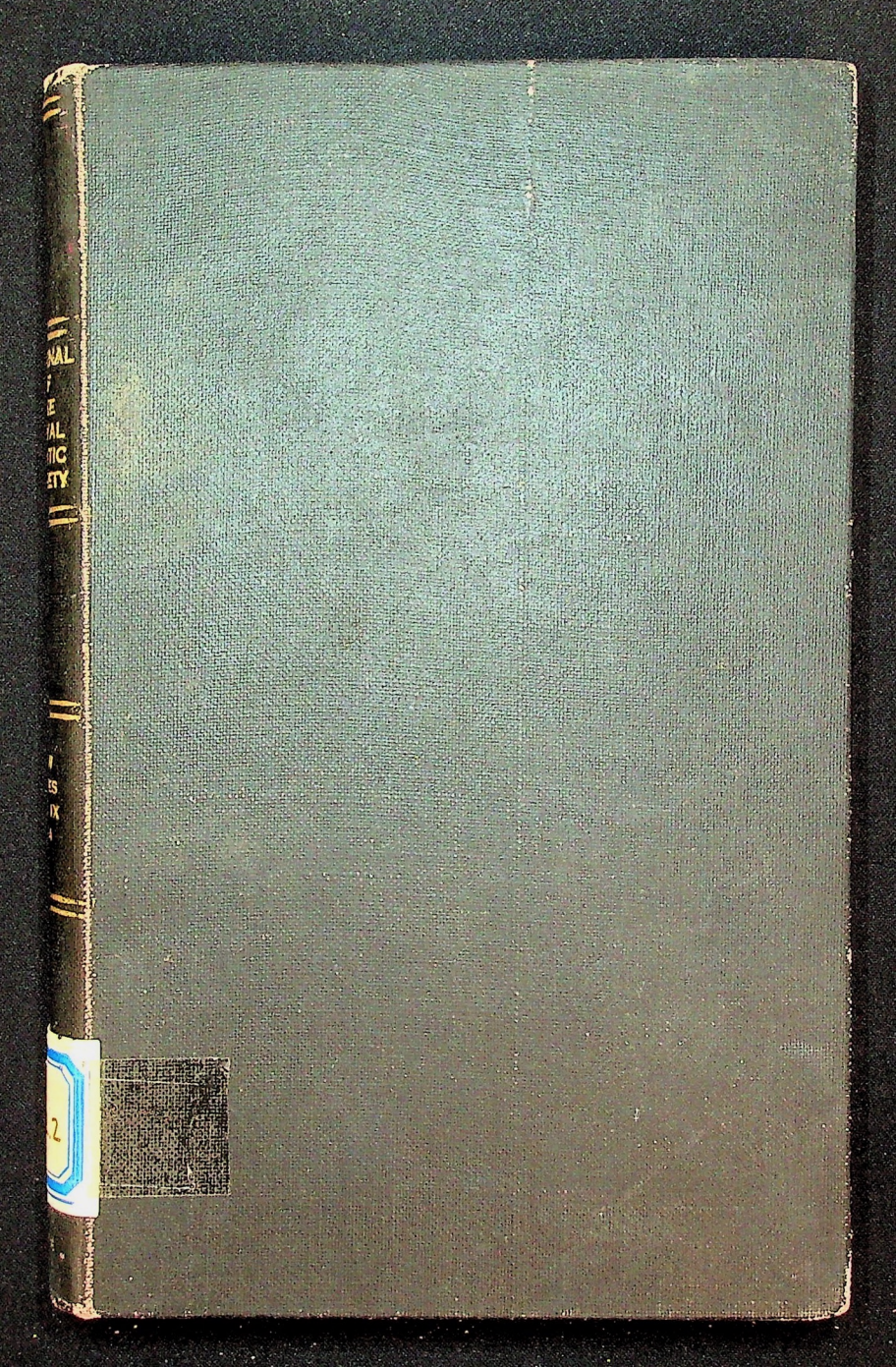

# JOURNAL

OF THE

# NORTH-CHINA BRANCH

OF THE

# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

NEW SERIES, No. IX.

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*In consequence of the difficulty in preparing the diagrams to illustrate the Meteorological Reports, we are sorry to have to delay the publication of the Appendix.*

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

# REPORT

OF THE

# COUNCIL OF THE NORTH-CHINA BRANCH

OF THE

# Royal Asiatic Society

## For the Year 1874.

THE following gentlemen were elected office-bearers for the year:—

F. B. FORBES, Esq., President.
A. WYLIE, Esq., } Vice-Presidents.
G. F. SEWARD, Esq., }
T. G. SMITH, Esq., Secretary.
J. E. REDING, Esq., Corresponding Secretary.
P. K. DUMARESQ, Esq., Treasurer.
H. CORDIER, Esq., Librarian.
W. B. PRYER, Esq., Curator.
Rev. J. THOMAS, }
Dr. D. J. MACGOWAN, }
Sir ED. HORNBY, }
W. H. MEDHURST, Esq., } Members of the Council.
T. W. KINGSMILL, Esq., }
S. A. VIGUIER, Esq., }

Mr. Dumaresq having resigned the position of Treasurer, in consequence of his departure from Shanghai, Mr. Reding consented to act for the remainder of the year.

The revised rules, mentioned in the last report, were finally passed in April, and came into operation forthwith. They are appended to this report.

Fourteen (14) resident and four (4) non-resident members have joined the Society during the year.

Ten (10) members have resigned.

A list of the present members is herewith attached.

During the year six (6) meetings have been held, at which the following papers were read:—

An Address, reviewing the working and scope of the Society since its first establishment in 1857, with suggestions also for the establishment of a Museum,—by F. B. Forbes, Esq.

Notes of a trip in the neighbourhood of the Po-yang Lake, Great Orphan, and College of the White Deer,—by G. Shearer, Esq., M.D.

Legends of the ancient Mazdayaçnian Prophets, and the story of Zoroaster,—by H. D. Camajee, Esq.

The Aborigines of Northern Formosa,—by E. C. Taintor, Esq.

Notes on the Miao-fa-lien-hwa-ching, a Buddhist Sûtra,—by T. Watters, Esq.

Narrative of recent events in Tong-king,—by H. Cordier, Esq.

Notes on Chinese Toxicology, No. 1, Arsenic,—by D. J. Macgowan, Esq., M.D.

The Council is glad to be able to furnish in an Appendix a valuable Meteorological Report, which has been generously placed at the disposal of the Society by Mons. H. Lelec, the astronomer of the observatory at Si-ka-wei, and which he has promised to continue in future years. The Council takes this opportunity of acknowledging the great indebtedness of the Society to M. Lelec for so valuable a contribution to the pages of the Journal.

During the year the nucleus of a Museum has been started under very favourable circumstances. Negotiations are in progress, by which it is hoped to obtain the use of the large upper room of the Shanghai Library for the exhibition of specimens. A full and detailed account will be found in Mr. Pryer's Report herewith attached.

For list of contributions to the Library, see the Librarian's Report attached.

Appended also is the Treasurer's Report, shewing a balance in hand of $419. 92.

## Librarian's Report.

The Library of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society renders, and will render great service to students, chiefly as a repository of works and documents, which illustrate the history—local and general—the sciences, the arts and the customs

of China; and as the means of bringing to the knowledge of residents here the result of the labours of sister societies at home as embodied in their Journals, which are regularly received. We are glad therefore to notice that during the year our collection of periodicals has been increased by the valuable gift of a set of the *North-China Herald*, extending from the commencement of this newspaper in 1850 to the year 1863 (some generous members will perhaps continue it to the present time)—and that Mr. Scheffer, Administrateur de l'ecole spéciale des langues orientales vivantes, in Paris, has presented our Library with a very interesting collection of Chrestomathies and Handbooks. We may add that our relations with France, hitherto limited to the Société de Géographie, are likely to become more important; for the Museum d'Histoire Naturelle and the Société Asiatique have been addressed, through the French Consul-General, with a view of obtaining their publications.

The list of donations appended is pretty large, but we have to repeat as usual every year, that a little money goes very far in the purchase of books; and it is highly desirable that some of the blanks should be filled as soon as possible. The population of Shanghai is daily increasing; daily also the students become more numerous, and they naturally seek for materials and works of reference in the only "special" Library existing here. We hope this appeal may be heard by those who take some interest in the intellectual welfare of Shanghai.

HENRI CORDIER,
*Hon. Librarian N.-C. B. R. A. S.*

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*List of Works presented to the Library of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, during the year* 1874.

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I. *Transactions of Learned Societies.*

BERLIN.

Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin. Herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. W. Koner, Berlin. Dietrich Reimer. 1873, Nos. 43, 44, 45, 46, 47 & 48. By the Society.

Correspondenzblatt der Afrikanischen Gesellschaft. Herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. W. Koner. 1873, Nos 1, 2, 3. By the Society.

Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin. 1873, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 1874, No. 4. By the Society.

Monatsbericht der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Februar/Mai, Juni, Juli, Aug., Sept. & Oct., 1874. By the Society.

BOSTON.

Memoirs of the Boston Society of Natural History, vol. II, Jan. 1871: "Historical Notes on the Earthquakes of New England, 1638-1869; by William T. Brigham," ppt. 4to. By the Society.

Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History, vol. XIII, 1869, pp. 225/368. By the Society.

Smithsonian Institution. Annual Report of the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard College, in Cambridge, together with the Report of the Director for 1871 and 1872. Boston, 2 pts., 8vo. By the Smithsonian Institution.

COLOMBO.

Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1870/71. Edited by the Honorary Secretary. Colombo, 1871, 8vo. By the Society.

EDINBURGH.

Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Session 1870/1 (2 copies), session 1871/2 (2 copies). By the Society.

KÖNIGSBERG.

Schriften der Königlichen Physikalisch-Ökonomischen Gesellschaft zu Königsberg. Königsberg, 22 pts., 4to.—1860 (2 pts.), 1861 (2 pts.), 1862 (2 pts.), 1863 (2 pts.), 1864 (2 pts.), 1865 (2 pts.), 1866 (2 Pts.), 1867 (2 pts. in 1), 1868 (2 pts.), 1869 (2 pts.), 1870 (2 pts.), 1872 (1 pt.). By the Society.

LONDON.

Journal of the Statistical Society of London, (published quarterly), vol. XXXIV, Pt. 4 (Dec. 1871), vol. XXXV, Pts. 1/4 (1872), vol. XXXVI, Pts. 1/2, (Sect. 1, 2), 3 (1873). By the Society.

Proceedings of the Scientific Meetings of the Zoological Society of London, 1871, Pts. 2-3, 1872, Pts. 1-2-3. Index 1861-70. By the Society.

Revised List of the vertebrated animals, now or lately living in the gardens of the Zoological Society of London, 1872, 8vo. By the Society.

Catalogue of the Library of the Zoological Society of London, 1872, 8vo. By the Society.

The Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society. Nos. 109/115 (Feb. 1872-Aug. 1873). List of the Fellows, Nov. 1st, 1872. By the Society.

Proceedings of the Royal Society, vol. XVIII (119/122), XIX (123/129), XX (130/138), XXI (139/145). By the Society.

Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. XLI, 1871, 8vo. By the Society.

Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. XV, No. 5, vol. XVI, Nos. 1/2, 5, vol. XVII, Nos. 1/5. By the Society.

Classified Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Geographical Society to December, 1870. London, John Murray, 1871, 8vo. By the Society.

Journal of the East-India Association, No. 2, 1873, 8vo, No. 2, 1874, 8vo. By the Association.

PARIS.

Bulletin mensuel de la Société d'acclimatation de Paris, 1873, Sept. Oct. Nov. Dec. 1874, Janvier, etc. By the Society.

Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris, 1874. By the Society.

Annuaire de la Société des Etudes Japonaises, Chinoises, Tartares et Indo-Chinoises, fondée à Paris en 1873. Publié par Emile Burnouf et Imamura Waran, Secrétaire, 1873. Paris, Maisonneuve, 8vo. By the Society.

PESTH (BUDA).

A' Magyar Tudós Társaság' Evkönyvei, Budan. II, 1832/4, 1835; III, 1834/6, 1837; IV, 1836/8, 1840; V, 1838/40, 1842; VI, 1840/2, 1845; VII, 1842/44, 1846; VIII, 1845/47, 1860; 7 vols. 4to. By the Society.

A M. T. Akadémia Evkönyvei. 1858 (4 Nos.), 1859 (1), 1860 (5), 1861 (2), 1862 (5), 1863 (5), 1864 (4), 1865 (—), 1866 (2), 1867 (3), 1868 (2), 1869 (4), 1870 (2), 1871 (1), 1872 (5). By the Society.

PHILADELPHIA.

Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, for promoting Useful Knowledge. 83-4-5 (vol. XI, 1870), 87 (vol. XII, July/Dec. 1871), 88 (vol. XII, Jan./June 1872), 89 (vol. XII, July/Dec. 1872).

WASHINGTON.

Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge. Vol. XVII, 1871, 4to. By the Smithsonian Society.

Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. 8vo. 1869: Washington, 1871. By the Smithsonian Society.

YOKOHAMA.

Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, from 30th Oct. 1872, to 9th Oct. 1873. Yokohama, 1874, 8vo. Do., from 22nd Oct. 1873, to 15th July 1874. Yokohama, 1874, 8vo. By the Society.

Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasien's. Herausgegeben von dem Vorstande, No. 3, Sept. 1873, No. 4, Jan. 1874. By the Society.

## II. *Miscellaneous Periodicals.*

Archivio per l'Antropologia et la Etnologia, publicato per Dr. P. Mantegazza e Dr. Felice Finzi. Vol. I, Nos. 1/2, Firenze, 1871, 8vo. By the Editor.

The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal. Vol. V, 1874, 8vo. By the Publisher.

Trübner's American and Oriental Literary Record. 98, 99, 100, 101, 102/3, 1874. By Messrs. Trübner & Co.

Cosmos-Comunicazioni sui progressi più recenti e notevoli della Geografia e delle Scienze affini, di Guido Cora, Torino, 1873, I-V, 1874: I (1 Maggio 1874), II-III (6 Settembre). By the Author.

Revue Bibliographique de Philologie et d'Histoire. Recueil mensuel publié par la Librairie Ernest Leroux. No. I, 15 Mai 1874, Paris, 8vo. By the Publisher.

The North-China Herald. Vols. I-IV, (vol. I No. 1, August 3rd 1850, to vol. IV No. 209, July 29th 1854); Vols. VII-XIV (No. 336, January 3rd, 1857, to No. 700, December 26th, 1863); bound in 7 volumes folio. Shanghai. By H. G. Hollingworth, Esq.

## III. *Miscellaneous Works.*

Feng-Shui: or the Rudiments of Natural Science in China. By Ernest J. Eitel, M.A., Ph. D. of the London Missionary Society. London, Trübner, 1873, 8vo. By the Author.

A Chinese and English Pocket Dictionary. By G. C. Stent...Shanghai, 1874, post 8vo. By the Author.

The Jade Chaplet in twenty-four Beads. A Collection of Songs, Ballads, &c. (from the Chinese). By George Carter Stent...London, Trübner, 1874, 8vo. pp. viii, 166. By the Author.

Appendix to Benj. Anderson's Journey to Musadu, New-York, 1870, ppt. 12mo.

Smithsonian Institution. Second Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners (year 1870). Washington, 8vo., 1871. By the Smithsonian Institution.

Smithsonian Institution. Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the year 1869. Washington, 1870, 8vo. By the Smithsonian Institution.

The Architecture of China, by William Simpson, F.R.G.S. from the Transactions of the Royal Institute of 1873/4, pp. 33-50, ppt. 4to. By the Author.

The Morning of my life in China. Comprising an Outline of the History of Foreign Intercourse from the last year of the Regime of the Honorable East India Company, 1833: to the Imprisonment of the Foreign Community in 1839. By Gideon Nye, Jr., Canton, 1873, sm. 4to. By the Author.

Peking the Goal,—the sole Hope of Peace. Comprising an Inquiry into the Origin of the pretension of Universal Supremacy by China and into the causes of the first war: With incidents of the Imprisonment of the Foreign Community and of the first campaign of Canton, 1841. By Gideon Nye, Jr., Canton, 1873, sm. 4to. By the Author.

Inaugural Address at Concordia Hall, Canton, December 15th, 1873, by Mr. Nye, ppt. 8vo., 7 pages. By the Author.

The Opium Question and the Northern Campaigns. Including Notices of some Strictures by Reviewers of the former; and indications of the salient points of the latter, down to the Treaty of Nanking, with incidents of the hostile protest of the Canton people against the Treaty, etc. etc. By Gideon Nye, Jr. Canton, 1874, ppt. 4to. By the Author.

Geographical Sketch of the Island of Hainau [by E. C. Taintor, 1868] ppt. 4to. By the Author.

The Chinese Reader's Manual. A Handbook of biographical, historical, mythological, and general literary reference. By William Frederick Mayers, Chinese Secretary to H. B. M.'s Legation at Peking... Shanghai: Am. Presb. Miss. Press, 1874, 8vo., pp. xxiv, 440. By the Author.

China. Trade Statistics of the Treaty Ports, for the period 1863-1872. Compiled for the Austro-Hungarian Universal Exhibition, Vienna, 1873: to illustrate the international exchange of Products. Published by order of the Inspector General of Chinese Maritime Customs. Shanghai, printed at the Imp. Maritime Customs' Press, 1873, 4to. (2 copies). By the Inspector General of Ch. Mar. Customs.

China. Port Catalogues of the Chinese Customs' Collection at the Austro-Hungarian Universal Exhibition, Vienna, 1873: to illustrate the international exchange of Products. Published by order of the Inspector General of Chinese Maritime Customs. Shanghai, printed at the Imp. Maritime Customs' Press, 1873, 4to. (2 copies). By the Inspector General of Ch. Mar. Customs.

