks and shipping employed by the Chinese, and expressed my astonishment at their obstinacy in not imitating the ingenuity and dexterity of Europeans in the built and manœuvre of their vessels, after having had such striking examples before their eyes for these two hundred and fifty years past; but I must now, in a great measure, retract my censures upon this point, as from what I have since observed in the course of my several voyages on the rivers and canals

of China, I confess that I believe the yachts and other craft, usually employed upon them, for the conveyance of passengers and merchandize, and the Chinese boatmen's manner of conducting and managing them, are perfectly well calculated for the purposes intended, and probably superior to any other that we in our vanity might advise them to adopt.

With regard to vessels of a different kind for more distant voyages to Batavia, Manilla, Japan, or Cochin-China, I am informed that the Chinese of Canton, who have had frequent opportunities of seeing our ships there, are by no means insensible of the advantage they possess over their own; and that a principal merchant there, some time since, had ordered a large vessel to be constructed according to an English model; but the *Hou-poo* being apprized of it, not only forced him to relinquish his project, but made him pay a considerable fine for his delinquency, in presuming to depart from the ancient established modes of the empire which, according to his notions, must be wiser and better than those of the barbarous nations which came from Europe to trade there. It is, indeed, as I have before remarked, the prevailing system of the Tartar government to impress the people with an idea of their own sufficiency, and to undervalue in their eyes, as much as possible, the superior invention of foreign nations; but their vigilance, in this respect, and the pains they take for the purpose, evidently betray the conscious fears and jealousy which they entertain of their subjects' taste for novelty, and their sagacity in discovering and wishing to adopt the various articles of European ingenuity for use, convenience, and luxury, in preference to their

own clumsy old-fashioned contrivances. I am assured, for instance, that several smart young Chinese at Canton are in the habit of wearing breeches and stockings *à l'Angloise* in their houses, and when they come abroad cover them over with their usual Chinese accoutrements. No precaution can stand before necessity; whatever they want from us they must have, and every day they will want more; and elude all means of prevention in order to procure them. Cotton, opium, watches, broad cloth, and tin they cannot do without, and I have little doubt that in a short time we shall have almost a monopoly of those supplies to them.

But to return from this digression to the subject of Chinese navigation. It is a very singular circumstance that, though the Chinese appear to be so ignorant of that art, and have neither charts of their coasts or seas to direct them, nor forestaff, quadrant or other instrument for taking the sun's altitude, yet they have for many ages past been acquainted with the use of the mariner's compass; they even pretend that it was known to them before the time of Confucius. Be that as it may, the best writers agree that it was not known to us in Europe till the latter end of the 13th century, after the conquest of China by the Mongul Tartars; but whether communicated by Marco Polo on his return from China, or by some other adventurer, remains undecided.

Whoever it was that originally introduced the mariner's compass as now used of thirty-two points, would appear to have had more practical than scientific knowledge, as long before the discovery of the magnetic needle in Europe, philo-

sophers of all nations had agreed to divide the circle into three hundred and sixty equal parts or degrees. One reason probably of the general adoption and continuance of this number, is the convenience of its being divisible into integral parts by so many different numbers; the points of our mariner's compass, however, happen not to be among these numbers, for 360 divided by 32 give $11\frac{1}{4}$, so that except the four cardinal points and their four bisecting points, all the others, when converted into degrees, are involved with fractions; a circumstance of some inconvenience at first, although now immaterial to seamen, who have tables for every minute of a degree ready calculated to their hands. Considered in this point of view, the Chinese, without any pretensions to science, and without a repeated bisection of 4, 8, 16, and 32, as in the European compass, have fallen upon a more convenient division of the card of their compass than that which we have adopted. Theirs is quartered by the four cardinal points in the same manner as ours, and each of these is subdivided into 6 points, making 24 points in the whole card, so that every point contains 15 degrees, or the 24th part of 360.

Language.

WITHOUT presuming to decide upon the merits or demerits of a language, which I have so little acquaintance with, I shall however set down that little which I have. It appears to me to be an universal character for this part of the world, as the Japanese, the Cochin-Chinese, the people of Pulo Condore, &c. though they could not understand the language of our Chinese interpreters when spoken to them,

yet perfectly comprehended whatever they wrote, in the same manner as all the musicians in Europe, of every different country, understand equally well the musical scale, and read written music, whether Italian, German, English, or of any other school; and as all nations in Europe equally understand the Arabic numerals, and the various signs used by astronomers, mathematicians, chymists, &c. If it be true, to the extent it is said to be, that the Chinese language consists of as great a diversity of characters, as that scarcely any one man is capable of learning them all, it is, no doubt, a very great defect; let us, however, consider, for a moment, how few there are who really understand the meaning of every word that occurs in the lexicon of our own language (the English.) To him who does not, the word not understood is exactly the same, as an unknown or unlearned character in the Chinese language to a Chinese.