Illustrations of China and its People. A Series of two hundred photographs, with Letterpress descriptive of the places and people represented. By J. Thomson, F.R.G.S. London, Sampson Low, 1873-74, 4 vols. folio. By the Author.

La Sériculture, le commerce des soies et des graines et l'industrie de la Soie au Japon, par Ernest de Bavier. Lyon et Milan, 1874, imp. 8vo. By the Author.

Cours complémentaire de géographie d'histoire et de législation des états musulmans à l'école spéciale des langues orientales vivantes. Leçon d'ouverture par M. Gustave Dugat. Paris, Maisonneuve, 1873. ppt. 8vo.

Cours complémentaire de Géographie d'histoire et de législation des états de l'extrême orient à l'école spéciale des langues orientales vivantes. Discours d'ouverture prononcé le 15 Janvier, 1873, par M. G. Pauthier. Paris, Leroux, 1873. ppt. 8vo.

Specimen de la Langue Berbère par J. D. D. ppt. folio s.a.n.l.

Extraits de l'histoire des Mongols de Raschid-Eldin.—Texte persan. Paris, Imp. Roy. 1847. 8vo.

Extrait de l'histoire des Mongls de Raschid-Eldin, publié par M. Quatremère. (Texte Persan). Paris, Didot, 1844. ppt. 8vo.

Prolégomènes des Tables Astronomiques d'Olong-Beg, publiés avec notes et variantes, et précédés d'une introduction; par M. L. P. E. A. Sédillot. Paris, Didot, 1847-53, 8vo., 2 vols.

Vie de Djenghiz-khan, par Mirkhond; (texte persan). Paris, Didot, 1841, 8vo.

Ejusdem: Histoire des Sassanides (texte persan). Paris, Didot, 1843, 8vo.

Ejusdem: Histoire des Sultans du Kharezm; texte persan accompagné de notes historiques, géographiques et philologiques. Paris, Didot, 1842, 8vo.

Chrestomathie en Turk oriental contenant plusieurs ouvrages de l'Emir Ali-Schir, des extraits des Mémoires du Sultan Baber, du traité du Miradj, du Tezkiret-el-Avlia et du Bakhtiar-Nameh, publiés, accompagnés d'une traduction française, d'une mémoire sur la vie d'Ali-Schir, et de notes grammaticales, philologiques et autres, par M. Quatremère. 1er Fascicule. Paris, Didot, 1841, 8vo.

Elements de la langue malaise ou malaye, par Alfred Tugault. Paris. Imp. Impériale, 1863, 8vo.

Lettres et Pièces diplomatiques écrites en Malay recueillies et publiées pour servir d'exercices de lecture et de traduction aux élèves de l'école royale et spéciale des langues orientales vivantes. 1er Fascicule. Paris, Didot, 1845, 8vo.

Chrestomathie Hindoustani. (Urdù et Dakori). Paris, Dondey-Dupré, 1847, 8vo.

Chrestomathie Hindie et Hindouie. Paris, Imp. nat. 1849, 8vo.

Rudiments de la langue hindoustanie....par M. Garcin de Tassy—2e ed. Paris, B. Duprat, 1863, 8vo.

La langue et la littérature hindoustanies en 1871. Revue annuelle par M. Garcin de Tassy. Paris, Maisonneuve, 1872, 8vo.

Les Auteurs Hindoustanis et leurs ouvrages d'après les biographies originales. Par M. Garcin de Tassy. Seconde édition. Paris, E. Thorin, 1868, 8vo.

Grammaire javanaise accompagnée de fac-simile et d'exercices de lecture par l'abbé P. Favre. Paris, Imp. impériale, 1866, 8vo.

Dictionaire Javanais-français par l'abbé P. Favre. Vienne, Imp. impériale et royale, 1870, 8vo.

Extraits du Roman d'Antar (texte arabe). Paris, Didot, 1841, 8vo.

De la Philologie comparée et des langues sémitiques. Etude sur un système de formation des racines sémitiques proposé par M. l'abbé Leguest, par le P. A. Dutau de la compagnie de Jesus. Paris, Lecoffre, 1860, 8vo.

Han-tseu thso-yao: Exercices progressifs sur les clefs et les phonétiques de la langue chinoise, suivis de phrases familières et de dialogues. Texte authographié. Paris, Duprat, 1845, 8vo.

Ji-tch'ang-k'eou-t'eou-hoa. Dialogues chinois à l'usage de l'école spéciale des langues orientales vivantes publiés avec une traduction et une vocabulaire chinois-français de tous les mots. Par M. Stanislas Julien. 1ère partie: Texte chinois. Paris, Duprat, 1863, 8vo.

San-tseu-king. Trium litterarum Liber à Wang-Pe-heou sub finem XIII saeculi compositus; sinicum textum adjecta 214 clavium tabula; edidit et in latinum vertit Stanislaus Julien. Parisiis, B. Duprat, 1864, in 8vo.

Thsien-tseu-wen. Le Livre des mille mots, le plus ancien livre élémentaire des chinois, publié en chinois avec une double traduction et des notes par Stanislas Julien. Paris, B. Duprat, 1864, 8vo.

De l'Industrie des Chinois au point de vue du commerce européen, par Charles de Labarthe. Paris, Maisonneuve, 1870, ppt. 8vo. By M. Scheffer, Administrateur de l'Ecole spéciale des Langues orientales vivantes (Paris).

Reports on Trade at the Treaty Ports in China for the years 1871-2. Published by order of the Inspector General of Customs. Shanghai, 1874, 4to. (2 copies). By the Inspector General of Customs.

HENRI CORDIER,
*Hon. Librarian N.-C. B. R. A. S.*

SHANGHAI, *January 1st*, 1875.

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SHANGHAI, *December 26th*, 1873.

*To the* MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL
OF THE NORTH-CHINA BRANCH OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Gentlemen,

In the revised rules of the Society—the draft of which was circulated at the last Meeting among the Members, the objects of this Institution are set forth as follows:—The investigation of subjects connected with China and the neighbouring countries;—the publication of papers in a Journal;—and the formation of a Library and Museum. The Asiatic Society was instituted to serve as a medium for the diffusion of the knowledge of Chinese sciences, arts, literature, history, manners and customs among foreigners, and certainly this object is partly fulfilled by the above programme. By having access to a Library the investigator will be able to carry out his research; the specimens exhibted in a Museum while they will afford to the man of science proofs of what he had only read in books, will furnish the mere observer with exact notions of things, of which he had formed a vague idea from desultory readings. The papers of the Journal appeal as a rule to the highest class of men engaged in the study of Chinese lore; they are supposed never to have been published before; many of them open new fields of research; and consequently they can be of real use only to the more advanced student. The purpose of this letter is to ask the Committee to complete the task entrusted

to the Asiatic Society, by rendering their teaching popular,—and by popular I mean elementary. How many people have lived ten or twelve years in China, who have no clearer notion of what the Middle kingdom really is than the most sedentary of Europeans. How many are ignorant of the name of the dynasty now reigning over so many millions of human beings; nay, how many are not even aware of the very name of the province they are living in! I know that by referring to the books published on the subject, people desirous of gaining knowledge will easily find the information required; I know that the works published on China are legion; but few men have time to read them thoroughly; fewer still are those who care to consult bulky compilations to obtain the little information they wish. I would therefore venture to suggest that under the auspices of the Society might be published, a series of tracts on subjects connected with China; one might treat of the government, another of music, a third of the geography of a province, and so on; no more than eight or ten pages should be written for each tract. The necessity of such works is felt so much at home, that we see societies created for the sole purpose of issuing tracts to further the interest of some cause. Three Members of the Council might form the Committee having charge of deciding on the works worth publishing; only facts should be brought forward; all wild theories,—and they are plentiful here,—should be carefully discarded. Authors will not be lacking in Shanghai. Some years ago it was almost decided to reprint the *Chinese Repository;* this serial is obsolete, much of its contents is valueless; its reprint would be costly and its use not very great; a series of cheap tracts might embody some of the most interesting and useful extracts on Government, Religion, etc.

I beg the Council to excuse me for trespassing thus much on their attention. A more authoritative voice than mine would have given more chance of success to the proposal. I have taken the liberty of bringing it forward, feeling convinced that popularity is the great requisite of the Asiatic Society, and that the publication of cheap and useful tracts would tend to give it a greater share of public patronage than it has hitherto enjoyed.

I remain, Gentlemen,
Your obedient Servant,

HENRI CORDIER,
*Hon. Librarian N.-C. B. R. A. S.*

# Curator's Report.

The idea of a Museum in Shanghai, though entertained on several occasions, could never be matured into any practical scheme owing to two reasons, viz.:—the want of proper accommodation, and the high salary which a skilled and professional curator would require. The Asiatic Society, however, having found a permanent home in its present building, thanks to the generosity of H. B. M.'s Government which presented the site; and to the subscriptions of the Shanghai community which furnished the necessary funds,—the first of these objections was removed.

In the early part of the year, the celebrated naturalist Père David, being reluctantly compelled by failing health to give up his researches in China, passed through Shanghai on his way back to France; he had with him a native assistant named Wong, a skilled Taxidermist and a careful painstaking man, who had been working under his personal supervision for some years. It was at once seen, that if this man could be engaged, he would not probably want such a salary as would be too great a strain on the Society's resources, and by securing him the second difficulty would in consequence be met. He was accordingly communicated with.

At the meeting of the Society on February 13th, 1874, the matter was brought forward by Mr. Michie, who proposed "That "the Council be recommended to take immediate steps to organize "a Museum and to make arrangements with the Trustees of the "Recreation Fund for a loan of one thousand five hundred Taels." This was seconded by Mr. Wylie and carried.

The next movement was a semi-private meeting of sundry gentlemen at the Asiatic Society's room on March 24th, whereat the following resolution was passed,—"That Messrs. Michie, Groom, "Fitzgerald and Pryer, be appointed a committee to communicate "with the Council of the Asiatic Society, with a view to the es- "tablishment of a Museum; and that they be requested to take "steps to engage the services of the Chinese curator, now with "Père David; and to take such other steps as may be practicable "to carry out the resolutions passed at the Annual Meeting of the "Royal Asiatic Society."

This Committee, accordingly, waited on the Council at their meeting the following day; and after some discussion, a motion was carried that the services of the aforenamed gentlemen should be accepted by the Council, and they were empowered to proceed with the Museum scheme.

The Committee, therefore, at once engaged the man Wong, and set about making collections for the Museum. They also applied for leave to add to their number, which was granted, and the following is their present body, with the departments the several gentlemen have undertaken to look after.

Messrs. Medhurst, and Stronach,—*Botany.*
Mr. Kingsmill,—*Geology and Conchology.*
Mr. Keswick,—*Reptiles and Animals.*
Mr. Pryer,—*Lepidoptera.*
Mr. Wylie,—*Archæology and Numismatics.*
Mr. Quekett,—*Icthyology.*
Messrs. Cordier, and Forbes,—*Ethnology.*
Messrs. Hawtrey, and FitzGerald,—*Birds.*
Mr. Taintor, and Dr. Gottburg,—*Industry and Products.*
Dr. Henderson,—*Microscopy.*
Père Aymeri.

Little progress was made for some time; Mr. Wong set up a collection of skins, comprising about all the ducks obtainable in the Shanghai district, presented by Mr. Michie; but during the summer he had very little to do, and it was not till November that specimens began to come in in any number; since then, however, he has had his hands full all the time. The specimens have been chiefly birds, but several animals have also been set up.

The district round Shanghai is a very poor one for making collections in nearly every branch of Natural History. The flat stretches of paddy and cotton fields, the absence of all hedges, and the "bald" character of the country generally, give very poor results to the botanist. The little variation in the vegetation is the reason for a similar want of variety in the insect tribes; and the absence of wild and uncultivated spaces of ground, and the sameness of what small cover there is, causes the restriction to a very few species of what animals there are to be found in the neighbourhood. These causes together act upon the tribes of birds, though to a less extent, owing to their means of rapid locomotion. The alluvial nature of the soil is against the geologist; and the

river water is fresh and muddy for a great distance outside the mouth of the Yangtse, so that the icthyologist is at great disadvantage. In Icthyology, however, and to those interested in reptiles, there is still a large and partly undeveloped field of research.

If Shanghai itself is thus poor in opportunities to the naturalist, considerable compensation is found in the fact that within two days' and nights' journey, a region is reached where the country is utterly wild, almost less explored by the scientific observer than any other part of the globe, and where,—not demanding an organized expedition,—a rich harvest remains to be reaped in almost every branch of Natural History. It is from this district that I expect to see the majority of our Zoological additions for the next year or two.

As contributions come in from other parts, this speciality in locality will grow fainter, until in a few more years the Museum assumes its proper place, and the one it is our wish to see it occupy, of the Museum for China generally.

Keeping exact correctness, as one of the things most to be desired to this end, few of the specimens in the Museum have yet been ticketed with their names. It is so extremely difficult for even the most practised observer to be exactly correct in naming any creature from descriptions or without comparison with standard specimens before him, that rather than run any risk of making a mistake, duplicates of nearly all our specimens are being set aside for transmission to England, there to be inspected and named by the highest authorities in their various branches, the same specimens will be sent back here, and not until then will names be affixed to any but the most well known species. As they will all be most carefully labelled before leaving here, in the extremely probable case of any new species turning up amongst them, the collector of each new one will obtain the necessary credit for it.

The list of contributors is too long to be given here, comprising as it does most of the residents of Shanghai and a great many at the outports, Chinkiang and Ningpo particularly; special thanks are due to many gentlemen for their exertions in procuring specimens for us, all through the winter. The result is that we have a collection of birds set up and on view numbering 256 specimens, 115 species;—of animals 36 specimens, 24 species;—of reptiles 14 specimens, 9 species. There are a great many shells, &c., which remain to be dealt with; and collections of plants and of fish are being rapidly proceeded with. There are also some objects in

connexion with the arts and products of the country, in the hands of the members of the committee of those departments. All this together, may be regarded with some satisfaction, being as it is, the result of the labours of the last five months only.

W. B. PRYER,
*Hon. Curator.*

# BALANCE SHEET OF THE
# North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

*Dr.* **FOR THE YEAR 1874.** *Cr.*

| 1874 | RECEIPTS. | $ | cts. | 1874 | DISBURSEMENTS. | $ | cts. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | To Cash received from P. K. Dumaresq, Esq., Tls. 249.26= | 342 | 87 | | By Coals and Lighting | 29 | 78 |
| | „ Subscriptions collected during the year | 604 | 32 | | „ Advertising | 49 | 67 |
| | „ Proceeds of the sale of the Journal | 38 | 93 | | „ Postages | 8 | 66 |
| | | | | | „ Municipal Tax | 13 | 41 |
| | | | | | „ Coolies' Wages | 15 | 00 |
| | | | | | „ Printing Journal for 1873 | 320 | 60 |
| | | | | | „ Insurance | 40 | 54 |
| | | | | | „ Repairs and Sundries | 15 | 20 |
| | | | | | „ Mr. Chalmers' account Tls. 55= | 73 | 34 |
| | | | | | „ Balance, viz: In hands the Treasurer $ 25.01 | | |
| | | | | | In H'kong & S'hai Bank 394.91 | | |
| | | | | | | 419 | 92 |
| | | $ 986 | 12 | | | $ 986 | 12 |

To Balance .....$419.92

*E. & O. E.*

SHANGHAI, *December* 31*st*, 1874.

J. E. REDING,
*Hon. Treasurer.*

# BALANCE SHEET OF THE

# Museum Fund of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

*Dr.* *Cr.*

| 1874 | | | Tls. | cts. | 1874 | | | Tls. | cts. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aug. | 5 | To Cash received from the Trustees of the Recreation Fund ..... | 200 | 00 | Aug. | 8 | By Cash paid according to account rendered by W. B. Pryer, Esq..... | 154 | 44 |
| | | | | | | | „ Balance in Hongkong & Shanghai Bank | 45 | 56 |
| | | Tls. | 200 | 00 | | | Tls. | 200 | 00 |

1875—Jan. 1. To Balance in Hongkong & Shanghai Bank...Tls. 45.56

*E. & O. E.*

SHANGHAI, *December* 31*st*, 1874.

J. E. READING,
*Hon. Treasurer.*

# RULES

OF THE

# NORTH-CHINA BRANCH

OF THE

# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

## I.—Name and Objects.

1. The Name of the Society shall be "THE NORTH-CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY."
2. The Objects of the Society shall be—
   *a.* The investigation of subjects connected with China and the neighbouring countries.
   *b.* The publication of papers in a Journal.
   *c.* The formation of a Library and Museum.

## II.—Membership.

3. Members shall be classed as Resident, Non-resident, Honorary and Corresponding.
4. Resident Members shall pay an annual subscription of $10; except missionaries in China, who on being proposed, seconded and duly ballotted for, shall be admissible to membership free of annual subscription,—but shall not be entitled to copies of the publications of the Society.
5. Non-resident Members shall pay an annual subscription of $5.
6. Honorary and Corresponding Members shall pay no subscription.
7. Resident Members, on leaving Shanghai, may have their names transferred by the Secretary to the list of Non-resident Members.

8. On or about the 30th of June of every year, the Treasurer shall prepare a list of those Members whose subscriptions for the preceding year remain unpaid, and such persons shall be deemed to have resigned their Membership. The operation of this rule, however, in any particular case, may be suspended by a vote of the Council of the Society.

9. Candidates for Resident or Non-resident Membership shall apply in writing to the Secretary, and if approved of by the Council shall be recommended by them to the Society at a general meeting. This recommendation must be confirmed by vote or ballot at the general meeting next ensuing, when the Candidate shall be deemed duly elected.

10. Honorary and Corresponding Members must be proposed by the Council at a general meeting of the Society and ballotted for at the general meeting next ensuing.

## III.—Officers.

11. The Officers of the Society shall be—
A President,
A Senior and Junior Vice-President,
Not less than Four nor more than Six Councillors,
A Secretary,
A Treasurer,
An Honorary Librarian, and
An Honorary Curator,
to be chosen at the first general meeting in each year.

12. Vacancies in the above offices shall be filled for the current year by a vote of the remaining Officers, but in case of death or absence of the President, his functions shall be discharged by the Senior Vice-President until the next annual meeting.

## IV.—Council.

13. The Council of the Society shall be composed of the Officers for the current year, and its duties shall be—

*a*. To administer the affairs, property and trusts of the Society.

*b*. To recommend members for election by the Society.

*c*. To decide on the eligibility of papers to be read before general meetings.

*d.* To select papers for publication in the Journal, and to supervise the printing and distribution of the said Journal.

*e.* To select and purchase books, specimens, etc. for the Library and Museum.

*f.* To accept or decline donations on behalf of the Society.

*g.* To present to the Annual Meeting at the expiration of their term of office a Report of the proceedings and condition of the Society.

14. The Council shall meet for the transaction of business once a month, or oftener if necessary. At Council meetings five Officers shall constitute a quorum.

15. The Council shall have authority to make and enforce such bye-laws and regulations for the proper conduct of the Society's affairs as may from time to time be expedient, subject to confirmation by a general meeting.

16. The Secretary shall have power to sanction the expenditure of the Society's funds to the amount of twenty-five taels, reporting the same to the Council meeting next ensuing, but no larger sum shall be disbursed by the Treasurer without the sanction of a vote of the Council.

## V.—Meetings.

17. The Annual Meeting shall be held in January of each year.

18. General Meetings shall be held, when practicable, once in every month, and oftener if expedient, at such hour as the Council may appoint.

19. At Meetings of the Society eleven members shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

20. At the Annual Meeting the Council shall present a Report for the preceding year, and the Treasurer shall render an account of the financial condition of the Society. Officers for the current year shall also be chosen.

21. The work of Ordinary General Meetings shall be the transaction of routine business (where a quorum is present), the reading of papers approved by the Council, and conversation on topics connected with the general objects of the Society.

22. Whenever practicable, notice of the subjects intended to be introduced for discussion by any member of the Society should be handed in to the Secretary before the Meeting.

23. Visitors may be admitted to the Meetings of the Society, but no one unless a member shall be allowed to address the Meeting except by invitation or permission of the Chairman.

24. At all Meetings, the President, or in his absence the Senior Officer of the Council present, shall take the Chair, and in case of an equality of votes shall be entitled to a casting vote in addition to his own.

## VI.—Publications of the Society.

25. A Journal shall be published, when practicable, every year under the supervision of the Council. It shall comprise a selection of the papers read before the Society, the Report of the Council and Treasurer, and such other original matter as the Council may deem it expedient to publish.

26. Every member of the Society shall be entitled to one copy of the Journal, deliverable at the place of publication. The Council shall have power to present copies to other Societies and to distinguished individuals, and remaining copies shall be sold at such prices as the Council shall from time to time direct.

27. Twenty copies of each paper published in the Journal shall be placed at the disposal of the Author.

28. The Council shall have power to sanction the publication, in a separate form, of papers or documents laid before the Society, if in their opinion practicable and expedient.

## VII.—Popular Lectures.

29. Occasional Popular Lectures upon literary or scientific subjects may be delivered, under the sanction of the Council, on evenings other than those appointed for general meetings of the Society. On such occasions the Senior member of the Council present shall take the Chair.

## VIII.—Amendments.

30. Amendments to these rules must be proposed in writing to the Council, who shall, after notice given, lay them before a general meeting of the Society. A committee of resident members shall thereupon be appointed, in conjunction with the Council, to report on the proposed Amendments to the general meeting next ensuing, when a decision may be taken.

# LIST OF MEMBERS.

## HONORARY.

Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B.
Sir Brooke Robertson, K.C.B.
Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Shadwell, K.C.B.
T. F. Wade, C.B.
W. H. Medhurst.
Rev. J. Legge, D.D., LL.D.
A. F. Marques Pereira.
J. R. C. do Amaral.
Sir Harry S. Parkes, K.C.B.
S. Wells Williams, LL.D.
Geo. F. Seward.
Alex. Wylie.
Col. H. Yule, C.B.

## CORRESPONDING.

Rev. J. Edkins, B.A.
W. Lockhart, F.R.C.S.E.
D. J. Macgowan, M.D.
Captain Wild.
M. N. Rondot.
J. L. C. Pompe van Meerdervort, M.D.
R. Swinhoe, F.G.S., F.Z.S.
Monseigneur de la Place.
Rev. W. Muirhead.
Rev. A. Williamson, LL.D.
Rev. Griffith John.
Rev. G. E. Moule.
Rev. Canon McClatchie, M.A.
Rev. Josiah Cox.
Rev. W. A. P. Martin, D.D., LL.D.
Rev. A. P. Happer, D.D.
Rudolph Lindau.
Raphael Pumpelly.
Dr. Bastian.
L'Abbé Mermet de Cachon.
H. F. Hance, PH.D.
Rev. J. Schereschewski, D.D.
D. Hanbury, F.R.S.
J. C. Hepburn, M.D.
Rev. S. R. Brown, D.D.
Lieut. M. C. Sampaio.
D. B. McCartee, A.M., M.D.
Lieut. F. da Silveira.
Lieut.-Col. Gordon.
John Fryer.
Rev. E. W. Syle.
C. W. Goodwin, M.A.
W. F. Mayers, F.R.G.S.
J. Barr Robertson.

## RESIDENT.

J. P. Tate.
R. I. Fearon.
J. Johnston, M.D.
T. W. Kingsmill.
W. S. Wetmore.
F. A. Groom.
C. J. King.
H. P. Hanssen.
P. V. Grant.
Rev. Canon Butcher, B.A.
W. Saunders.
J. Battison.
E. Milsom.
E. J. Hogg.
W. B. Pryer.
E. Holdsworth.
J. P. Bisset.
O. B. Bradford.
J. A. Hawes.
E. A. Reynolds.
A. da Silveira.
D. M. Zachariæ, M.D.
H. Evans.
H. Milne.
A. J. Little.
F. B. Johnson.
J. G. Purdon.
T. W. Eckfeldt.
K. Himly.
Rev. J. Thomas.
Jacob Sassoon.
Charles Sassoon.
J. E. Reding.
J. Haas.
F. Youd.
C. A. Rees.
C. E. Endicott.
David Reid.
J. H. Blair.
D. M. Henderson.
W. Gottburg, M.D.
G. H. Wheeler.
C. Deighton Braysher.
R. Schlik.
T. G. Smith.
H. Cordier.
G. C. Stent.
W. C. Janssen.
Rev. Carl Kreyer.
H. Maignan.
A. Paterson.
S. A. Viguier.
W. P. Groeneveldt.
H. D. Camajee
J. M. Brown.
A. S. Triggs.
E. C. Taintor, A.M., F.R.G.S.
N. J. Hannen.
A. A. Krauss.
G. B. Glover.
G. M. Hart.
M. O. Fitzgerald.
Rev. G. D. B. Miller.
W. A. Turnbull.
E. P. Hague.
A. Goëtz.
J. L. Mateer.
D. B. Tata.
W. Chrystall.
E. Hamilton.
W. V. Drummond.

## NON-RESIDENT.

H. Hobson.
R. Hart.
T. Sampson.
P. J. Hughes.
T. Adkins.
A. W. Corner.
E. Cunningham.
H. Æ. Sidford.
P. Giquel.
H. O. Brown.
W. H. Fittock.
J. Mongan.
Rev. J. Innocent.
C. Thorne.
J. A. Man.
F. Kleinwächter.
G. Deschamps.
Augustine Heard, Jr.
S. W. Bushell, M.D.
The Hon. Cecil C. Smith.
Alfred Lister.
James Russell.
Gen. C. W. Legendre.
W. P. Mangum.
John Middleton.
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G. Jamieson.
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T. Watters.
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W. P. Jones.
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H. P. McClatchie.
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Jas. Gilfillan.
H. H. Warden.
T. Dick.
W. Kaye.
H. Beveridge.
Ney Elias.
P. E. Galle, M.D.
W. Remé.
W. Murray.
J. Crawford.
Rev. G. S. Owen.
J. M. Canny.
C. Alabaster.
G. B. Dixwell.
T. B. Rennell.
F. W. White.
E. T. Holwill.
C. C. Stuhlmann.
Herbert Allen.
J. Dodd.
T. T. Fergusson.
J. P. Munro Fraser.
G. Shearer, M.D.
Byron Brenan.
A. Lumsden.
E. H. Grimani.
G. Thin, M.D.

R. W. Little.
P. K. Dumaresq.
T. Hanbury.
H. de Courcy Forbes.
E. Röhl.
A. Howell.
F. P. Knight.
Brigade-Major Walker.
C. Arendt.
J. R. Carmichael, M.D.
A. W. G. Rusden.
Geo. Barton.
Albert Fauvel.

# INTRODUCTION.

## PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

DELIVERED, FEBRUARY 18TH, 1874.

THE annual meeting which completes the first decade of the Society since its reorganization, seems an occasion of which I may properly take advantage to address you a few practical, perhaps commonplace, remarks on the work and aims of our Association. You have honored me during the past year with a position, where I stand as the successor of men to whose special qualifications I can lay no claim, and it is only in this humble way that I can even attempt to justify your choice.

The report now in your hands shows that the general condition of the Society is flourishing;—that is, we are free from debt, with an income sufficient for our ordinary expenses. As regards our future, a gentleman who, under the name of "Old Mortality," has written our history in a local paper, believes that our success depends on the "almighty dollar." One of his critics has rejoined, that what we need is not money but *life*. We may say that both are right, in the sense that we need more members. To be really prosperous we must not only increase our income, but we must enlist the active interest and sympathy of a wider circle than now attends our meetings or reads our Journals. The public is too apt to look upon us as an assemblage of dryasdusts and crochet-mongers, held together by the necessity of mutual admiration. This idea ought to be dispelled, and I do not know of a better way than to present a review of our Transactions, which will show that the Society has definite, practical aims; and that, according to its means, it has already done a large amount of useful work.

On the 16th of October, 1857, the late Dr. Bridgman delivered the Inaugural address to the "Shanghai Literary and Scientific Society," as we were first called. Excluding 1861, 1862 and 1863, during which, from various causes no meetings were held, the Society has had therefore an active existence of thirteen years. The Librarian's classified list of the twelve volumes of Transactions published during that time will, I think, surprise most persons, by the wide range of the subjects which have been discussed, and by the number of eminent names among our contributors. I propose, with your permission, to glance rapidly at the more noticeable articles which have appeared.

The papers on the Geography of China are naturally the most numerous, and in the front rank may be placed Mr. Ney Elias' Report on the new mouth of the Yellow River. It should not be forgotten that it was under the auspices of our Society that Messrs. Elias and Hollingworth made the survey of the lower Hwang-ho, which settled one of the geographical and commercial questions of the day. Mr. Edkins published in an early number a discussion of the historical evidence that the Yangtse River once flowed to the sea through three channels, the largest and most southern proceeding into Hangchow Bay, the middle branch entering the sea near Kwen-shan, and the northern corresponding generally with the present channel. On the subject of the Yangtse, Captain Ward, R.N., also contributed to our Journal the first sailing directions which were published for the voyage between Woosung and Hankow. There are itineraries of journeys from Canton overland to Hankow, by Dr. Dickson and Prof. Bickmore; from Peking to Shanghai by Dr. Martin; from Petersburg to Peking by Mr. Wylie; and by the same indefatigable traveller, voluminous notes of his wanderings in Hupeh, Szechuen and Shensi. Dr. Williamson's three papers on the northern provinces of China; and indeed the others already mentioned, contain not only accounts of the places visited, but much concerning the history and condition of the people. Mr. Edkins has described the city of Confucius; and the late Mr. Markham the city of Mencius. Hangchow has recently been explored by Mr. Moule, with reference to Marco Polo's famous account of old Khin-sai, and those present at our last meeting will remember the interest that attached to Mr. Moule's researches.

On Formosa, there are three papers by Mr. Swinhoe; and most of the information yet available regarding Hainan, is probably contained in the articles on that island by Messrs. Swinhoe and Mayers.

There are two sketches of the Miautze, by Drs. Bridgman and Macgowan; but the history of these aboriginal tribes deserves a more thorough study than has yet been given it. Possibly among them may be found a clue to some of the ethnological riddles which continue to puzzle the learned of the West.

The magnificent ruins of Cambodia have been described to us by Dr. Bastian and Mr. Thompson; and the former traveller illustrated his paper by rubbings and drawings which are now in our archives.

In the infancy of the Society, the opening of Japan lent a great interest to everything connected with that empire, and our earlier Journals contained much that was new and valuable on Japanese subjects.

In the department of History and Antiquities, I may allude first to a series of chronological tables by Mr. Mayers, presenting in a convenient form a view of the successive Chinese dynasties and rulers. In the paper read last year by Mr. Schmidt on the early history of Shanghai, there are many details of local interest. Mr. Edkins has contributed a biographical sketch of Confucius and of his celebrated opponent Meh Tsï. The latter found the secret of political and social stability, in the doctrine of equal and universal love; but Mr. Edkins points out how Meh Tsï differed from the Founder of Christianity in applying the principle. To the same series of biographies belongs Mr. Watters' sketch of Han Yü, a champion of Confucianism who lived in the ninth century of our era.

Coming down to our own times, we have two papers by Dr. Wells Williams, giving reminiscences of "old Canton," and an account of the American Mission to Peking in 1859. I must also mention the series of annual retrospects of events which form a continuous, though condensed, record of the foreign history of China for the past sixteen years.

The Numismatist will find much of interest in the illustrated catalogue of coins of the Ta-tsing dynasty, which Mr. Wylie has compiled and annotated.

Perhaps time-honored notions were never more rudely shaken than by Mr. Mayers' now celebrated article on "Gunpowder and Fire-arms among the Chinese," which appeared in our Journal for 1869. Briefly stated, the results of Mr. Mayers' researches are,—that gunpowder probably became known to the Chinese *from foreign sources*, during the sixth century of our era,—and that there

is no evidence, previous to the fifteenth century, that the Chinese were aware of the value of Gunpowder as a propulsive agent.

Several Chinese inscriptions have been translated and discussed. The most interesting papers in this department are, that by Mr. Medhurst on the celebrated "Tablet of Yü," which purports to be a contemporary record of the efforts to subdue a devastating flood four thousand years ago, and that by Dr. Bushell on the Stone Drums at Peking, which are referred to the Chow dynasty.

Of the articles on Legends and Legendary History, I can allude only to Mr. Kingsmill's discussion of the Mythical origin of the Chow dynasty, to Dr. Eitel's account of the curious Buddhist fable which includes the Hoang-ho among the sacred rivers flowing from the Himalayan lake, and to Mr. Mayers' sketch of the rise and growth of the cult of the God of Literature in China.

Mr. Watters has struck a rich vein of curious information in his articles on Chinese notions respecting Pigeons, Doves, and Foxes; while Mr. Stent, in his paper on Chinese Legends, has given some interesting examples of the romances or tales which are current among the Chinese. If it is true, as Mr. Stent says, that almost every place in China has some legend attached to it; there is a mass of material for collectors of folk-lore, which must be not only interesting from its own quaintness, but useful for comparison with the legends of other nations.

The most voluminous articles on Natural History have been contributed by French members of the Society;—by Mons. Simon, Notes on an Agricultural chart of China, and by Père Armand David, an elaborate paper on the Natural History of the North and West of China. Further contributions from this distinguished naturalist may, I hope, be obtained when he returns from his present journey in Kiangsi.

The Geological papers are, as might be expected, few in number. They comprise, Notes on the great alluvial plain of China by Dr. Lamprey;—on certain formations in Kwang-tung and the south-east of the empire, by Mr. Kingsmill;—and on recent elevations in the north, by Prof. Bickmore.

From the many papers on scientific subjects, I can only select the most prominent for mention. Dr. Macgowan's compilation of the Chinese reports of Cosmical phenomena observed near Shanghai during thirteen centuries; and Mr. Wylie's List of Eclipses recorded in Chinese works, with remarks on Chinese notions respecting these events. It is hardly necessary to speak of the value of these documents to the historian or to the man of science.

There is a great variety of papers illustrative of the life and customs of the Chinese. Monsieur Simon has given a careful description of the working of the small Mutual loan societies, and an examination of the Banking system of China; both interesting subjects which deserve further study. The mode of examining literary candidates is somewhat explained in the papers, by Dr. Kerr on the Canton Examination Hall; and by Mr. Moule on the Chekiang Provincial Examination. Amateurs of Chess will find an interest in the notes by Messrs. Hollingworth and Himly on the Chinese game; and the scientific student of music, though not, perhaps, the lover of harmony, may be curious to learn the principles on which the Chinese evolve their unattractive melodies. For such there is ample information in Mr. Syle's paper on Chinese Musical Notation; in the translation of an old work on Music by the late Dr. Jenkins; in the illustrations of Chinese Lyrics by Mr. Stent; and in Mr. Dennys' article on Chinese Musical instruments.