From the progression of science, within these two hundred years, I suppose there may be nearly a fourth more words in the English language at present than had been received in Queen Elizabeth's time; and if the range of our knowledge enlarges, the number of words to express our knowledge must be enlarged also. In the actual state of our language, I believe there are very few men not capable of acquiring a thorough acquaintance with every word of it, and each word is certainly a *character*, being only a different combination of letters from any other word, and expressing an idea, just as each Chinese *character* is a different combination of marks or strokes; but each expressing an idea. Now, I imagine it very possible to find several individuals in Europe, particu-

larly in Germany, who are perfect masters of Greek, Latin, English, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and German. Perhaps, the various vocables of these eight languages put together may turn out to be not fewer than all the Chinese characters, which have been so much censured on account of their number and variety. I dare say that Sir William Jones, now one of the judges in Bengal, knows several languages more than I have enumerated, consequently if he had been born a Chinese, and applied himself solely as the Chinese do to the study of the Chinese language, he would have very easily mastered every character and combination which it consists of. The Chinese, by studying their own language only, are likely to know it well, and every Chinese studies it more or less; and as to the great difficulty of learning it, for which we find fault with it, I am persuaded that it is much exaggerated; for I never heard it complained of by the Chinese themselves, and, among them, I observe that every body, even the meanest people, can write it sufficiently for their business, and the common purposes of life.

Sir George Staunton's son, a boy of twelve years old, during our passage from England learned, in a few broken lessons from a very cross master and by his own attention, not only such a *copia verborum* and phraseology as enabled him to make himself understood, and to understand others when he arrived in China; but acquired such a facility in writing the Chinese character, that he copied all our diplomatic papers for the Chinese government (the Chinese writers

being afraid of their hands being known) in so neat and so expeditious a manner as to occasion great astonishment among them. And here, in confirmation of what I have said above, let me observe, that this young gentleman possesses already five languages, English, Latin, Greek, French, and Chinese, a thing scarcely to be paralleled at so early an age.

The Chinese language seems however to have one material defect. It is liable to be equivocal, and appears to depend, in a great measure, upon the tone or pronunciation of the words used by the speakers; for I took notice that in their conversation together they were often subject to mistake one another, and to require frequent explanations. The same word as written having different significations, according as it is spoken with a grave or with an acute accent.

Trade and Commerce.

For near forty years past our knowledge of the commerce of China has been confined to Canton. The Europeans frequenting that port, being chiefly engaged in the mere business of buying and selling on the spot, wanted leisure or curiosity to make inquiries beyond the sphere of their immediate and most interesting concerns; and the Chinese merchants, whether from ignorance or policy, were little qualified or disposed to give them very accurate information. It is however certain that a considerable intercourse, though perhaps less than formerly, is still maintained between China and Japan, the Philippine islands, the isles of Sunda, and

the countries of Corea and Cochin-China. From Canton to *Fen-chou-fou*, at the entrance of the gulph of *Pe-tche-li* (to say nothing of the country within the gulph itself) is an extent of coast of near two thousand miles, indented with innumerable harbours, many of them capable of admitting the largest European ships, and all of them safe and sufficiently deep for the vessels of the country. Every creek or haven has a town or city upon it; the inhabitants, who abound beyond credibility, are mostly of a trafficking mercantile cast, and a great part of them, from their necessary employment in the fishery, which supplies them with a principal article of their subsistence, are accustomed to the sea and to the management of shipping; but, according to the present regulations of the empire, all trade with any of these places is absolutely interdicted to Europeans; and Canton is the only port which they are allowed to frequent. I shall therefore, under the present head, turn my chief attention to the commerce carried on at Canton, and particularly to those branches of it which are most interesting to Great Britain and her dependencies in India.

A few years ago the exports to China on the Company's account in English goods, and on English bottoms, scarcely exceeded one hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, and the private trade might perhaps be as much more. The balance was paid in silver; but, since the commutation act, the exports have been gradually rising, and have not yet, I am persuaded, reached their highest point. There were imported into Canton from England, during the last season (1793), in sixteen Company's ships, to the amount of above

The Commutation Act of 1784, enacted by the British Parliament, reduced the tax on tea from 119% to 12.5%, effectively ending the smuggling trade. William Pitt the Younger, acting on the advice of Richard Twining of the Twinings Tea Company, introduced the Act to increase revenues through legitimate sales of tea by ending 100 years of punitive tea taxes which promoted smuggling.[1]

The Act was created to stimulate trade in China for the British East India Company, which at the time was suffering from mounting debts. Indian opium was exchanged for tea in China which was then shipped to Britain for sale on the domestic market.

The Commutation Act improved trade relations between Britain and one of its primary tea suppliers, China.

2,911,000 taëls, or about 970,333*l.* sterling *, in lead, tin, woollens, together with furs and other articles of private trade. The order for woollens † only in the present year (1794) is above 250,000*l.* higher than that of the former, so that this single article of woollens has grown to be between 700,000*l.* and 800,000*l.* and will probably increase. Thus then our exports from England to China alone will be 1,200,000*l.* at least, or six times as much as they were a dozen years ago.

The value of exports from China to England in eighteen Company's ships this season is above 4,583,326 taëls, or 1,527,775*l.* prime cost ‡, which when sold will certainly produce above 3,000,000*l.* sterling.

As I have endeavored to be very moderate in the above estimate, I have confined myself solely to the trade carried on in the Company's ships, making no allowance for any im-

Taels.		£.	
* 2,335,000	-	778,333	Company's trade
576,000	-	192,000	Private trade
2,911,000 Taels.		£ 970,333	

† The wearing of broad-cloth at court in the emperor's presence has been lately permitted, is now universal during the months of March, April, May, September, October, and November, by all who can afford it in the northern provinces, and is pretty common during the cold months in the southern ones.