I have had to be prolix, in order to give you even a limited view of the scope and value of the Society's Journals. Nor will it detract from their merit that some of the articles are out of date, for the Society has been a pioneer in an imperfectly explored region; and it is the hard fate of pioneers to have their work remodelled by the very persons for whom they have cleared the way. We may be disposed to question some of the facts, or unwilling to accept some of the theories that have found a place in our Transactions, but we do not the less owe a debt of gratitude to those scholars and observers who have, in their pages, done so much real work in making China and the Chinese better known. We may point with pride to the honored names of Bridgman and Williams among our earliest contributors, and when we find in our list of working members men like Edkins, Wylie, Swinhoe, David and Mayers, not to mention many others, we may safely refer to our Journals to repel the reproach that the Society is suffering from atrophy.

Still, it cannot be denied that much remains to be done, and I venture, on behalf of your Council, to offer some suggestions for the future.

One of the first aims of the Society was the foundation of a Museum, but as you are aware, many years passed before we had even a settled home. At length, however, a generous gift from Mr. Hanbury paved the way for other subscriptions and enabled the Society to erect under the friendly superintendence of Mr.

Kingsmill, the commodious building where we are assembled. We are henceforward free from many of our old anxieties, and we may now venture to hope that our Museum may become something more than an idea during the present year. You will ask how?

There is in this building, a room admirably suited for a Museum, which we have the privilege of renting at a moderate annual charge; and I am authorized to state, that the Trustees of the Recreation Fund will be ready to lend to the Society, at low interest, a sum sufficient to purchase the necessary fittings, and even a certain number of objects for exhibition.

The scope of the Museum would be humble at first, but there would be little difficulty in rapidly filling the Natural History department with specimens of the animals and birds and insects of this neighborhood. An herbarium of local plants would find a place here; and a geological cabinet, with a European collection of minerals and fossils, as a standard of comparison. We should also expect to see, in a port like Shanghai, a complete display of everything connected with the preparation of Tea and Silk. Models, drawings and specimens. Indeed we might hope before long to have illustrations of the general industrial products of this Empire. The newspapers have made us familiar with the Chinese Court in the Vienna Exhibition, and we can hardly doubt that timely application to the Inspector General of Customs might secure for our Museum duplicates of a part of that splendid collection which he sent to Europe. Missionaries scattered throughout China, and residents at other ports would also assist us, and, in fact, the Museum once fairly started, contributions would naturally gravitate to it from every quarter.

Such a Museum would soon need a paid curator, and would entail other expenses beyond our ordinary means. Although I am sanguine enough to trust largely to the liberality of Shanghai, I do not hinge the financial success of the project on the amount of future donations. We have, I believe, an adequate, though an untried resource in the institution of lectures on subjects of general interest. Such lectures have always been included in the scheme of this Society, but from various causes have never been delivered under our auspices. It is at last my privilege to say that it needs only an expression of your approval, to complete the arrangements for a series during the coming spring. Rightly directed, these lectures will meet an intellectual want long felt in Shanghai, but looking at them, for the present, only as a source of income,

I may say briefly that the proceeds of tickets, at moderate charges, and for the limited audience which can be seated in this hall, would meet the expenses of the Museum during the first few years. Afterwards, we may assume, that as the Museum grows in importance, it will grow in public favor, and may be safely left to the care of our successors.

The establishment of the Museum will no doubt encourage the growth of our Library in certain departments where it is now lamentably deficient. For works relating to China, perhaps our collection is unique, and in foreign books on this subject its increase must needs be slow; but it would be easy to make extensive and valuable additions to our Library of native works.

In the second volume of our Transactions, Dr. Macgowan published some notes on "Chinese Bibliography," wherein among other suggestions, he urged the Society to found a Chinese Library. He explained how the great collections of books in China are, from obvious causes, closed to native readers, and he drew a hopeful picture of the day when the completeness and accessibility of our Chinese Library, might even attract native scholars in search of information about their own country or their own literature. Since Dr. Macgowan wrote, Shanghai has definitely taken her place as the most important city in this part of the empire. Thousands of native visitors come here to-day, where a few score came then. If those who belong to the literate class,—that class which the sad events of late years have shown to possess enormous power in moulding the public opinion of China,—were to find here a foreign Society, opening freely to them the doors of a rare Library of their own authors, might not a bond of union be gradually established between two races of thinkers who now seem hopelessly sundered? Might we not expect that each visitor would take away with him a new and a better appreciation of foreign character? I confess I think the experiment is worth trying, even though we, who plant the seed, may not hope to reap the harvest.

There are many to whom such views will seem utopian. I answer simply, that we ourselves,—the foreign community,—will be the first and greater gainers by such a Library, even though no Chinese student ever crosses our threshold.

In discussing the classes of Chinese books for this collection, Dr. Macgowan drew special attention to the works called "Topographies," which differ from our Guide Books and Gazetteers in that they contain, besides geographical details, perfect encyclopæ-

dias of information respecting the several provinces, departments or districts. The value of an extensive collection of such works can hardly be over-estimated. To take only a single instance. One of the most important questions which now affects the commercial future of this port, is the silting up of the river. When, as must soon happen, the opinions of eminent engineers are sought as to the best means of averting the threatened danger, we may be sure that they will begin their labors by enquiring into the past history of the local watercourses. Foreign observation extends over a very few years and over a limited area, while native evidence is open to the same objections, and is more difficult to obtain. I believe that only in the colorless but faithful pages of the Chinese topographies, can the scientific observer find such facts, respecting the secular changes in the Yangtse delta, as shall explain to him the real import of the changes of to-day. I am convinced that this Society may materially aid in solving this grave problem, by collating from the Kiangsu topographies, notices of the different streams which intersect the province,—and of their alterations during historical times. An extended and critical study of this kind, would lead to a proper understanding of this complicated system of watercourses. It is practical work within our scope,—work which the public may fairly look to our Society to direct, and I earnestly commend it to your attention during the coming year.

I alluded in the early part of my remarks to the necessity of widening the circle of our supporters and friends. Now, up to the present time, those persons who have taken an active interest in the Society have had no other means of testifying their good-will than by giving books or writing papers. But for every man ready to give his time and labor to a formal paper, there are probably ten who would be glad to send in rough memoranda of their ideas or observations, if we had a "Manuscript Department," where documents not intended for publication could be kept for reference. It is easy to see how much valuable material now lost to us would in time be collected. Diaries of journeys, descriptions of interesting places, copies of inscriptions, sketch maps, accounts of agricultural or industrial processes, observations on the manners and customs of the people, notes on Geology or Natural History, would all find a fitting place here;—they would be catalogued in each year's Journal, and abstracts of the more interesting papers might be published by our Editorial Committee. You will notice that I have only cited such contributions as almost every member

of the community would be able to offer,—from the man whose walks never extend beyond the settlement, to the sportsman whose up-country trips last for weeks at a time. It is not unlikely that there are districts within what I may call the sporting radius, which are better known to foreigners than to the Chinese themselves; at any rate, so long as we fail to enlist, by some means or other, the co-operation of the Shanghai shooting parties, we are certainly wasting opportunities of gaining accurate knowledge of the condition and progress of the people among whom we live. Year after year, hundreds of intelligent men traverse this province in every direction, and the least observant of them must acquire some information which would be valuable if recorded, but which is now lost, or only detailed to a few friends. Surely the purchasers of Mr. Groom's convenient "Sportsman's Diary" might employ some of its blank pages, for notes of a more lasting interest than the mere register of game bagged; and it may be hoped, that the accomplished author may add to his next edition a chapter on "what to observe and what to record."

I have already trespassed too long on your patience, but if, as I believe, my suggestions have a practical bearing, I am confident that they will commend themselves to you, and through you to an ever-increasing number of thoughtful men. This Society is now, more than ever able to take a prominent part in collecting and diffusing a knowledge of China and the Chinese. Let us not forget that our duties multiply with our opportunities.

JOURNAL

OF THE

NORTH-CHINA BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

## ARTICLE I.

### NOTES ON COL. YULE'S EDITION OF MARCO POLO'S "QUINSAY."*

By the Rev. G. E. MOULE.

IN reading this admirable rendering of a gorgeous story, my attention—after the *Text*—was divided between the *Map* and the copious *Notes*.

(A) The *Map*, a beautiful clear lithograph, seems to have been based upon the "General Map of the department"† in the Hang-chow Foo-che; but with modifications, partly suggested by other maps in the same work, partly by Europeans to whom Col. Yule looked for translation of Chinese characters and other information.

The errors it contains are perhaps worth noting.

In the first place, the accomplished editor seems not to be aware of the unscientific character of Chinese maps, even since the new views of topography acquired from the Jesuits. Col. Yule, in one of his notes, deplores his ignorance of the *scale* on which the Chinese originals of his Map are framed. In fact, they are not at all tied to scale. The "General Map," mentioned above, on a sheet measuring 10 in. by 8 in. presents a view of an area, perhaps fifty miles square, containing Hang-chow Foo and its six dependent

* Read before the Society on the 8th December, 1873.

† *Foo-king too* (府境圖) ff. 9 & 10 of *Hang-chow Foo-che* (杭州府志) ed. *temp.* Kien-lung, about 1785.

District cities. Hang-chow itself is, say, four miles from north to south on the longest straight line. Foo-yang Heen is distant about twenty miles as the crow flies. Yet the topographer who could allow only 2½ inches for this distance, allots 2 inches for the length of the great city. The Map is in fact rather a topographical repertory, with some lines also to indicate the *contour* of the land, than a map in our sense of the word. It is better than the specimen of Sung map-making preserved in the same Chinese work; but it is utterly without accuracy of any kind.

Judging from my own copy, it is possible that some additional inaccuracies have been occasioned by the wearing out of the wood-cut. For example, *the plain between the River and the Hills* south-west of Hang-chow is altogether too large. The Hills having been drawn *in relief*, and not *projected* on a plane surface, that plain ought to disappear entirely, being hidden by the lofty Hills. It varies in fact from about a mile in width (measured from the Phœnix Hill Gate at right angles to the River), to zero at the foot of the bluff on which stands the Pagoda of the Six Harmonies. My original, in the present condition of the wood-cut, interposes at the latter point, ¼-inch, equal to half a mile if the scale of the city be observed. And here Col. Yule's artist, having no independent knowledge of the ground, has expanded zero into a still more considerable dimension. This circumstance has necessarily vitiated the conjectural line drawn by Col. Yule, from the *data* in Mr. Green's very interesting paper on Hang-chow,* to represent the figure of the walls in the T'ang and Sung periods.

The remaining topographical mistakes seem to be due to the oversight of Col. Yule's contemporary informants. The principal are these.

The *Roman Catholic Church*, placed in the north-east angle of the city, is actually to the *west* of its long axis. It would not be far out if transposed to a spot enclosed by a loop of canals, not far from the Woo-lin Gate, where a small building, probably the *Wan-show Kung* or "Imperial Temple," has been laid down. The Church is slightly south of east from that Temple. The *Chief Street* went wrong with the Church. It has for centuries—notably in the Sung period—connected the Woo-lin Gate (anciently the Yu-hang Gate) on the north, with the Fung-shan Gate on the south; skirting the *smaller* canal, as it runs between it and the Church,

* Vide "Chinese Recorder," November and December, 1869.

and following the bend (really a *rectangular* bend) of that canal as it merges in the great Middle Canal; which is the water thoroughfare for all traffic between the River on the south and the Grand Canal on the north.

The transposition of the Church is so singular a mistake that I venture to suggest an explanation of it. Outside the Church gate is a stone Tablet erected in the eighth year of Yung-ching (about A.D. 1730), to commemorate the expulsion of the Missionaries, and the conversion of their Church into a Temple of the "Queen of Heaven." The inscription charges the Missionaries with having "got possession of land in the *north-east* angle of the city." The land is undoubtedly the present site, and it is hardly probable that a document, signed by a Viceroy, and carefully engraved on stone, should contain a slip of the pen. The solution suggested to me, by local tradition respecting the ancient form of the city, is that at some former period the Lake actually was included within the walls, whilst the eastern canal was (beyond a doubt) excluded. Under these circumstances the spot in question would be east, instead of west, of the greater axis of the city. It *might* retain a local denomination, acquired at that time, down to a period when everything was altered; and the pedantry of the Mandarin who draughted the edict *might* choose to make use of this obsolete denomination.

Whatever this solution may be worth, the "*north-east* angle" of the inscription appears to have been relied upon by Col. Yule's informant, as more trustworthy than the results of his personal observation. I do not know what Mr. Gardner's authority is for ascribing the present Church, or its "façade," to Nestorian times. There is nothing to warrant it in the edict,* in the topographies so far as I can find, nor I should say in the architecture. The front is a substantial erection of perhaps eighteen feet high, pierced by three semicircular arches. The arrangement is Chinese; the sculpture, in shallow relief, a cross between Chinese and romanesque. I gathered from the Missionary† who shewed me the place in 1864, that he believed the *whole* to have been the work of the Kang-he period (seventeenth century).

*The portion of Wall marked* a—b, shews no signs of having been otherwise than erect, and in good repair for years past.

* Vide Paper by C. Gardner, Esq., in the "Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society" for December, 1867, pp. 21-31.

† M. Montagneux.

Neither is there any indication in maps, books, or tradition, of its having been removed; although the gate at that point, like almost every other gate, is said* to have been at one time or another blocked up.

The *Palace of Kienlung* must be transposed from the neighbourhood of the wall, to the south shore of the island *Koo-shan*, near the erection marked *Wan-lan-ko*.

This island should be connected at its western end with the shore by a bridge. Possibly it and the *Fang-Sang-Che* are Marco's "two islands;" though I think the little *Hu-sin-ting* island was also famous in Sung times. The latter two islands have drifted considerably from their true positions *in the Map*, Hu-sin-ting eastward and Fang-Sang-Che northward.

The *Ching-Hwang-Miao* is placed where in fact the city wall runs. It ought to be on the crest of the *northernmost* ridge of the intramural hills.

The *Palaces* (Yamuns) *of Viceroy* (Tsung-tuh) and [Lieut.] *Governor* (Foo-tae) are both east of the Central canal, south and north respectively of the branch canal which runs south-east. By *Palace of Governor* understand *Tsung-tuh's Yamun*, and place the *Foo-tae's Yamun* on the other bank of the little canal, and the thing required will be done. *P. of Viceroy* appears to stand for the southern "Imperial Temple" (*Wan-show Kung*).

The gate at the south-east corner ought to be *Hom-chaou* (not *Houchao*) *M.*† and to be rendered "Tide-awaiting" (not *Tide Protecting*) *G.*

There are a few minor inaccuracies; but none perhaps that affect the practical value of the Map.

(B) To pass now to the wonderfully interesting *Notes* on Marco's famous rhapsody of the Manzi capital. There seems to be hardly anything here which one can venture to correct. But some *illustrations* may be drawn from the topographies. Of these I possess three, all of which were used by my lamented friend Mr. Green in compiling his paper for the (Foochow) "Chinese Recorder" quoted by Col. Yule. They are the *Jin-ho Heen-che* (in 28 sections, *ed. temp.* Kang-he, *anno* 1688), the *Se-hoo Che*, "Topography of the West Lake," a beautifully edited book (in 48

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* In the *Yuen* and *Ming* Topographies, quoted in contemporary *Che*.

† 候潮 not 護潮.

sections *ed. temp.* Kien-lung, *anno* 1771), and the *Hang-chow Foo-che** (also of Kien-lung, *anno* 1785, in 110 sections, of which however, 35 sections are unhappily missing).

Before I transcribe a few extracts which seemed worth presenting, in illustration of the subject, it may be well to summarize the testimony they offer in confirmation or otherwise of Marco Polo's account.

The principal points I have had in view, in the very limited reading of these voluminous works for which I have found leisure, are the dimensions and comprehension of the Sung city, the bridges and market squares, the palace and imperial residence, and the luxury and pleasure-seeking of the inhabitants.

The old Sung map, and the extracts from earlier topographies, which go to make up a great part of those of the present dynasty, contain much that throws light upon these topics.

I. With regard to the *size* of the city, Col. Yule has already gathered from the notes furnished by Mr. Green, that a wall of 70 *le* in circuit was built at the close of the T'ang dynasty, about the end of the ninth century of our era; and that it was added to by the Sung Emperor, Kaou-tsoong,† who first made Hang-chow the seat of empire. Thus a total not far short of 100 *le* would be obtained, and Marco Polo's statement is confirmed; only substituting *le* for miles. With respect to its *comprehension* the great difficulty is in fixing the *eastern* and *western* boundaries. The extreme *south* or *south-western* point is clear enough, namely the *Luh-ho Ta*,‡ a fine pagoda, on a sharp bluff rising sheer out of the river to a height of nearly a hundred feet, upwards of four miles from the Fung-shan Gate. One point on the *north* is also ascertained with tolerable certainty, namely the *Keă-ching Heang*, "Lane of the Lining wall," at the mouth of which, the principal north gate of the Sung days stood. This "Mouth of the *Keă-ching Heang*"—the intersection of the lane of that name with the great northern street—is a point a mile and a half or two miles beyond

* This is the only copy of the Foo-che I have been able to hear of in this neighbourhood since the rebel troubles. I met with it at a book-stall in Hang-chow soon after I arrived, in 1865 I think. The authorities are about to rëedit the Provincial Topography (*Che-keang T'ung-che*); but not at present, the minor topographies.

† Commencement of 12th century.

‡ The building of the present Pagoda after repeated destructions by fire, is recorded on a fine tablet of the Sung period still standing.

the present north wall. The *north-eastern* point is laid at a bridge outside the present Kang-shan Gate, which I cannot as yet identify. And the *south-eastern* angle is not further indicated than by the vague straight line of the Sung map which runs south beyond the How-chaou Gate far enough to include one dry gate and two water gates. If the old How-chaou Gate stood on the site of the present, and if the water-courses remain as they were on that side, this would bring the south-east angle almost down to the river's bank; and the *Kea-hwuy* Gate,* the southern gate of the palace, would furnish the fugitive Emperor a convenient exit to his ships, whilst Bayan was knocking at his northern gates seven or eight miles off.

But the only data that seem at all fixed on the *east* and *west* lines respectively, are, on the *east* a gateway at present insulated but built like a city gate, which now spans one of the approaches to the *Foo-tae's Yamun*. It is called the *Chin-tung Low*,† a name analogous to *Chin-hae Low*‡ applied to the "Drum towers" in Chinese cities. But a lane which runs past it, and a bridge a little south of it still go by the name of *Paou-gan*,§ the Sung name of one of the east gates, in the same relative situation as the "Tower," with regard to the How-chaou Gate, and one or two other landmarks.

Again the *Paou-gan* lane as it runs north, after deflecting a little to the west, takes the name of *Ching-t'ow Heang*, "Lane of the *Head of the wall;*" a designation explained in the books to commemorate the fact, that it occupies the site of the old Sung east wall, pulled down as it was gradually, under the Mongols, when all city walls were of design allowed to fall into ruin. This line, I imagine, is a tolerably safe one, to indicate the general direction of the east wall; and it excludes, as does also the Sung map, the present eastern canal; and suggests that,—whilst the How-chaou Gate and those beyond it, on the south, and the Kang-shan Gate, on the north, may have stood on a line as far east as they do at present,—the *waist* of the city must at that period have been bounded by a line lying between the central and eastern canals, and for the most part parallel with both of them.

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* 嘉會門.
† "Eastern-barrier Tower."
‡ "Sea-barrier Tower."
§ "Peace-keeping," 保安.

On the *west* side the present *Drum tower*—a gateway which springs from the north-eastern spur of the hill, and spans the chief street—appeared to be at first a certain *datum*, indicating that the wall which—after turning from the river at the Luh-ho Tă, pierced the hills in a north and north-easterly line, and then ran along the borders of the lake, past the great Luy-foong Tă,—skirted the hill foot as far as this point, and thence (the old Chaou-t'een Gate* standing here) turned and ran north-west for the angle at the *Keă-ching Heang*. This still seems to me most probable. But one passage from a Ming topography, certainly describes this *Chaou-t'een Gate* as a gate "*in the midst of the city*," in fact what the "Drum tower" now is, and what the *Chaou-t'een Gate* too is represented to be in the Sung map. If this latter view is correct, it seems to me *just possible* that the wall actually did run west of the lake according to popular tradition; and presented the square and capacious figure given by the Sung draughtsman. Against this, however, is the absence of all mention of such an extent in the books so far as I have read, and the repeated description of the contour of the city, as resembling a Dice-box† with a small waist and expanded extremities.

II. The *Bridges*, neither of the Sung Map, nor of the existing city, will justify Marco's number. Some of them, especially *outside* the present north wall, are lofty enough for large river junks to carry their masts in passing them; but all told, they seem never to have numbered more than from one to two hundred.

III. I have found no certain account of *market squares*, though the *Fang*,‡ of which a few still exist, and a very large number are laid down in the Sung Map, mainly grouped along the chief street, may perhaps represent them.

The fact of the markets for different articles having formerly been held in separate localities, is attested by tradition, and, e.g., by the following note (in the *Se-hoo Che*)§ on the *Choo-tow Heang*. "It is said that in Sung times each market had its separate locality; but this lane was alone exempt from all restriction."

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* 朝天門.

† Literally, I think, 腰鼓 is a drum with a slender middle.

‡ 坊.

§ Vol. 20, § 47, fol. 3. Extr. from the "*Se-hoo yew-lan Che*," (qu?) of the Ming period.

Being upon the subject of markets, it may be well to remark that the larger *game*, red deer and fallow deer, is now never seen for sale. Hog-deer, wild swine, pheasants, water-fowl, and every description of "vermin" and small birds are exposed for sale, not now in markets, but at the retail wine shops. Wild cats, racoons, otters, badgers, kites, owls, etc., etc., festoon the shop-front along with "game," animals and birds. I have never seen any *pears* approaching to Marco Polo's description. A large coarse fruit about the size and quality of an English baking pear is the chief description offered. Shan-tung "snow pears" are sold in the grocers' and cook-shops, and there are one or two local varieties that are eatable. The *yellow peaches* must be, I think, the *hwang mei** or "cling-stone" apricot, a fragrant but sour fruit common all over this part of China, and which *here* gives the name to the "rainy season"† of June. I never saw any but pink and white peaches; some of the former with deep claret-coloured juice. Fair grapes come from Soo-chow and from the north, and a good many are now grown here.

IV. I come now to the *Palace*—the situation of which is approximately fixed both by the Sung map, and by the notices which occur in the accounts of various monasteries, as also in miscellaneous antiquarian remarks throughout the topographies. It was south and south-east of the present city; and apparently included a large portion, perhaps at one time the whole *summit* of the massive hill, called the "Phœnix Hill" *(Fung-hwang Shan)*. The lower slopes of the hill were, excluded from the demesne, if we may believe the Sung map, which places the "Monastery of Brahma" *(Fan-t'een Sze)*‡ on the line of the southern wall of the city, at a considerable interval from the wall of the "Great Interior"§ or Palace. Fan-t'een Sze is at present in a very much reduced condition; and it has never, probably, enjoyed its original prosperity since the Sung migration;—so at least say the books. But in the early years of the Northern Sung, when Ts'een Shuh 錢俶 ruled the united kingdoms of Hoo and Yueh, it was a splendid foundation; and two stone *Chwang*‖ covered with Buddhist

* 黃梅.
† 黃梅天.
‡ 梵天寺.
§ 大內.
‖ 幢 literally "state umbrellas," but applied to polygonal erections in solid stone in front of Buddhist Convents.

inscriptions, and bearing the date and the signature of Prince Ts'een, still stand as memorials of its best days. These are referred to in the topographies. Two similar *Chwang* stand in front of the well-known Convent of *Lin-yin*, bearing date the second year of K'ae-paou.*

Besides the Imperial Palace itself, other houses or monasteries are more or less connected, in the books, with the Imperial sojourn in Hang-chow. A garden, near the present Ts'ing-po Gate, is the scene of one anecdote which may be worth transcribing; and a monastery† west of the lake, between it and the Lin-yin Sze, is said to have been the residence of a favourite concubine, and the scene of Imperial diversions. The tone in which the Imperial personages are spoken of, and one or two express statements, agree with what seems to be implied by Marco, namely that they lived on much more affable terms with their faithful commons than subsequent Chinese dynasties seem to have done.

V. Of the *luxury* of the period and its devotion to pleasure, evidence occurs everywhere. Hang-chow went at the time by the nickname of the melting-pot for money. The use, at houses of entertainment, of *linen* and *silver-plate* appeared somewhat out of keeping in a Chinese picture. I cannot vouch for the linen, but here is the plate.—"In the lane of the Eight Genii, there was in the Sung period, a Tea-house called by the same name. The most famous Tea-houses of the day were the *Pa-seen* (Eight Genii), the 'Pure delight,' the 'Pearl,' the 'house of the Pwan family,' and the 'Two and two,' and 'Three and three'‡ houses. In these places they always set out bouquets of fresh flowers according to the season....At the counter were sold 'Precious thunder' Tea,§ Tea of fritters and onions,‖ or else Pickle broth; and in hot weather, wine of snow bubbles and apricot blossom, or other kinds of refrigerating liquor.¶ Saucers, ladles and bowls were all of silver."**

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* *Circa* 972. Those at Fan-t'een Sze are somewhat earlier. The inscriptions are in beautiful style. The stone is the grey limestone or spurious marble, called here (太湖石) *T'ae-hoo shih* after the T'ae-hoo.

† The Tseih-k'ing Sze, 集慶寺.

‡ 連二連三 perhaps rather means—"Double honours" "Treble honours."

§ 寶雷茶.

‖ Qu. Kettle broth?

¶ 縮脾飲 lit. "stomach contracting liquor."

** *Se-hoo Che*, Vol. 20, fol. 4.

A brief notice of the chief street, when it served as the avenue to the Palace, occurs on the next page, and should have been quoted in connexion with the remarks on the Palace above. "The *Chung-ching* bridge* is commonly called *Seay* bridge. Hence southwards to the Meridian Gate,† was the Imperial road of the Sung days, 13,500 feet‡ in length. In old times it was paved with stone flags, 35,300 odd in number. In the seventh year of Heen-shun (not long before Bayan came), the Governor Tseen Shwoh-yew replaced all defective and broken flags to the number of 20,000 slabs; after which nine cars might move abreast over a way perfectly smooth and straight as an arrow. Under the Mongols the populace gradually encroached upon the roadway."

Before giving a few longer extracts from the topographies, illustrative of the topics summarized above, I may observe here that one of the difficulties attending the principal passage for tracing the ancient wall, is the ambiguous use of the term *Keă-ching*,§ (Lining, Inner, or Contiguous wall). In one of the early records quoted,—one of the Ming period,—it is stated, that under the last of the Mongols, an insurgent Chinese‖ had established himself in Hang-chow, and begun to fortify it, when he was attacked by Tache Timur, chief of the Hing-sing,¶ and his able Chinese lieutenant Yang Hwan-tsay. The interval between the besiegers' lines and those of the besieged was hence called *Keă-ching*, and still gives its name to the lane outside the present north wall. Upon this the editor of the "Travelling companion for the Se-hoo"** remarks, that this will not account for the use of the name centuries before the Mongol domination. He seems to conclude that it originated from the fact, that this wall served as a *lining*, or inner work, to the great "Net wall"†† or *enceinte*.

The only objection to this is, that the lining appears to have existed before the outer wall was built. On the whole it is probable that the Suy wall is meant; but nothing seems to be recorded of the position of this wall.

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* 中正橋. This is the first bridge inside the Woo-lin Gate.

† 正陽門 alias "Phœnix Hill Gate."

‡ This gives only about 2⅛ miles, a very low estimate.

§ 夾城.

‖ 張 *alias* 方士誠 pretender to the principality of Woo.

¶ 行省.

** 西湖遊覽志 *Se-hoo-yew-lan-che.*

†† 羅城.

EXTRACT I. From the *Jin-ho Heen-che*, § 1, fol. 9. [This passage, a quotation from much earlier records, is given with slight differences, in each of the three topographies I have consulted.]

On the ancient fortifications of Hang-chow.

"Under the Suy dynasty* Yang-suh built the wall 36 le and 90 paces in circuit. Under the T'ang† it remained unchanged; but under Chaou-tsung in the second year of the period King-fuh,‡ the dynastic Marquis Ts'een Kew§ (sovereign prince of Woo and Yueh), &c., &c., called out 200,000 of the people, and the soldiery of thirteen fiefs,‖ and with their labour built a new *enceinte* from the Tsin-wang Shan¶ at the 'Lining wall,' eastward along the river's bank, and running to the lake Ts'een-thang,** by the hill Hoh, and the Fan creek,†† a circuit of 70 le.

"There were ten gates,—1, the *Chaou-t'een*, now the *Chin-hae Low* (Drum Tower), at the foot of the hill Woo. 2, the *Lung-shan*, west of the present *Luh-ho Tă* (Six harmonies Pagoda). 3, the *Chuh-chay* (Bamboo cart), south-east of the present Wang-seen Bridge. 4, *New Gate*, east of the present T'an Bridge. 5, the *Nan-t'oo*, outside what is now Ts'een Bridge Gate. 6, the *Pei-t'oo*, outside what is now old Ts'ae-sze Gate. 7, the *Yen-keaou* Gate, west of what is now "Old *Yen-keaou*" (Salt Bridge). 8, the *Se-kwan* Gate, at the foot of the present Luy-fung Pagoda. 9, the *Pih-kwan*, within (v. l. at the mouth of) the Keă-ching Lane. 10, *Paou-tê* Gate, outside the present Kang-shan Gate, at Woo-sin Bridge."‡‡

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* A.D. 589 to 618. † 618 to 907. ‡ Circa 893.

§ Kanghe seems to pronounce *Ts'een Lew* (錢鏐) or *Leaou*, which I see Mr. Wylie reads it. My Hang-chow friends are obstinate for *Kew*.

‖ 都.

¶ This is called at present the 宵王山 "King Asoka's Hill." Its old name is traced to a visit of the great Tsin Che-hwang-te, who came (down the Yang-tsze?) to Hang-chow, and quitting his bark outside the Pei-kwan Gate, ascended the hill to reconnoitre the ford.

** The *Se-hoo*.

†† The Hoh hill and Fan creek have escaped me.

‡‡ Of these bridges, 1, 2, 3, 8 and 9 have tolerably good marks to identify them withal; 2 and 8, the well-known pagodas, which certainly stood where they now stand, at the time in question; 1, the drum tower, which also is anchored to the primeval hill; 3, the solid archway called Chin-tung Low, which has on either side of it the Paou-gan Bridge and Pao-gan Lane; Paou-gan being the Sung name of the gate that stood thereabouts; and 9, the Keă-ching Heang. The T'an Bridge of 4 is just without the southern wall, but I know of nothing to define the nearness to it of gate 4. The Ts'een Bridge Gate and Ts'ae-sze Gate of 5 and 6, are the most puzzling of all. There are no such gates now; and how they stood with reference to the existing bridges is quite uncertain to me. The Yen Bridge of 7 is probably Leen Bridge (聯橋), still called Yen Bridge. Woo-sin Bridge of 10 I cannot find.

Changes under the Sung.

EXTRACT II.—"In the third year of Keen-t'an of the Sung, Kaou-tsung* fixed his camp at Hang-chow. Twenty-nine years later he built an additional inner wall (the palace) and an outer wall, on the south-east connected with the old walls (of T'ang).

"The gates were now thirteen; namely—on the east *Peen* Gate; *How-chaou* Gate (still so called); *Paou-gan* Gate, otherwise Seaou-yen Gate; New Gate, now Yung-ch'ang Gate; *Tsung-sin* Gate, commonly called Ts'een-keaou Gate and now called Ts'ing-t'ae Gate; *Tung-ts'ing* Gate, commonly called Ts'ae-sze Gate, now K'ing-ch'ing Gate; and *Kang-shan* Gate, still so called.†

"On the west—*Ts'een-hoo* Gate,‡ now closed; *Ts'ing-po* Gate, still so called; *Fung-yew* Gate, now Yung-kin Gate; and *Ts'een-t'ang* Gate, still so called.

"On the south—*Kea-hwei* Gate, probably the *Ching-yang* (meridian) Gate.

"On the north—the *Yew-hang* Gate, now Woo-lin Gate (besides sundry water gates)."

On the Kea-ching.

EXTRACT III. From the *Hang-chow Foo-che*, § 4, foll. 1, seq. "Ts'een Kew built a new 'Lining' *(keă)* wall turning the *Paou-keâ* Hill,§ running on to the *Tsin-wang Shan* and so round, upwards of 50 *le* in circuit; all the way piercing the woods and throwing scaffoldings across ravines, his men working by reliefs."

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* 1127-1162.

† Of these 便 *Peen* Gate is certainly new; in the Sung plan it is south of *How-chaou* Gate, which also seems new. New Gate, or 新開門 of the plan, does not seem to tally with the description of No. 4 above. It is too far north. *Tsung-sin*, if identical with the existing Ts'ing-t'ae, ought to stand outside the *eastern* canal; but the plan contains no such canal. *Tung-ts'ing* and its semi-modern representation Ts'ae-sze Gate can scarcely be the *present* K'ing-ch'ing; but stood as I conjecture somewhere on the line running north from the tower near the Foo-tae's. On this line, some quarter of a mile north of the Ts'ae-sze *Bridge*, is a region still called Ta tung Mun (Great East Gate). Kang-shan Gate was further north than its present site.

‡ Unless the *Ts'een-hoo* Gate is the gate at the foot of Luy-fung Ta (8), that gate and No. 2 of the T'ang list entirely disappear. Also the *Kea-hwei* can hardly be the Ching-yang Gate, which the plan agrees with tradition in making the *north* gate of the palace, and not the south gate of the city.

§ *Paou-keâ* Hill is a low hill just without the Phœnix Hill Gate. This Keă-ching seems, in its hilly portion, the most traceable of any of the old lines. Gradients and mounds still seem to confirm the record of the text.

Immediately after, follows an account of the *enceinte* of 70 *le* nearly identical with that given above; and we read how Ts'een got a Buddhist monk to survey for him the *fung-shuy* of his city, and was told that it was impregnable, because like a Dice-box (骰鼓) it was developed on the north and south, but had a slender middle.

"The Sung walls were 20 feet high and 10 feet thick (Chinese measure), and guarded with the utmost strictness. The record proceeds: 'Travellers who arrived at the eastern gates found (outside) no population; nothing but market gardens as far as the eye could reach. From the western gates, the water of the lake was introduced into the city, and distributed in small boats to the squares (坊) and markets. Firewood from up the river was stored near the south gates; and the fine rice of Keang-soo came in at the northern Custom House. Hence the common saw; the East gates for garden stuff; the West, for water; the South gates for fuel, and the North for rice.' "

Changes subsequent to the Sung.

EXTRACT IV. "At the accession of the Mongols, it was forbidden to repair fortifications everywhere;* and in consequence, the inner (qu? Palace) and outer walls of this city were gradually demolished by the inhabitants. But under the last (Yuen) Emperor, in the period Che-ching, Chang† got possession of great part of Keang-nan and Che-keang, and rebuilt the walls of Hang-chow. *He threw out the line of wall from the* Kang-shan *Gate to the* Luh-sze *(Ts'ing-t'ae) Gate, some* 3 *le, so as to include the* Luh-sze *Canal, but contracted the line from the* How-chaou *Gate running south-west some* 2 *le, so as to shut out the Phœnix hill.*"‡

Next the *gates* are accounted for. Chang closed the *Peen* and *Paou-gan* Gates. I have referred more than once to the probability that the Chin-tung Low at the eastern entrance to the Footae's yamun, and having the name Paou-gan still lingering in its neighbourhood, is actually the old Paou-gan Gateway. There

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* 禁天下修城.