Taels.		£.	
‡ 3,969,436	-	1,323,145	Company's trade.
613,890	-	204,630	Private trade.
4,583,326 Taels.		£ 1,527,775	

ports into China by the Ostend interlopers under Genoese, Tuscan, Prussian, and other foreign colors, which are well known to be the actual property of English traders, and probably laden with a considerable proportion of English goods. But without making any allowance, on such account, I have little doubt that, in a few years, our exports to China from England alone will balance the first cost of our imports to England from China.

To the items of our exports from England, which are now chiefly confined to woollens, tin, lead (exclusive of the private trade, the particulars of which I am not well informed about) I shall here give a list of such articles as, from my own observation, I should think, by the proper management of the Hong merchants at Canton, might grow into general demand at Pekin.

Bronze figures.

Agate and blood stone much valued in large pieces—amber.

Green serpentine stone also in high request.

Derbyshire spar for girdle clasps, also cut into various shapes, particularly into small round heads or globes of half an inch to one inch in diameter, to intersperse in the Mandarine's collars of ceremony.

Gill's swords plain, and also handsomely mounted.*

Fowling pieces with good agate flints.

* Arms are not permitted to be brought to China for sale, without particular permission; but from the admiration expressed of ours, I should imagine the Hong merchants could obtain leave for a few to be imported; and as they came to be better known, the prohibition would probably be entirely taken off.

Coarse linen.
Writing paper.
Saddles of the Chinese fashion.
Waistcoats and stockings of fleecy hosiery.
Spring garters.
Vigonia cloth.
Whips with lashes fixed to wooden handles.
Knives, forks, and spoons, one of each in one small case.
Penknives with several blades.
Brushes and combs, scissars, files, and various lesser articles of hardware.
Necklaces and earrings for women.
Plated goods; pocket-books with instruments.
Telescopes, spectacles, prints and pictures.
Nails of all sorts and sizes.
Plate glass, and small looking glasses, convex and concave.

Some of these articles, I doubt not, already make a part of the private trade; but not being possessed of any very correct information upon that subject, I have thought it best to give as extensive a list as I could, of the articles likely to find a sale in the northern part of China, which is as yet in a great degree a *terra incognita* to most of the merchants of Canton.

I imagine that at Birmingham we can manufacture every thing in iron cheaper than the Chinese can do; I should therefore recommend the making a few experiments accord-

ing to the Chinese patterns. A pair of tailor's sheers made at Canton costs ten pence English, which, I suppose, may be afforded in England for half the price. In truth, if we keep our ground, our trade by prudent management may be gradually enlarged to an immense extent. The demand for our tin *, (now that the Chinese understand its quality, and that their prejudices in favor of the Banca tin, which they had been in the habit of preferring, are worn off,) is likely to encrease; at present it is equal to 100,000*l.* sterling *per annum;* and a certain quantity of our lead, not less than twenty to thirty thousand pounds sterling in value, is pretty sure of finding a market at Canton. But there is another article of export to China which, though I observe it is of late almost discontinued, may perhaps be revived; and, if I am not mistaken in my conjectures, may be rendered of considerable importance—I mean copper. Upon this subject I have endeavored to procure the best information in my power, and I shall here insert the result of my inquiries.

White copper or tutanag seems to be composed of red copper, zinc, and a small portion of iron. To prove this the following experiments were made.

* They say our tin does very well in utensils; but they pretend it is not so easily hammered and beat into leaf as the Banca tin. They cannot however distinguish the difference between our leaf tin, and the Banca leaf tin when shown to them. Our tin having the Company's mark upon it, passes all through China without difficulty or examination, which is not the case of the Banca tin, the Chinese having often discovered the latter to be adulterated. Indeed the Company's good faith seems perfectly well established, and our woollens, with the Company's mark, also pass unopened from hand to hand in the way of trade.

Experiment 1st. A quantity of copper ore was divided into two parts, one of these parts being completely roasted was revivified *per se*. The produce was common red copper, which proved that the ore originally contained nothing but red copper.

Experiment 2d. The remaining portion of the ore was next completely roasted and revivified. It was then fused with — parts of zinc and a small portion of vitrolated iron previously calcined. The result was a mass of white copper, or something so like it as scarcely to be distinguished from it.

These experiments prove that white copper may be made from copper ore, with a proper addition of zinc and *ferrum vitriolatum* calcined. Tutanag in China is supposed to be sheer zinc, and of the finest sort; but this cannot be true, for zinc is a semi-metal, which although it be not readily broken with the hammer, yet cannot be much extended under it, whereas the tutanag of China has very different properties, and extends easily under the hammer. The consumption of white copper in China is immense. The price at Canton is seldom lower than one hundred dollars per pecul of 133$\frac{1}{3}$ lbs. or about four shillings per pound. Red copper in ingots was sold in London, in July 1792, at one shilling per pound. Would it not then be much better for us (supposing white copper could be made in England for 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.*) to export it to China, instead of attempting to push the red copper, which is considered as a losing article, and is not likely to be rendered a lucrative one; for the Hong

merchants are obliged by government to sell it at a fixed price, and they pretend that they lose fifty *per cent.* upon every pecul of it which they take from us in the way of trade. That they really do lose by it is very probable; for if there were any profit, however small, they would not think it below their attention. The principal use that English red copper is applied to in China, is the coinage of small money, of which one thousand pieces are equal to a taël, or 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling. The houses are covered with tiles, which are so very cheap, and answer the purpose so well, that our red copper is not likely to be substituted for roofing; neither do I think that its use can be introduced for many other purposes. The small boilers of the Chinese are commonly of earthenware, and their large ones of cast-iron. Great quantities of tutanag are exported from China to India; our country ships sometimes take near 100,000*l.* worth in the season, so that if we can make it in England, a new and profitable article is added to our exports.

I have said nothing of the fur trade to Canton, although I am inclined to imagine that, if it were solely in the Company's hands (and it, in a good measure, depends upon them that it should be so) it might be rendered of very great value. In the present state of it, the Chinese at Canton purchase furs from us, and from other nations frequenting that port, to the amount of more than 200,000*l.* *per annum.*

With regard to toys, jewellery, &c. commonly called *Sing-songs*, paints, dyeing-stuffs, &c. it is better to leave them at

large as objects of speculations for private traders, whose habits of industry and individual activity are better calculated than the magnificent system of a great commercial body for a traffic in such articles.

Having now given a sketch of the direct trade between Great Britain and China, it remains to speak of the commerce of our dependencies in India with China, which commerce is of high concern to us, and merits particular attention and regulation. The amount of the legal trade of 1792, imported to Canton in twenty of our country ships, was 1,608,544 taëls *, to which is to be added the value of 473,000 taëls in cotton brought on the Company's ships from Bombay, making together 2,081,544 taëls, or about 693,848*l.* The illegal and contraband trade of opium consists of two thousand five hundred chests, which, at four hundred dollars per chest, will give 250,000*l.* so that the whole imports from Bengal and Bombay to Canton are not much short of a million sterling, or 943,848*l.* The exports from China in

* The principal articles were as follows:

	Peculs.			Taels.
Cotton - -	112,854	at 11 taels per pecul	-	1,241,394
Tin - -	5,261	at 15 ditto	-	78,915
Pepper - -	5,567	at 15 ditto	-	83,505
Sandal wood -	8,780	at 20 ditto	-	175,600
Elephants' teeth -	330	at 37 ditto	-	12,210
Bees wax - -	564	at 30 ditto	-	16,920
			Taels -	1,608,544
Add cotton -	43,000	at 11 by Company's ships		473,000
			Total value Taels -	2,081,544

the above mentioned twenty country ships cost at Canton 968,632 taëls *, or 322,877 *l.* There appears then a balance of 620,971 *l.* in favor of India in her China trade, and it seems likely to increase, for the cotton of Bombay and the opium of Bengal are now become, in a great measure, necessaries in China, the latter having grown into general demand through all the southern provinces, and the former being preferable to silk for common use, as a cheaper and pleasanter wear. Another reason may be given for the great rising demand for India cotton. As the inhabitants every day seem to increase beyond the usual means of subsistence, I suspect they are obliged to convert many of their cotton plantations into provision grounds.

The profits of the Hong merchants upon their foreign trade must be very great, to enable them to bear the expense of the numerous and magnificent presents, which they make

* The articles were as follows:

	Taels.
Raw silk	352,600
Tutanag	256,046
Sugar	130,490
Sugar-candy	107,490
Allum	37,516
Wrought silk	31,600
China ware	30,000
Camphor	18,750
Nankin cotton cloth	2,750
Quicksilver	1,150
Turmeric	240
Total value Taels	968,632

to the superior Mandarines at Canton, who, in their turn, send a part of these presents to the emperor and his ministers and favorites at Pekin. By what I saw at Gehol and *Yuen-min-yuen*, and by the reports concerning the things I did not see (particularly in the ladies' apartments, and the European palace, which latter is entirely furnished and enriched with articles from Europe) I am led to believe what I have been assured of, that the emperor possesses to the value of two millions sterling at the least in various toys, jewellery, glass, musical automatons, and other figures; instruments of different kinds, microcosms, clocks, watches, &c. &c. all or most of them made in London.

It is generally supposed that the system of administration at Canton has been corrupt and oppressive to a great degree, and it is certain that several of the *Hou-poos* or treasurers, at their return to Pekin, have been called to a strict account. Some have suffered large confiscations and others a severer punishment; but the distance from the metropolis is so great, the temptations so strong, and the chances of impunity so many, that the faithful discharge of such a duty requires more integrity than is usually to be found here united with power and opportunity. Hence arise the peculations and extortions so much complained of, and many of them, I believe, very justly complained of at Canton. There is one which I am qualified particularly to speak upon. In consideration of Captain Mackintosh having accompanied my embassy, and brought the presents to the emperor on board of his ship, he was assured she should be exempted from all

the emperor's duties payable at the port, where she might take in her cargo. Being disappointed of the goods expected at *Chcu-san*, he proceeded on the Hindostan to Canton, and took in there an usual cargo for England; but the privilege that had been promised was not understood by the *Hou-poo* in the same manner that it had been understood by us; for after the accustomed duties for all the ships had been paid by the Hong merchants, of which 30,000 taëls were the Hindostan's proportion, the *Hou-poo* repaid into Mr. Browne's hands only 14,000 dollars instead of the whole 30,000 taëls as was expected, saying that so much was the exact amount of the emperor's duties, but not saying nor explaining what became of the remainder. It is however of some advantage to us to have learned from such an authority what the emperor's real duties are, and may be a step to relieve us from the others, which it is probable are for a great part absolute extortions.