† The insurgent already referred to 張 alias 方.

‡ This reduces the city to present dimensions apparently; except that we have no intimation of the northern line having been retracted at the same time. The Luh-sze Canal (絡市河) must be, I think, the present Eastern Canal with its affluent, running east and west between K'ing-ching and Ts'ing-t'ae Gates.

was a similar structure, not long ago removed, near the Tsung-tuh's *yamun*, bearing the name *Yung-chin* Low,* and having, a little to the north, a bridge over the small cross canal bearing the name *Chuh-chay* Bridge.† Was this the old *Peen* Gate of Kaou-tsung or Chuh-chay gate of the T'ang?

Then follow two statements, which I have availed myself of already;—the one identifying the *Paou-kwoh* Sze‡ with part of the site of the old palace—the other tracing the name (still in use)§ of the street, which runs north and south a little west of the extension of a line joining the two *Low* just mentioned, to the circumstance of its occupying the site of the Sung city wall.

On the Palace.

EXTRACT V. From the *Se-hoo Che*, § 11, fol. 25. "The monastery of the Holy Fruit‖ stands on the right of the Phœnix Hill. It was built under the Suy, and restored under the T'ang. Ts'een Kew enriched it with three Buddhas and sundry Lo-han, when he ruled—under the Leang (petty dynasty)—the realm of Woo and Yueh. A pagoda was built here under the Sung, with the title, bestowed by patent on petition, of *Tsung-shing Ta*.¶ But when Kaou-tsung had crossed the Keang (on his migration to Hang-chow) it was converted into Imperial gardens.** The same dynasty, however, restored it to the monks. During the period Teh-yen,†† it was burnt. Under the Yuen it revived; was burnt under the Ming by Japanese,‡‡ and again restored."

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* 雄鎮樓.

† 竹車橋.

‡ Its ruins are on the lowest southern slopes of Phœnix Hill. The *Heen-che*, § 24, fol. 2, says:—"Under the last Mongol monarch, five convents were built on the area of the Palace. Paou-kwoh Sze alone can now be identified. It occupies the site of the 垂拱殿." Cf. Yule, Vol. II, p. 167, Note 12.

§ 城頭巷 "Lane of the Head of the wall."

‖ 聖果寺. Considerable remains of it still exist, at the head of a narrow valley running up to the western-most "(right)" crest of the Phœnix Hill. Before the troubles, its gardens were still famous for peculiarly fine peaches.

¶ 崇聖塔.

** 禁苑.

†† Close of Sung.

‡‡ 倭子

Perhaps I have given evidence enough—having the Sung Map also in corroboration—to shew that the palace stood outside the present southern wall, and included a large portion of the fine hills, which rise to the height of 700 or 800 feet, and go by various names—Phœnix Hill, pass (or col) of the Myriad Pine trees, Dumpling Hill, King Asoka's Hill, being amongst the rest.

The Manchow walled Garrison which attracted Col. Yule's attention, as a possible site of the Palace, offers nothing to support the conjecture. The first Manchow camp was built, nearly, if not exactly on its present lines, *temp.* Shun-che (1644-1662).

The Sung Map. EXTRACT VI. From the *Hang-chow Foo-che*, § 1, fol. 46. On the Map of the old city of the Southern Sung. Maps and documents for an investigation of Hangchow, when it was the temporary Capital of the Southern Sung are mostly lost or mutilated. Comparatively speaking the best of these records is the Topography of Lin-gan of the period Heen-shun.* Most of the M.S. copies reject the Map, but the printed ones include it.

"Whilst the Southern Sung were basely enjoying their ill-gotten repose, everything went by hap-hazard, and there are no data for representing adequately the true position of things. I have carefully read the Imperial Edition of the Lin-gan Topography of Keen-taou,† and noted its particulars as to the Yamuns and the Palace. In the edition of Heen-shun I find, in the map of the capital, the several altars, temples, and offices of the civil and military Mandarins laid down with sufficient clearness. These furnish materials for the antiquary.

"There is a copy of the Map in the 'Tourist's companion to the Se-hoo' of Teen Shoo-ching,‡ *temp.* Ming. But he has altered the relative position, through entire neglect of his authority.

"Here you are presented with a reduced tracing from the Sung prints, without the omission of a particular; restoring once more the original arrangement.

"In those days the dynasty was holding on to a mere corner of the realm, hardly able to defend even it; and nevertheless all, high and low, devoted themselves to dress and ornament, to music and dancing, on the lake and amongst the hills, with no idea of sympathy for the country.

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* 咸淳 within the last sixteen years of the dynasty.

† 乾道 part of Heaou-tsung's reign,—second of the Hang-chow monarchs.

‡ 田汝成.

"Let us preserve this Map as a clear warning for all coming time."

The so-called Map, of which a tracing accompanies this paper, must be treated simply as an inventory of the contents of the imperial city. It is even less 'drawn to scale' than the maps of this dynasty.

Value of Sung Map.

As *an inventory* it goes to shew,—*Firstly*, what *waters* were included, and what shut out. The *Eastern Canal* is plainly not included. Our present Middle Canal occupies, relative to the Eastern wall, the exact position which the Eastern Canal now does. *Secondly*, there are hardly more than a hundredth part of Marco's *Bridges* to be seen—and though some may have been omitted—it appears,—by comparison with the present city in which there is *more water* and *less mountainous ground*—that they can never have been much more numerous. *Thirdly;* the *Phœnix Hill* is within the city, though not within the palace, but the hills south-west of it *seem* to be excluded; and there is no Luh-ho Tă, nor Luy-fung Tă, that I can discover, on the paper. The Fan-t'een Sze and old Shing-ko Sze are expressly *without* the palace though within the city. *Fourthly;* the *Chaou-t'een* Gate is already enveloped in the city—and of no more practical use than its successor the Drum Tower. Was it not in all probability the Tower on an "eminence" seen by Marco? *Fifthly*, there is no symptom of the great extension of the city northward and south-westward, of which however the evidence from other sources is so clear. *Sixthly*—to mention no more—there are a very great number of *Fang*, possibly Marco's squares, grouped principally along the Imperial Street. The names of some of these and of the *Sze* or Markets still remain.

With two extracts more I must close this tedious farrago; only remarking, that for any one who has leisure, there is in the last two volumes of the *Se-hoo Che* a great deal of illustration, sometimes very amusing, of the times of which Marco treats. I take my concluding extracts from Vol. 19.

Soo Tung-po's diversions on the Lake.

EXTRACT VII. From the *Se-hoo Che*, § 45, fol. 10. "When Yaou Shun-ming was Prefect of Hang-chow, there was an old woman, who said she was formerly a singing girl, and in the service of Tung-po Seen-sheng.* She related that her master, whenever he found a leisure day in spring,

* Soo Tung-po, the famous poet and scholar of the 11th century.

would invite friends to take their pleasure on the lake. They used to take an early meal in some agreeable spot,* and the repast over, each guest elected a chief for each barge, who called a number of dancing girls† to follow them to any place they chose. As the day waned, a gong sounded to assemble all once more at 'Lake prospect' Chambers, or at the 'Bamboo Pavilion,' or some place of the kind, where they amused themselves to the top af their bent, and then at the first or second drum,‡ before the evening market dispersed, returned home by candle light. In the city, gentlemen and ladies assembled in crowds,§ lining the way, to see the return of the thousand knights.‖ It must have been a brave spectacle of that time."

One might add a few more notices of the famous poet—such as his pathetic plea for geese, whose clamour, as they were awaiting their death in the poulterers' yards, caught his ear on some of these occasions of pleasure. He pleads many things in their favour; amongst the rest, the truly Roman argument that they are good as a night watch.

His care to preserve the lake from encroachment is another interesting sketch. But leaving him, let us come down at once to the founder of the Hang-chow Empire, Kaou-tsung.

An anecdote of Kaou-tsung.

EXTRACT VIII. From the *Se-hoo Che*, § 45, fol. 27. "*Kaou-tsung* when he had taken the style of Teh-show,¶ went on a day to the Lin-yin convent, and was sitting at his ease in the 'Cold-spring Pavilion,' when a traveller presented him with refreshments, in a manner so full of reverence, that the monarch addressed him.—'I** see that you are no mere traveller, unless my sense deceives me, pray of what rank are you?' Making a reverence and dropping a tear, he replied.—'Your slave was once Prefect of such a city, but, offending my superior, I was charged with embezzlement, dismissed and degraded to the ranks of the

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* 山水佳處.

† Better perhaps—"a chief was chosen for the company of each barge, and each chief &c.," 每客一舟令隊長一人各領數妓云云.

‡ 7 to 9 p.m.—if 'drum'=*kang* 更.

§ 雲集.

‖ 千騎.

¶ "Virtuous old age." The phrase refers, I believe, to the period after Kaou-tsung's abdication.

** 朕 the Imperial "*We*."

people. I am poor and have no means of support; so I have come hither in attendance on a relative, to earn a morsel to protract a wretched existence.' The monarch pitied him and said:—'We must speak to the Emperor for you.' Some days later he went thither again, and meeting the man still on the spot, he enquired (how his case stood). He replied that nothing was yet done. Next day *Heaou-tsung** respectfully invited the senior Emperor and the Empress Dowager to deign to visit the Tseu-king Garden.† The Emperor neither smiled nor spoke. Heaou-tsung again presented his petition. Still no smile. The Empress Dowager then said:—'Our boy's intention in inviting us old people is excellent —what vexes you?'‡ The Emperor still kept silence for a long while, and then said:—'I am old, and they don't listen to what I say.' Heaou-tsung was more amazed than ever; and again asked the Empress what could be the matter. The Emperor then said: —'So and so,—I have spoken about him, and it has no result; so that I am ashamed to see the man.' Heaou-tsung replied:— 'I received your sacred instructions yesterday—(this) the very next day I have given orders to the Minister. The Minister tells me the fellow is a most notorious and inveterate embezzler, who is fortunate in escaping with his life; and it is impossible to put him again into office. But this is a trifle; we will decide it to-morrow. For to-day, pray dismiss your displeasure for one drinking bout at least.'§ Then at length the Emperor laughed, and said:— 'To-morrow let Heaou-tsung give another order to the Minister, and if the Minister sticks to his old tale, let Heaou-tsung say:— Yesterday his High-mightiness was in a sacred rage,‖ and there was hardly a crack in the ground for me to hide in. No matter how villainous a traitor the fellow is, you must just put him back in his old office, and give him a good large city.' A few days later the monarch was again (at Lin-yin), and the person said to him:—'Your slave has received your gracious commands. I am only awaiting an opportunity of approaching your footstool with my thanks before I depart.'"

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* Kaou-tsung's son and the reigning monarch. They call his father the 太皇帝.

† 聚景園 "Garden of many Prospects." § 10, fol. 17, says it was at the foot of the wall near the Ts'ing-po Gate. Qu?—Was *this* Facfur's Pleasaunce, with gardens on the lake?

‡ 孩兒好意招老夫婦何爲怒耶.

§ 且開懷一醉可也.

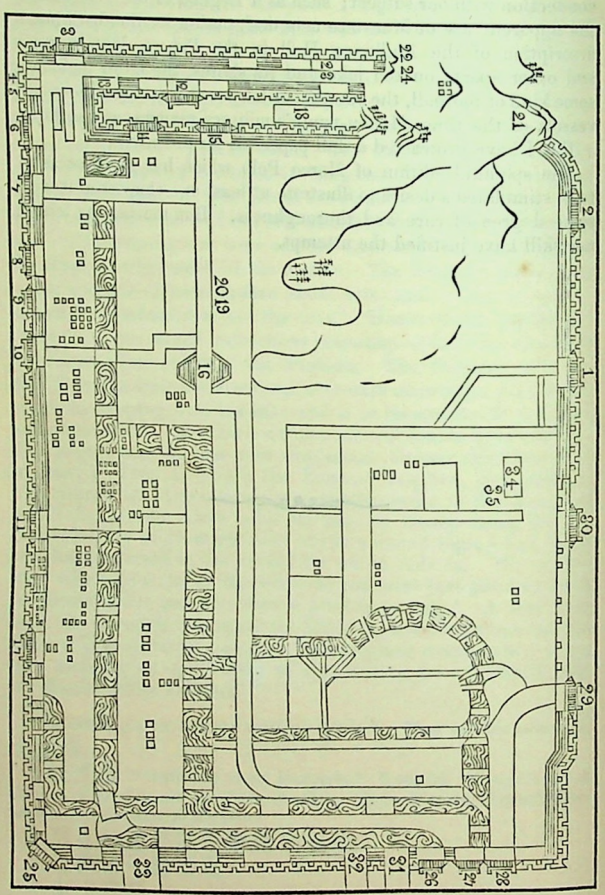
‖ 太上聖怒.

Amongst the points which caught my eye, in turning over the leaves of the miscellany of Quotations, which make up the last two volumes of the *Se-hoo Che*, were many of more or less interest in connection with our subject; such as a Legend of the Tide wraith, the apparent use of Man-tsze as a designation for South-China, a description of the Audience Hall in the Palace, lantern races and other sports on the lake and its shores, the latter including some kind of football, the sumptuous barges and even paddle-wheel vessels of the time, Heaou-tsung's military reviews, and so forth.

But I have protracted a dull paper too far already.

The splendid edition of Marco Polo which has given occasion to it, stimulated a desire to illustrate at least one chapter of it with some degree of care and thoroughness. But neither my leisure nor skill have justified the attempt.

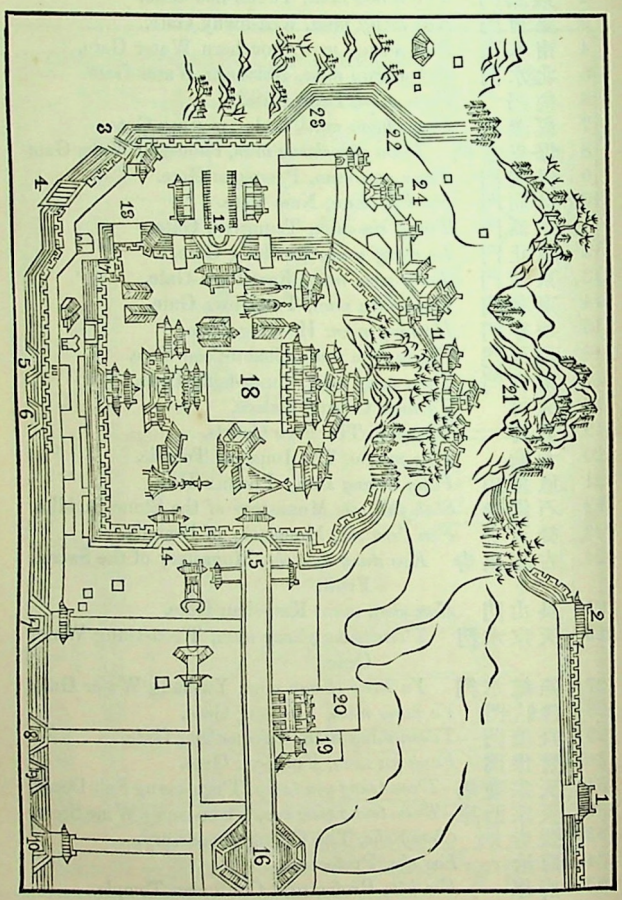
## Plan of the Metropolitan City of Hangchow in the 13th century.



## Metropolitan City.

1 清波門 *Tsing po mun*, Tsing-po Gate.
2 錢湖門 *Ts'een hoo mun*, Ts'een-hoo Gate.
3 嘉會門 *Kea hwuy mun*, Kea-hwuy Gate.
4 南水門 *Nan shwuy mun*, Southern Water Gate.
5 北水門 *Peh shwuy mun*, Northern Water Gate.
6 便門 *Peen mun*, Peen Gate.
7 候潮門 *How chaou mun*, Tide-awaiting Gate.
8 保安水門 *Paou gan shwuy mun*, Paou-gan Water Gate.
9 保安門 *Paou gan mun*, Paou-gan Gate.
10 新開門 *Sin k'ae mun*, New Gate.
11 崇新門 *Tsung sin mun*, Tsung-sin Gate.
12 麗正門 *Le ching mun*, Le-ching Gate.
13 東便門 *Tung peen mun*, East Peen Gate.
14 東華門 *Tung hwa mun*, Tung-hwa Gate.
15 和寧門 *Ho ning mun*, Ho-ning Gate.
16 朝天門 *Chaou t'een mun*, Chaou-t'een Gate.
17 東青門 *Tung tsing mun*, Tung-tsing Gate.
18 大內 *Ta nuy*, Central Palace.
19 五府 *Woo foo*, The Five Courts.
20 太廟 *T'ae meaou*, The Imperial Temple.
21 鳳皇山 *Fung hwang shan*, Phœnix Hill.
22 石佛寺 *Shïh fŭh she*, Monastery of the Stone Buddha.
23 梵天寺 *Fan t'een she*, Monastery of Brahma.
24 古聖果寺 *Koo shing kwo she*, Monastery of the Sacred Fruit.
25 艮山門 *Kan shan mun*, Kan-shan Gate.
26 天宗水門 *T'een tsung shwuy mun*, T'een-tsung Water Gate.
27 餘航水門 *Yu hang shwuy mun*, Yu-hang Water Gate.
28 餘航門 *Yu hang mun*, Yu-hang Gate.
29 錢塘門 *Ts'een t'ang mun*, Ts'een-t'ang Gate.
30 豐豫門 *Fung yu mun*, Fung-yu Gate.
31 天宗鹽場 *T'een tsung yen tsang*, T'een-tsung Salt Depot.
32 天宗酒庫 *T'een tsung tsew koo*, T'een-tsung Wine Store.
33 張寺 *Chang she*, The Chang Monastery.
34 府治 *Foo che*, Prefecture
35 府學 *Foo hëŏ*, Prefectural Confucian Temple.