The trade of the Dutch, French, Americans, Danes and Swedes with China is so much declined, and so likely, in a few years, to be almost annihilated, that it is the less necessary for me to dwell upon the subject. The Danes and Swedes have, in a great measure, given it up; and will, I believe, send but few more ships to Canton. Many years must elapse before it can revive in France. The Americans, with all their contrivances and industry, are not likely, as I am well informed, to pursue it with much advantage; and as for the Dutch, the affairs of their company in these parts of the world are in so deplorable a condition, that it is scarcely possible to contemplate them without compassion, or to ap-

proach them without shrinking. They afford an awful lesson for our instruction.

The total imports of all these different nations to Canton in 1792, when summed up together, amount to about 200,000*l.* and their exports from thence to between 600,000*l.* and 700,000*l.* which gives a balance of nearly half a million against them, and what renders it more unfavorable is, that very little of what they bring to China is of their home production.

The trade between China and Russia, which had been long interrupted, is now open again. Mr. Coxe, in his account of it some years since, states it to be much more considerable than I could have imagined. I have not his book with me to refer to; but, as well as I recollect, he computes the value of silks, Nankin cloth, tea, porcelaine, &c. brought over land from China into Russia at several hundred thousand pounds *per annum*. In 1767, when I left St. Petersburgh, it was supposed to be very far short of his estimate, and indeed I do not conceive that either the necessities or faculties of Russia could warrant it even at this day. The returns to China are made chiefly in furs, leather and woollen cloth, the latter mostly German with a small quantity of English superfine. In my road to Gehol, I met several camels laden with these woollens; and so ignorant in matters of trade were many of the Chinese that they believed them to be the manufacture of Tartary, just as several English articles, which I saw at Pekin, were supposed to be the production of Canton.

Among the various novelties and projects which the empress of Russia's fertile fancy has imagined, I am somewhat surprised, that the sending a ship or two to Canton never occurred to her.* The magnificent idea of holding, from such a distance, an intercourse with the two extremities of China, and of showing to that empire that it was accessible to her by sea as well as by land, would seem perfectly congenial with her character, and naturally to arise in so ambitious and adventurous a mind.

Having mentioned under the head "Arts and Sciences," that the Chinese excel in the art of dyeing, it may be proper to observe that nevertheless the China Nankin, which from its cheapness, pleasantness, and color is of such general wear in England, is not dyed as is commonly imagined but is fabricated from a native brown cotton wool, which is chiefly cultivated in the provinces of *Kiang-nan* and *Che-kiang*. I am informed, from good authority, that this kind of cotton grows also in the neighborhood of Manilla in the island of Luconia.

As fifty thousand to sixty thousand bales of cotton of four hundred pounds each, worth from ten to twelve taëls per pecul, are annually imported from India to Canton, which is from three to five taëls less than the price of the

* This project was reserved for the emperor Alexander, but the ill treatment which the commanders of the Russian ships experienced at Canton, together with the swindling conduct of the Chinese, will probably prevent a repetition of the experiment.

native cotton of China, I should think it might be worth while for our gentlemen at Bombay and Surat to procure the brown cotton plant from Manilla, if not from China, and cultivate it in India. The Bombay cotton is chiefly used by the Chinese for making what is called the white Nankin, but which is rather of a cream color than of a clear white.

Perhaps it may not be improper to consider here the effects that might possibly follow from cultivating the brown cotton in India, and sending it to England. East India white cotton wool now (1794) sells for ten pence the pound in London, but suppose it to sell for one shilling a pound, which is about one-third cheaper than the average price of West India cotton, this circumstance then, with the reduction in the cost of labor, by the use of our machinery (never likely to be introduced in China) and the dye saved besides, might enable the people of Manchester to afford their Nankins at so low a rate as in a short time entirely to exclude that article of our present import from Canton.

The Chinese have a method of dyeing their cotton wool in scarlet much superior to any with which we are acquainted. It is said they employ some strong astringent vegetable juice for fixing that color, but from what plants it is extracted we are entirely ignorant. The chief excellence of their colors, in general, which we so much admire, arises from their indefatigable care and pains in washing, purifying and grinding them, for many of them are not the produce of China, but imported from Europe.

Before I conclude this article I cannot avoid adding a word or two, as not entirely foreign to the subject. If the China trade of the Dutch, French, Danes, Swedes, Americans, &c. by which the Chinese have hitherto received a considerable balance, should fall to the ground, and our trade continue to improve, as it now seems to promise, that is to say, that the value of exports and imports between England and China should become nearly equal, and the balance between China and India remain still in favor of the latter, may not the Chinese take alarm at so much silver being sent out of their country in discharge of the balance? Also what is likely to become of that silver, when the country ships shall no longer have the resource of remitting the amount of it as formerly by bills upon Europe through the treasuries at Canton? I have been told that some silver has of late been carried away by the country ships from Canton to India, and that the Hong merchants, considering silver as mere merchandize, did not appear sensible of any disadvantage from such a trade; but any conjectures or questions that might occur to me upon these points have been, I dare say, already anticipated and resolved by the honorable East India Company and their servants at Canton.

NOTE.

THESE Papers, which follow under the title of "First and Second Supplement to the Head Trade and Commerce," are a mere *jeu d'esprit*, which occurred to me, in considering the hardships complained of by Europeans in China. They undoubtedly have suffered many and are liable to suffer more under such a government. Let us not, however, exaggerate. The Chinese are by no means wanting in proper notions of justice, though they may often deviate from it in their practice; but, in order to give them fair play, let us suppose the possible case, which, by way of illustration, I have here drawn up, and let us then say, whether a Chinese might not find as much to be surprized at in London, as an Englishman does at Canton *.

First Supplement to the Head "Trade and Commerce."

THE desire of gain is of such quick growth in a commercial country, and of such an encroaching nature, that all the vigilance and exertion of the magistrate are necessary to regulate and circumscribe it. The arts of eluding discovery and defeating detection are so numerous and ingenious, and the mazes of fraud so intricate, that scarcely any patience or industry can master and unravel them. We find ourselves either totally obstructed in our researches, or we

* The case stated in the First Supplement is by no means an ideal one, but strictly founded in fact. J. B.

are lost in a labyrinth, and sometimes devoured by the monster that inhabits it. He, who is impatient to wallow at home in the mire he may contract abroad, will not be very scrupulous or delicate in his means of acquisition, or in the sty where he can batten. In the rage of avaricious hunger he disregards difficulty and danger. He flies from Bombay to Madras, from Bencoolen to Bengal, from China to Pinang; his only inquiry is where the spoil is to be found, and his only care to possess it. He is not deterred by the dread of punishment, and still less by the consciousness of shame. Protection and countenance are to be found in the effrontery and number of the herd. As an oppressor, he will only have followed illustrious examples, he can quote precedents for most of the crimes he may be guilty of, and if precedents were wanting, state policy and state necessity are sometimes admissible pleas in justification of the most atrocious delinquent.

If the resources of a province have been exhausted by the ravages of war, or the rapacity of receivers, the receiver or his friend supplies the means of reproduction, and lends, at an enormous interest, their own money to the very wretches who have been robbed of it. When the harvest is gathered in, I need not say how small a share of it is left for the unfortunate cultivator. His only consolation, if it be one, is that his superiors are little better treated than himself; and that the creditor deals out an equal measure of hardship to the peasant and the prince, to the ryot and the nabob. When their country is devoured, new regions and other strophades must be sought for, to gorge the harpies.

Paul Plunder, George Grasp, Patrick O'Robbery, and Andrew Mac Murder set their heads together and project a money voyage to another country, where although lending money to the natives, even at legal interest, be against law, and consequently must be doubly criminal if at usury, nevertheless, such is the force of habit and the allurements of lucre, they run the risk and prosecute the adventure. They take bonds from the Chinese bearing 18 *per cent.*; for some little time receive regular payments, and hug themselves for their sagacity in discovering these new Indies of enrichment. However, what every one not absolutely blinded by cupidity might expect soon happened. The borrowers were ruined by this exorbitant rate of interest, and became absolutely incapable to fulfil their engagements. The lenders then cry out in all the fury of disappointed voracity, and loudly reprobate, as a fraud, the insolvency of which they themselves were the authors. As indefatigable as insatiable, they pursue their object without remission, and without any consideration whatsoever before them, but the recovery of their losses; they have the audacity to commit the honor of their sovereign in the infamy of their proceedings, and engage his admiral to send an English man of war to enforce their scandalous demands at Canton.

Notwithstanding the illegality and criminality of their claim, the regency of Canton listened to it with attention, and ordered a considerable part of it to be paid out of the emperor's treasury, reserving to themselves the settlement of

the business with the debtors. The Chinese government, however, acted on this occasion with their usual artifice and policy: As they could recover nothing from debtors who they found had been already stripped, they were resolved not to be entirely the dupes of the claimants, and that the emperor should not pay out of his pocket what he had received no value for. As the right of making such regulations in their own ports as they judge fit cannot be well disputed, although it may be complained of, they, in order to reimburse themselves, laid an additional tax upon the foreign trade to Canton, intending it to fall, as indeed it does, chiefly upon the English, whom they considered as the occasion of the trouble and expense they had been at. So that by this adventure of a few usurers from India, not only the English East India Company, but all the other European companies at Canton, are saddled with a new burden on their commerce, which it may be very difficult, if ever possible, to get free from. But this is not all; these money lenders, instead of being satisfied with having got what they had no right to expect, are vociferous for more, and actually importune the minister to make himself the Shylock of their rapacity, and to exact for them all the penalties and forfeitures of the bond.

How far such an interposition may be advisable would perhaps be better judged of, by a perusal of the case of a Chinese creditor applying for justice against an English debtor, which is stated in the annexed petition to the right honorable president of the India board.

The humble Petition of *Tong-foo* and *Bouble-me-qua*, to the Colao DUNDAS, President of the Eastern Tribunal, &c. &c.