## Plan of the Imperial City of Hangchow in the 13th century.



## Imperial City.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 淸波門 | *Tsing po mun*, Tsing-po Gate. |
| 2 | 錢湖門 | *Ts'een hoo mun*, Ts'een-hoo Gate. |
| 3 | 嘉會門 | *Kea hwuy mun*, Kea-hwuy Gate. |
| 4 | 南入水門 | *Nan jŭh shwuy mun*, South Water Gate. |
| 5 | 水門 | *Shwuy mun*, Water Gate. |
| 6 | 便門 | *Peen mun*, Peen Gate. |
| 7 | 候潮門 | *How chaou mun*, Tide-awaiting Gate. |
| 8 | 保安水門 | *Paou gan shwuy mun*, Paou-gan Water Gate. |
| 9 | 保安門 | *Paou gan mun*, Paou-gan Gate. |
| 10 | 新開門 | *Sin k'ae mun*, New Gate. |
| 11 | 府後門 | *Fo how mun*, Prefectural Back Gate. |
| 12 | 麗正門 | *Le ching mun*, Le-ching Gate. |
| 13 | 東便門 | *Tung peen mun*, East Peen Gate. |
| 14 | 東華門 | *Tung hwa mun*, Tung-hwa Gate. |
| 15 | 和寧門 | *Ho ning mun*, Ho-ning Gate. |
| 16 | 朝天門 | *Chaou t'een mun*, Chaou-t'een Gate. |
| 17 | 水門 | *Shwuy mun*, Water Gate. |
| 18 | 大內 | *Ta nuy*, Central Palace. |
| 19 | 五府 | *Woo foo*, The Five Courts. |
| 20 | 太廟 | *Tae meaou*, The Imperial Temple. |
| 21 | 鳳皇山 | *Fung hwang shan*, Phœnix Hill. |
| 22 | 石佛寺 | *Shŭh fŭh she*, Monastery of the Stone Buddha. |
| 23 | 梵天寺 | *Fan t'een she*, Monastery of Brahma. |
| 24 | 古聖果寺 | *Koo shing kwo she*, Monastery of the Sacred Fruit. |

The above two plans of the old city of Hangchow are reduced from those in a new edition of the 咸淳臨安志 *Heen-chun Ling-gan che*, or "Topography of Hangchow during the Heen-shun (1265-1274) period." Making due allowance for want of proportion, these will probably give a tolerably accurate idea of the relative position of the various parts of the city and palace, at the time it was visited by Marco Polo. [*Ed. Com.*]

## ARTICLE II.

### LEGENDS OF THE ANCIENT MAZDAYAÇNIAN PROPHETS, AND THE STORY OF ZOROASTER.*

By D. N. CAMAJEE.

THROUGH the researches of European, Mahommedan and Parsee scholars, much has been done to clear away the obscurity that veiled the history of the ancient kings of Iran and the religion of Zoroaster. The progress that has been made in deciphering cuneiform texts, ancient manuscripts and inscriptions on stone tablets, has been rendered subservient to the same end, and has gone far to restore the knowledge of the ancient sacred language.

The following paper is an attempt to summarize some of the results, as bearing on the history and religion of the Parsees, which is thus characterized by Bleek:—

"A religion which is probably as ancient as Judaism, and which certainly taught the immortality of the soul and a future state of rewards and punishments for centuries before these doctrines were prevalent among the Jews,—a religion which for ages prior to Christianity announced that men must be pure in thought as well as in word and deed, and that sins must be *repented of* before they could be atoned for,—a religion whose followers were forbidden to kill even animals wantonly, at a time when the ancestors of the French and English nations were accustomed to sacrifice human victims to their sanguinary Deities,—such a pure and venerable religion is one which must always command the respect of the civilized world, and of which a Parsee may well be proud."†

The oldest manuscripts of the Zend-Avesta and sacred books of the Parsees seem to have disappeared in the time of the Turanian, Grecian, Roman and Mahommedan monarchs, who successively usurped the throne of the ancient kings of Persia. These several invaders, in their zeal to establish their respective faiths, destroyed to a great extent the archives of the nation, and thus entailed upon posterity the loss of many venerable records, containing authentic proof of the sublime Truth contained in the Sacred Law of the Mazdayaçnian religion.

* Read before the Society on May 20th, 1874.

† *Avesta*, Introduction, pp. xviii, xix.

After a long but ineffectual resistance to their oppressors, a body of the ancient Persians, who still held fast to the faith of their forefathers, fled from the Mahommedan persecution, and took refuge among the mountains of Kohistan, on the western borders of the present Beloochistan. This is thought to have taken place about the ninth century of the Christian era; and after a residence there of about a hundred years, they removed to the island of Ormuz in the Persian Gulph. There they sojourned fifteen years and then took up their abode on the island of Diu off Gujrat, where they remained nineteen years longer; and ultimately migrated to the neighbourhood of Surat, where they have since retained a footing.

In all their wanderings, this colony had carried with them copies of their sacred writings; and though during their dispersion by the Mahommedan persecution in the eleventh century, some parts were lost, yet they were able to supply the deficiency by correspondence with their brethren who had remained behind in Kerman.

Through their intercourse with Europeans in later times, many of these manuscripts found their way to the west; and even during last century, most if not the whole of the Zend-Avesta was deposited in the Oxford library.

Much attention has been given to this ancient text of an obsolete language in recent times; not only are there translations in modern Persian and Gujratee, but also in several European languages. Last century a bad translation into French was published by Anquetil du Perron; a better translation was made into German by professor Spiegel of Erlangen University in 1853; and this was translated into English by Arthur Henry Bleek, and published by Muncherjee Hormusjee Cama in 1864.*

Referring to the primitive traditions of the nation, Bleek says:—"In the old Persian mythology, a Primeval Bull (or Cow) was the first and sole inhabitant of the earth; and being slain by Anramainyus, all kinds of profitable corn and grain were produced from his body, while his soul went to heaven, where it complained that the world was now without protection, and would be destroyed by Anramainyus. Hereupon the *Fravashi* (soul) of Zarathustra

* The Zend-Avesta consists of several portions:—1, the "Vendidad," divided into 22 *Fargards* or chapters; 2, the "Vispered," in 27 short sections; 3, the "Yaçna," in 70 *Has* or sections; and 4, the "Khordah Avesta," consisting of 66 *Yashts* or invocations. Each of these is divided into verses.

was shown to the disconsolate animal, who forthwith became pacified."* The text which this is intended to elucidate, is an invocation of Zoroaster, who after naming Ahura-Mazda, the supreme and several subordinate spirits, continues by addressing:—"The body of the cow, the soul of the cow, the fire (the son) of Ahura-Mazda, the most helpful of the Amĕsha-çpĕntas."† The Amĕsha-çpĕntas are seven spiritual beings supposed to rule over so many divisions of the universe. They are,—1, Bahman, the protector of all living creatures; 2, Ardibĕhist, the genius of fire; 3, Shahrévar, the lord and protector of metals; 4, Çpandarmat, the goddess of earth; 5, Haurvat, the protector of waters; 6, Amertat, the protector of trees; and 7, Çrosh, the protector of night and furtherer of the world.

According to the Desâtir,‡ Dabistan,§ and oral traditions previous to the Mahommedan invasion of the ancient Arian kingdom, there was a continuous line of sixteen prophets of the Mahabadian faith. These were:—1, Mahabad, the royal prophet; 2, Jyafram; 3, Shai-kilm, descendant of Jyalad; 4, Yâsân; 5, Gilshah, the same as Gayo-mard‖ in the Avesta; 6, Siamuk; 7, Hoshung; 8, Tamuraçps; 9, Jemshid; 10, Feridun; 11, Minochir; 12, Kai Khosru (Cyrus), the first king of Iran; 13, Zoroaster; 14, Secunder, or Alexander the Great, known to the Arabs as *Dzul K'arnaïn*;¶ 15, Ardasîr Babegan, or Artaxerxes, the first Sassan; 16, the fifth Sassan.

The above are all held to be distinguished upholders of the ancient Mahabadian faith. The first four of these obviously belong

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* *Avesta*, Yaçna i, v. 6, note.

† *Avesta*, Yaçna i, v. 6.

‡ An ancient Persian work containing the writings of the early prophets, Abad, Jemshid, Zarathushtra, &c.

§ A Persian work of the eighteenth century, giving a description of the various religions of the world, including a detailed account of the Zoroastrian faith.

‖ Gayo-mard has been by some identified with Adam, by some with Seth, by some again with the grandson of Seth, by some with Noah, and by others with the grandson of Shem.

¶ This term, signifying "two-horned" in Arabic, we are told by Golius, either alludes to the two horns with which he is represented on coins, or to his domination of the East and West. Col. Yule says the term is still in colloquial use in some corners of England, implying the horns of a dilemma, in which sense it is used by Chaucer:—

"I am, till God me better minde send,
At *dulcarnon*, right at my wittes end."

to a prehistoric period, and to them are attributed reigns of immeasurable length. By some they are even held to be merely the representatives of so many creations in the unending revolutions of the material universe. According to this system, 30 of our years represent a day; 30 days make a month; 12 months make a year or murtubé; 1,000,000 murtubé, one furud; 1,000 furud, one vurud; 1,000 vurud, one murud; 1,000 murud, one jad; 3,000 jad, one vad; 2,000 vad, one jahad or cycle, which will thus be equal to sixty-four quadrillions, eight hundred thousand trillions of our years. This immense number is portioned off into periods of one thousand years, which are governed respectively by the several stars in rotation, including in the number the sun, moon, and five planets; the moon being the last of the series. While the first star governs as ruler, the second is his minister; on the conclusion of the first term, the first star passes on to the end of the series, the second becomes ruler, and the third is his minister; in like manner, on the completion of the next term, the second passes to the end, the third becomes ruler and the fourth star is minister; and so on till the cycle is completed. At the end of each cycle, all creation is reduced to chaos, and on the evolution of a new universe, the human family recommences from a single pair. The first four prophets, who are held to have ruled over four such cycles, were thoroughly conversant with the laws of God, had a perfect understanding of the movements of the glorious orbs that people space, and observed how all these paid an unswerving obedience to the will of their Creator; while man alone in his puny insignificance, dared to raise the arm of rebellion against the fiat of Omnipotence. The seed of evil deposited in the human heart bare abundant fruit in succeeding generations; and from bad they proceeded to worse; till sunk in corruption, they received the due recompense of their deeds from the Supreme, in the annihilation of the race at the end of the cycle. Four successive cycles thus passed away, during which these prophets raised their voices against the prevailing degradation, and sought to recall men to their allegiance to the Supreme.

According to another tradition, the first prophet *Mahabad* is said to have received from his Creator the *Asmani Kitab* or "Heavenly Book," and was endowed with wisdom and probity to follow out the Divine precepts. He instructed the people in the laws of God, and while they listened to his teaching, for a long period they enjoyed prosperity and happiness. At length when they gave way

to every kind of wickedness, he retired from the world and lived on a mountain, devoting his life to the worship of that God whose Divine energy was manifest in all the works of creation. "The earth also was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence."*

A long period of anarchy, turbulence and bloodshed ensued. Amidst abounding corruption, however, a small remnant were found faithful, and these endeavoured to stem the tide of evil. Their thoughts reverted to their former king, and they resolved on seeking him out. After a long and weary pilgrimage, in which they had to overcome many difficulties and dangers, they arrived at a secluded valley, where they found *Jyaſram* the sage, the son of their previous prince. A unanimous request from these pilgrims to become their king, was at first declined by the recluse, who sought to spend his life adoring the Creator in the solitudes of the mountain. A divine communication, however, from the Çrosh Izad, the lord of the night, induced him to alter his determination, and to undertake the government of the nation in accordance with the dictates of the sacred book, which was transmitted to him. Jyaſram again promulgated the traditional faith; again the people rebelled against the divine decrees and became ungovernable; like his royal parent and predecessor, he retired to the mountains, and as before, his retirement was followed by a period of violence and mutual destruction.

The same experience was repeated in the case of the two prophet-kings *Shai-kilm* and *Yâsân*, who succeeded.

After the retirement of Yâsân, a long period ensued, during which the human race was reduced to a very few in number. At length Gilshah appeared in the world, the same who is called *Gayo-mard* in the Avesta, the word signifying "man." Some, however, say he is the son of Adam; and he has been identified by some with Furjinsar, the son of Yâsân; but we cannot speak with certainty on the subject. The following invocation is found in the Avesta:—"We worship the Fravashi of the well-created cow, and *Gayô-marathan* the pure."† Here *Gayo-marathan* signifies "mortal life," and is equivalent to the primeval man, who was created with the bull.‡ In another place Gayo-mard is re-

* Genesis, c. vi, v. 11.

† Yaçna, xiv, v. 18.

‡ The myth of the creation of the first man and the primeval bull is found in the *Majmil-al-Tawârikh*, translated in the *Journal Asiatique*, 3e. série, tome 11, pp. 145 ff.

ferred to under the term "pure men."* There is a tradition which says that he collected all the adherents of the ancient faith; that his rule over them was characterized by wisdom and justice; that he cut off the reprobate from the society of the faithful; and from the patriarchal authority he exercised over the body, he was called the "father of men." He is reputed to have been the first king, and during his reign, the people are said to have increased greatly in numbers and in prosperity.

From the Desatir† we learn that Gayo-mard had two sons Julmise and Tulmise, and two daughters Ukimar and Hukisar. Tulmise married Ukimar, who was fair to look upon; while Julmise married her sister Hukisar, who had none of the attractions of beauty. Overcome by jealousy, Julmise sought an opportunity, and with a large stone killed his brother one night during his sleep. The legend is suggestive of a parallel in the story of Cain and Abel:—"And it came to pass, when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him."‡

*Siamuk*, the son of Gayo-mard, appears to be the Tulmise of the above quotation. By Arabian writers he is called Uruf Khurad Bin Sam.§

*Hoshung*, whose name signifies "sage," was the son of Siamuk,‖ and is considered the first of the Peshdadian line of princes, a title implying "justice in action." By the Arabians he is called Esarbux. Where the Avesta speaks of the "first established,"¶ the Huzvâresh gloss quotes Hoshung as an illustration; implying that he was the originator of national government. In his time the people enjoyed prosperity and happiness. He had a knowledge of astronomy, and instructed his subjects in the art of cultivating the ground. He also initiated the art of building, discovered the use of fire, and taught the working of metals and manufacture of implements. After a reign of forty years,** he left behind him a book called the *Javédané Kherud*, or "Eternal Wisdom."

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* Yaçna, xix, v. 3.

† Page 267.

‡ Genesis, c. iv, v. 8.

§ In the *Shah-nameh*, Siamuk is said to have been killed by a demon, at the instigation of Ahriman. The *Majmil-al-Tawârikh* makes Siamuk the son of Meschi, the son of Gayo-mard.

‖ The *Majmil-al-Tawârikh* makes Hoshung the son of Ferawek, son of Siamuk.

¶ *Vendidad*, Fargard xx, v. 7.

** In the *Shah-nameh* he is said to have reigned thirty years.

*Taimuraçps* is generally considered the son of Hoshung, though by some he is reputed the grandson, and succeeded the latter after an interregnum of three hundred years. He bears the epithet *Dev-binder* signifying "conqueror of devs." Under the name of Takhma-urupa he is spoken of in the Avesta. The 19th Yasht contains an invocation to "The strong Kingly Majesty, etc. which united itself to Takhma-urupa, the weaponless, when he ruled over the seven-portioned earth; over Daevas and men, over sorcerers and Pairikas, over Çâthras, Kaŏyas, and Karapanas; so that he was smiter of all Daevas and men, all sorcerers and Pairikas, that he ruled Anramainyus, tamed in the shape of a horse, thirty years long, round both ends of the earth."* He reigned thirty years during which time the art of writing was invented.†

*Jemshid* succeeded his father Tamuraçps‡ on the throne. His name was originally *Jem;* and on account of the splendour of his reign and his moral character, the syllable *shid* signifying "brilliant" was superadded. Tradition reports that while travelling about from place to place he arrived at Aderbedjan, where he was crowned and mounted the throne. At that moment the sun shone on the crown which gave a brilliant lustre, and all around him were dazzled; an event which is still commemorated by the fête of Jemshid-i-Noworoj.

In legends Jemshid has been identified with Jima or Yima§ the king of Airyana-vaêjâ, the Iranian paradise. Referring to this Bleek says:—"This is not the place to enter into a lengthened discussion, but we may observe that the Yima of the Vendidad is identical with the Yama of the Vedas, only that in the latter Yama is represented as the Ruler of departed souls, who live under his sovereignty in another world in the enjoyment of all bliss and happiness, whereas in the Persian mythology Yima's kingdom is placed on this earth, in the fabulous region of Airyana-vaêjâ, and

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* *Khordah-Avesta*, xxxv, vv. 27-29.

† There seems a discrepancy between this and the statement that his predecessor left a *book;* but congruity is not to be looked for between miscellaneous legends; or it may mean that the system of writing peculiar to the Iranian nation originated during this reign.

‡ The *Majmil-al-Tawârikh* makes Jemshid brother to Tamuraçps.