SHEWETH,

THAT your petitioners are the sons and executors of the late *Si-li-boo* and *Pi-ke-me-po*, who were eminent Hong merchants in the city of Canton in the year 1749, and had very extensive dealings in the way of trade with Peter Pancras and Samuel Smithfield, two English merchants, who sometimes resided at Macao and sometimes at Canton; that the said Pancras and Smithfield having occasion, in the course of their business, to borrow the sum of 40,000 taëls or ounces of silver, your petitioners' fathers *Si-li-boo* and *Pi-ke-me-po* did lend to them the said sum, taking their bond for the same at legal interest, which no edict or statute, Chinese or English, as they believe, prohibited them to do, and which they believe was of eminent service to the credit and fortunes of the said Pancras and Smithfield. That some time afterwards the said Pancras and Smithfield absconded to Bengal, where they died, without having discharged their engagements to their creditors. That the said *Si-li-boo* and *Pi-ke-me-po*, whilst living, and your petitioners since their decease, have repeatedly applied to the chief and committee of English supracargoes at Canton for the payment of the said sum, but without any effect; being told for answer, that the representatives and executors of the said Pancras and Smithfield were the persons solely responsible for these debts, and that such debts could only be recovered by due course of law in England. Your petitioners, being entirely

ignorant of the laws of England, and understanding that it would be very expensive, tedious and difficult for them to institute and prosecute to effect a suit at law in that country, and confiding in your known justice and humanity, humbly pray that you will please to order the representatives or executors of the said Peter Pancras and Samuel Smithfield to pay to your petitioners the above recited sum of 40,000 taëls with legal interest for the same from the year 1749 to the present time, without putting them to the trouble and charge of bringing actions, or filing bills in the royal courts of justice at Westminster, especially as they are informed that the proceedings there are not summary as in China, but so dilatory that your petitioners' whole lives might be spent in solicitation and attendance, before the suit were likely to be determined, and consequently they would be deprived of the privilege of being buried in the tombs of their ancestors, and be exposed to the horrors of having their bones desposited in a foreign land. Your petitioners humbly entreat you will take these circumstances into your consideration, and give the relief prayed for, especially, as his most sublime majesty the resplendent emperor *Kien-long*'s liberality and generosity to the English Merchants are notorious to the whole world, insomuch, that not long since, on a complaint being made to him of certain wrongs supposed to be suffered by them from his subjects, he, instead of referring them to the usual and ordinary forms of justice, by which, according to the laws of the empire, all cases of property ought to be decided, did not hesitate to supersede those forms and laws in their favor, and, by his sole fiat, ordered a great sum of money not less than —— taëls to be paid to the agents of Paul Plunder,

George Grasp, Peter O'Robbery, and Andrew Mac Murder, merchants of Calcutta and Madras, claiming the same as due to them, by *Chi-qua*, *Si-qua*, and some other *Qua-quas* of Canton, although such sums were not legally claimable, the said merchants well knowing that their lending money at any rate to Chinese subjects was not only contrary to an edict of the —— year of his majesty, but more particularly contrary to another edict of the —— year of his majesty, which prohibits a higher sum than 12 *per cent.* to be received as interest for money lent, whereas the money lent to *Chi-qua*, *Si-qua*, &c. by the said Paul Plunder, George Grasp, Patrick O'Robbery, and Andrew Mac Murder, was expressly on the condition of its bearing an interest of 18 *per cent.* a degree of usury not fit to be practised by the subjects of one friendly power towards those of another, and which totally ruined the unfortunate *Chi-qua*, *Si-qua*, &c. and all their families, all their property that was left being seized towards the discharge of the debt; and themselves banished into the wilds of Tartary, where they miserably perished.

Such unexampled favor having been shown in this recent instance to the English merchants, by his Imperial Majesty's order, It is humbly hoped your petitioners will meet with a similar attention and relief, and your petitioners will, as in duty bound, for ever pray, &c.

Second Supplement to the Head "Trade and Commerce."

THE hardships suffered by Europeans trading to Canton have been the subject of much complaint, and not without reason in some instances; but in others a few allowances may

be made in favor of the Chinese, considering the vast difference between Asiatic and European manners, and that our customs appear as strange and unaccountable to them as theirs can possibly do to us. They are astonished when they hear of the unguarded intercourse of nations in our part of the world, and can scarcely be made to comprehend the reprocal advantages that are derived from it.

They say to us, why do you visit a country so often, whose laws you dislike and are disposed to disobey? We do not invite you to come among us; but when you do come, we receive you in the manner prescribed by our government, and whilst you behave well, we behave to you accordingly. Respect our hospitality; but do not pretend to regulate or reform it.

Whether a Chinese going to trade in England is likely to meet with better treatment than an Englishman going to trade in China, may be collected from the annexed petition.

I do not recollect that any Englishman ever suffered such hardships in China, as are stated in this paper. The only case in any degree analogous is that of Mr. Flint, who, about thirty-five years ago, went to *Tien-sing* from Canton, without a passport, and in defiance of the laws, in order to make a complaint against an officer of Canton. The tribunal of justice decided the complaint to be groundless, and punished the complainant by imprisonment for three years, and by banishment from the empire at the expiration of that term.

That Mr. Flint had hard measure I have no doubt, and that false witnesses were brought to condemn him, and were indulgently listened to against a stranger is not much to be wondered at, since even in England, many Englishmen have been sentenced to lose their lives upon equally suspicious evidence. The numbers who were hanged upon the testimony of Berry, Egan, Mac Daniel, &c. I am disposed to think, had as much, if not more, reason to complain of the justice of England, than Mr. Flint had of the justice of China. And how far *Du-pe-qua* has reason to be satisfied with us, let his petition explain.

To the Great Colao DUNDAS, *President of the Eastern Tribunal, &c.*

The humble Petition of *Du-pe-qua*, late Merchant and Mariner of Canton, in the Empire of China, but now confined in His Majesty's Prison the King's Bench,

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

THAT your petitioner sailed in the month of January 1775, from the city of Canton in the empire of China, on board the Junk *Kien-long*, of three hundred and fifty tons burden, more or less, belonging to your said petitioner and certain other merchants, and bound to London, in the river Thames, laden with seven hundred peculs of raw silk, two thousand pieces of Nankin cotton cloth, three hundred chests of tea, and twenty-five crates of porcelaine, or earthenware, all the natural produce or manufacture of the empire of China: That the said *Du-pe-qua*, on his arriving at Graves-

end, was boarded by three officers or Mandarines, who forcibly took possession of his junk, and compelled your petitioner to maintain them with the best of his provisions and liquors whilst they stayed; that after some time, two of the said officers or Mandarines went away, and the other remained and took upon him, as well as your petitioner could understand, the direction and command of the ship, and brought her up to London-bridge near the Custom-house; that the same Mandarine repeatedly gave hints to your petitioner, that he expected some reward on account of his trouble, which your petitioner paid to him to a considerable amount, believing the same to be justly and lawfully due to him, and the customary duties of the port.

That your petitioner then was brought to a place called the Long Room, where he gave notice to the chief Mandarine there, that he had come from Canton with a cargo, all the production or manufacture of China, to sell and dispose of in England, in the same manner as English merchants and mariners sell and dispose of their cargoes at Canton, and your petitioner did therefore request a permit to land his goods, he the said *Du-pe-qua* paying the same fees and taxes thereupon, as the other ships coming from Canton are accustomed to pay; to which the said Mandarine replied that your petitioner's request could not be granted, because, in the first place, your petitioner was a Chinese, and therefore ought to pay more fees and taxes than an Englishman, (although Englishmen at Canton pay no more fees and taxes than Chinese do); but even if your petitioner were to consent to pay the said fees and taxes, which he called "aliens' duty,"

the same could not be accepted, nor his goods admitted to an entry, because it was against law and the charter of the East India Company for any person to bring goods from China to England, except the said East India Company, who have an exclusive privilege for that purpose. As your petitioner had already discovered that the Mandarine, who had first boarded your petitioner, had deceived and cheated him, and as he had been also imposed upon by almost every other person, with whom he had any transactions since his arrival in England, he did not believe what the Mandarine of the Long-room said to him, thinking it impossible to be true; because, justice and reason being the same in all civilized countries, he did suppose, that if the Emperor of China admitted all English ships without distinction to trade to Canton, the King of England would not forbid any Chinese ship from trading to London; that therefore your petitioner did proceed, as is the custom of China, to bargain for the sale of his cargo with a person who offered to deal with him for the same. Which person, instead of standing to his agreement, went and informed against your petitioner as if he were a criminal and traitor, having evil designs against the State, upon which he was forcibly seized and dragged to this prison. His ship was also seized, forfeited, and sold with its cargo, and the money paid, he knows not to whom; and your petitioner himself has been prosecuted in the Court of Exchequer, as a rogue and defrauder of the King (although he declares, in the presence of the Tien, he never harbored such intentions), and been condemned to lie in gaol for the remainder of his days in this strange land, without hope of

revisiting his country, or being buried, when he dies, in the family tombs of his ancestors. Your petitioner therefore prays you to take his case into consideration, and give such relief as in your wisdom you shall think fit; for which your petitioner, &c.

CONCLUSION.

Before I set out upon my embassy to China, I perused all the books that had been written about that country, in all the languages I could understand. With every body from whom I had hopes of information I endeavored to converse, and where that could not be done I corresponded with them by letter. Having thus stored up in my mind all the materials within my reach, I shut my books, and as soon as I arrived in the Yellow Sea, I began a different course of study upon the same subject. Instead of reading any longer the accounts of others, I turned to the originals themselves, and lost no opportunity in my power of perusing and considering them.

The intercourse of the Chinese with foreigners is however so regulated and restrained, and the difficulty of obtaining correct information so great, that the foregoing papers must not be received without reserve, nor regarded otherwise than as

merely the result of my own researches and reflections; for I am sensible that, besides being defective in many points, they will be found to differ a good deal from the accounts of former travellers; but I am far from saying that the errors may not be in me, rather than in them. I may have seen neither so well nor so much as they did; but whatever I did see or could learn from good authority, I have made it a point most faithfully to represent and report. The picture may seem harsh, cold, or ill-colored; but the fancy of the painter has intruded nothing into the piece that did not appear to him in the original from which he drew. He meant neither to embellish nor disfigure, but solely to give as just a resemblance as he could.

THE END.

Strahan and Preston,
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