§ It has been thought by some, that Yima may be identified with the sage Hebrew king Solomon; but there is a chronological difficulty in accepting this, as there appears to be a period of 1682 years between the two, and that Solomon was actually born 58 years later than Minochir the grandson of Feridun. See *Pad-nameh* by Mulla Firuz bin Kawas, p. 155.

its inhabitants consist of a limited number only, who dwell with Yima in a state of felicity, exempted from all curses of Anramainyus....It is a peculiar feature of this tradition that Yima refuses to become a Lawgiver; but he willingly accepts from Ahura-Mazda the commission to make the earth wide and happy."* Of this paradise it is said, "Ten months of winter are there—two months of summer."† The historical truth contained in the myth is supposed to point to the original seat of the Arian race, and this is thought to be towards the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes.

It is further described as good beyond other places, inasmuch as there men lived to the age of 300, and cows and cattle to 150; they had little pain or sickness; they lived under the law of Paoiryo-Tkaêsha, the faith of the former patriarchs, and when they died they were canonized.

In Jemshid's time weapons of war were invented, the helmet and the cuirass; weaving, sewing and embroidery were taught; and the people were clothed in linen, woollen and silk garments. Agriculture and house-building were also improved. When arrayed in royal attire, he wore a crown adorned with pearls and precious stones; and he kept his royal studs for travelling. The length of human life in his days may be compared with the Hebrew records, where we find that Adam lived to the age of 930 years, Seth 912, Enos 905, etc. etc. In the Vendidad, Yima thus addresses Ahura-Mazda:—"During my rule there shall be no cold wind, nor heat, no disease, no death."‡ Again we find the same potentate invoked as "the kingly majesty,"§ which Bleek says, "refers to a particular ray, or divine light, possessed by Yima, which was afterwards taken away from him on account of his bad deeds, and with it disappeared happiness and blessing."‖ The character of Yima is further described by the genius of the plant Haŏma, in answer to Zarathustra's question, as to who was the first to use that plant in sacrifice, thus:—"Vivanhao has first of men in the corporal world prepared me. This holiness became thereby his portion, this wish was granted to him: That a son was born to him, Yima, the bright, possessing a good congregation; The most majestic of beings, who most gazes at the sun among men; Since on account of his rule men and cattle were immortal, water and trees not

* *Vendidad*, Fargard ii, Introduction.
† *Ibid*, Fargard i, v. 4.
‡ Fargard ii, v. 16.
§ Yaçna i, v. 42.
‖ Ibid, note.

dried up, The eatable food inexhaustible. In the wide rule of Yima there was no cold, no heat, No old age and death, no envy created by the Daevas. Father and son walked along, fifteen years old in countenance, each of the two, So long as Yima of the good rule, the son of Vivanhao governed."* Bleek commenting on this passage, remarks that the investigations of European scholars "show that Yima was regarded as the bringer of the golden age upon earth, and also as the founder of a place of delight (much resembling the Grecian Elysium) known as the *Vara* of Yima, which is more particularly described in Vendidad ii. According to other accounts, Yima afterwards became a sinner on account of pride and self-exultation, whereupon Ahura-Mazda abandoned him, and he was slain."† We observe a remarkable analogy between this golden age of the Persian legends, and the state of Paradise as described in the Hebrew Scriptures. The same happy age is evidently described by the Greek poet Hesiod in these words: —"The race of men lived like gods in perfect happiness; exempt from labour, from the decrepitude of elderhood, and from all evil, the earth spontaneously supplied them with fruits in the greatest abundance; dying at length without pain, they became happy and beneficent spirits, appointed by the divine wisdom to the royal function of superintending the future race of men, watching their good and evil ways."‡ The resemblance between what he calls the silver age, and the antediluvian world after the fall is no less striking.

Such is said to have been the state of happiness under the rule of Jemshid for three hundred years; but with the spread of luxury, the human element began to usurp the supremacy in his heart, till he became puffed up, rebelled against his Creator, and, after a series of calamities, was captured and put to death by his enemy Zohak, the prince of Turan. Others, however, assert that Zohak maliciously spread these evil reports without foundation.

According to the Desâtir, Freemasonry would appear to have originated during the reign of Jemshid.

The reign of *Zohak* was distinguished by the miseries he brought upon the country. He reigned a thousand years with cruelty and oppression, and was ultimately put to death by Feridun, the son

* Yaçna ix, vv. 12-20.
† Ibid, vv. 12, 13, note.
‡ Mitford's *History of Greece*, p. 92.

of Atbin, the son of Humayun, the son of Jemshid. The murderers of Feridun's father, his mother Fur Ja-nuck and all the rest of the family, were among the black deeds of the tyrant Zohak. By the Arabians Feridun is called Jolkurk-akhbur.

Descended from the ancient line of kings, the subject of an ominous dream by Zohak, *Feridun* had been carried off by his mother in infancy to the Albroz* mountains, where he was brought up by a recluse who lived on a mountain. On being made acquainted with his origin at sixteen years of age, he left his hiding-place, and formed his plans for vengeance, which were consummated in the destruction of the tyrant.

The birthplace of Feridun, under the name of Thraêtaona, is mentioned in the Avesta, thus:—"As the fourteenth best of regions and countries, I Ahura-Muzda created Varena with the four corners; to him was born Thraêtaona the slayer of the destructive serpent. Thereupon Anramainyus, the death-dealing, created in opposition to him irregularly recurring evils (sicknesses) and un-Arian plagues of the country."† The Varena of the text is supposed by Haug to be Ghilan, a place on the south-west coast of the Caspian. The overthrow of Zohak is said to have taken place on Demavend, a mountain to the south of the Caspian Sea. There is an annual fête in commemoration of Feridun's victory over Zohak. The legend of Feridun's victory is given in the Avesta, by the genius Haŏma in answer to Zarathustra's question, as to who was the second man who had prepared the plant for sacrifice, thus:—"Athwya has prepared me as the second man in the corporeal world; this holiness became thereby his portion, this wish was granted to him, That a son was born to him with valiant clan: Thraetaonô, who smote the serpent Dahâka, which had three jaws, three heads, six eyes, a thousand strengths."‡ Bleek says on this passage, that "Athwya, the name of the father, is the Indian Aptya. The epithet, 'with bold clan,' applied to Thraetaonô, implies that he was the progenitor of a warlike race of kings. In fact, he was the ancestor of Manoschihr (Minochir) and the royal family of the Kâvyas. The story of the war of Thraetaonô with the snake *(aziz)* Dahâka is of extremely ancient origin, and is mentioned in the Vedas, where *Trita* corresponds to the Thraetaonô of the Avesta."§

* The chain of mountains extending from the Caspian to the Hindu-kush.
† *Vendidad*, Fargard i, v. 18.
‡ Yaçna ix, vv. 23-25.
§ Ibid, note.

Feridun had three sons, Sulim, Toor and Aruch. The two elder were ambitious and restless in mind; but Aruch the younger was of a mild and peaceful disposition. During his lifetime, Feridun appointed Sulim king of Roum and Khawer, being the present territories of Greece, Asia Minor and Egypt. To Toor he allotted the turbulent provinces beyond the Oxus; while he set Aruch over the empire of Persia proper. Sulim and Toor, however, were dissatisfied with their father's decision, against which they revolted, and threatened the safety of Aruch. The latter was naturally averse to contention, and willingly resigned the dignity in favour of his seniors. The soldiers and people, however, had become attached to Aruch, and wished him to retain the throne; and although he declined to do so, that did not shield him from the jealousy and suspicion of his brothers, and he was treacherously killed by Toor at their first meeting. Aruch left a son named Minochir,* who revenged his father's death by killing his two uncles in battle. On the death of Feridun after a reign of five hundred years, he was succeeded by Minochir.

After a week's mourning for his grandfather *Minochir* (signifying "heavenly face") ascended the throne, which he occupied for twenty-six years, and died at the age of a hundred and twenty.

*Nodar*, the second son of Minochir, succeeded him on the throne, but his rule was marked by injustice, tyranny and cruelty. He neither followed the laws of God nor the example of his father. With much provocation his people were almost driven to revolt, and it was not without encouragement from the subjects of Nodar, that Pasung, the king of Turan or Turkistan undertook the invasion of the empire. Afrasiab his son crossed the Jihon with an army of four hundred thousand men, to which Nodar could only oppose a hundred and forty thousand. After a sanguinary battle, the latter fled with the remnant of his troops, but was ultimately taken and put to death after a reign of seven years.

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* According to the *Shah-nameh*, the daughter of Aruch or Iredj was married to a member of Feridun's family, of whom Minochir was the issue. Another tradition quoted in the *Majmil-al-Tawârikh* says Feridun himself took the daughter of Iredj to wife, of whom was born Minochir. The following is the pedigree given in the *Chronicle of Thabari:* Minochir was the son of Mefesjer, the son of Wetrek, the son of Sherusang, the son of Irak, the grandson of Ferjung, the son of Ishek, the son of Furguzek, the son of Iredj, the son of Feridun.

*Afrasiab* usurped the throne, but had scarcely taken possession when Jal, the son of Sam, an old ally of Minochir, who had been seeking a descendant of the house of Feridun, found *Jou* the son of Tahmuraçp, the eldest son of Minochir, and proclaimed him king. War and famine had devastated the country for five years, at the end of which a treaty was concluded, and the river Jihon fixed as the boundary between the two nations. Jou died about this time.

*Garsasp*, the son of Jou, succeeded him on the throne, but died after a reign of nine years, leaving no successor.

On the news of the death of Garsasp reaching the king of Turan, he again dispatched Afrasiab with an army across the Jihon, to take advantage of the troublous state of Iran. At the same time, Jal the king of Sejestan called a council of the magnates, at which it was proposed to seek out *Kai Kobad*,* a descendant of Feridun, and offer him the crown. He was found among the Albroz mountains, and accepted the proferred dignity. He defeated the Turcomans and ascended the throne. After a second battle, in which he was also victorious, a new treaty of peace was concluded, by which the Jihon was again fixed as the boundary. That Afrasiab was a special object of abhorrence to the ancient orthodox Mazdayaçnians, we may gather from a prayer of Haŏma to the goddess Drvâçpa, (a name signifying "possessing sound horses") in the Khordah:—"Grant me, O good most profitable Drvâçpa, this favour, that I may bind the murdering Turanian Franraçyâna, that I may carry him away bound as a prisoner of king Huçrava. May Kava Huçrava slay him behind Vara Chaêchaçta, the deep, with broad waters, the son of the daughter of Çyâvarshâna, the man slain by violence, and Agraê-ratha, the son of Naru."† In this passage, which is repeated in substance in verse 22, as the prayer of Huçrava himself. Franraçyâna, is the Afrasiab of later mythology, Huçrava is Kai Khosru, Çyâvarshâna is Cyavakh, and Agraê-ratha is Aghrésath, a brother of Afrasiab, by whom he was put to death. Although somewhat wayward in the early part of his reign, the subsequent years were distinguished by justice, wisdom and peace. He reigned for a hundred years and left four

* According to the Arabian authors quoted in the *Majmil-al-Tawârikh*, Kai Kobad was the son of Jou or Zab as he is called. By another tradition quoted in the same work, he was the son of Kai Kameh, the son of Jou. By some he is identified with Dejoces of Herodotus, B.C. 710-657.

† *Khordah Avesta*, xxv, Gosh-Yasht, v. 18.

sons, Kai Kous, Urus, Rum and Urmin.* Kai is an honourable term meaning "founder," which was bestowed by Jal on Kobad, and successively adopted by every monarch of the dynasty.

*Kai Kous* succeeded his father† Kai Kobad on the throne. Some of the first years of his reign were marked by an ill-judged invasion of Mazanderan, contrary to the advice of his counsellors, by which he involved himself in great difficulties. Getting extricated from his impending peril, he returned to his capital at Istakhan or Persepolis. The remainder of his reign, if not altogether peaceful, was at least prosperous, if we except a foolish enterprize, by which he sought to ascend to heaven in a car drawn by eagles, but was naturally precipitated to the earth, and expiated his presumption by forty days penance. He had a son named Cyavakh, distinguished as well by his physical as his moral qualities. Through the hatred of his step-mother a quarrel was engendered between father and son, which resulted in the exile of the son to Turan. There Cyavakh‡ contracted a friendship with Afrasiab his father's old enemy, and after a time married the king's daughter. Successful in several battles, he increased in favour with his father-in-law day by day, and was the recipient of many favours. The important trust committed to his charge excited a spirit of jealousy among the courtiers; and these by their slanders wrought up the suspicions of Afrasiab to that extent, that he caused him treacherously to be killed. The widow of Cyavakh fled to Khotan, where she was protected by the prince, and soon after gave birth to a son who was named Kai Khosru.

Arrived at the age of manhood, and having distinguished himself in arms, Kai Khosru was proclaimed heir to the throne in preference to Ferberz the son of Kai Kous. Kai Khosru subsequently took the command of the army, crossed the Jihon, and took Afrasiab captive; but that monarch made his escape and lived for several years in concealment, till he was eventually taken and put to death by Kai Kous. The latter died at the age of a hundred and fifty.

* The *Majmil-al-Tawârikh* only gives him two sons Kai Kous and Kai Peshin.

† The same work quotes a tradition that Kai Kous was the son of Kai Afreh and grandson of Kai Kobad, the Dejoces of Herodotus, and identifies Kai Afreh with Phraortes, the son and successor of Dejoces, B.C. 657-635; when the reign of Kai Kous would be equivalent to the combined reigns of Cyaxares and Astyages, B.C. 635-560.

‡ Cyavakh would seem to correspond to Cyaxares 2nd of Xenophon; and we may possibly see in Afrasiab of the Persian, the Astyages of the Greeks.

*Kai Khosru*,* who succeeded his grandfather Kai Kous, reigned for sixty years, during which time he gained many victories over the neighbouring nations, and greatly enlarged the boundaries of the Persian monarchy. He is said to have abdicated in favour of his son-in-law, and spent the latter part of his life in retirement and deeds of pious devotion. †

*Lohorasp*‡ succeeded Kai Khosru on the throne, and reigned with wisdom and justice over a prosperous and happy people. He had four sons, Ardasir, Sidusp, Gustasp and Zerir; the two elder of whom being of royal descent by the mother's side, shared more of their father's favour. This led to an estrangement between the king and Gustasp, who fled to Roum and lived in seclusion. It happened at that time, that Kaytaoun one of the emperor's daughters came of age, when according to ancient custom, a proclamation was issued inviting all those of royal lineage to attend an imperial feast. Gustasp attended among the rest, and made such a favourable impression on the lady, that he soon become son-in-law to the emperor. From that time he rose in repute; commissions of trust were placed in his hands; he became distinguished for his deeds of arms, and eventually the fame of his doings reached his father in Persia. The latter desiring a reconciliation, dispatched his son Zerir to Gustasp to offer him the throne of Persia. Gustasp accepted the offer and returned to his paternal home, where he was received with great honour by his relatives and the nobles of the state. The crown was placed on his head by Lohorasp, who it is said retired to the solitude of a temple in Cabul.

*Gustasp*§ ruled the empire through a period of war with much success. He had by his wife Kaytaoun a son named Usfundiar, who became greatly distinguished by his bravery and success in war. So illustrious did he become by his achievements in battle, that jealousy, as usual in such cases, began to manifest itself among the courtiers. Accusations followed, and Usfundiar was imprisoned. About this time Gustasp was attacked by the Turanians and defeated. Feeling then the need of his son's services, Usfundiar was released from prison, and a reconciliation ensued. The son took the field against the enemy, and gained a signal victory.

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* There is no doubt about the identity of Kai Khosru with Cyrus of the Greek historians, B.C. 559-529.

† According to Herodotus, Cyrus was slain in a battle with the Massagetæ.

‡ The *Majmil-al-Tawârikh* makes Lohorasp the son of Kai Menisch, the son of Peschin, the son of Kai Kobad. The *Shah-namch* makes him son of Peschin.

§ This is evidently Darius Hystaspes of the Greek historians, who reigned B.C. 521-485.

The reign of Gustasp is especially marked by the appearance of Zoroaster the Prophet, and Teacher of the Sacred Law. The venerable devotee was admitted to court, and pressed upon the monarch and his attendants the importance of the divine truths he had to teach. Usfundiar was his first and most zealous disciple, through whose influence Gustasp and other members of the family were brought to give in their adherence to the doctrines of the sage. There is a legend to the effect that Zoroaster revealed to Gustasp his place in heaven, and that he bestowed upon his son a body of bronze, that no dart could pierce. The true interpretation of this is, that Zoroaster revealed to Gustasp the Law of God, by following which he became endowed with wisdom and piety, to govern his people with justice and mercy, and so attained to the felicities of heaven. His son's body being made of bronze signifies, that clad in the perfect armour of the Law of God, he should be victorious in every moral contest, and be able to repel all the darts of vice directed against him.

Usfundiar was deputed by his father on a mission through all the provinces of the empire, to establish the doctrine of Zoroaster, and to build Fire Temples. They are called Fire Temples on account of having fire kept day and night in a room with a dome-ceiling. The fire is put in an urn made of brass or silver, and over it suspended from the middle of the dome, is a brass plate which receives the smoke. Into this room no one is allowed to enter except the high priest after he has performed all the ceremonies of purification. Under the high priest are several subordinates, who attend to the services of their respective offices, and perform several rituals for the living and also for the dead. In addition to the services of the priests, the disciples of Zoroaster are accustomed frequently to go and pray in person, with offerings of sandal-wood and money according to their leisure and pecuniary means.

The religion of Zoroaster does not indeed differ essentially from the ancient Mahabadian faith. He was rather a reformer than a founder. He cut off the corruptions which had gradually sprung up through the lapse of centuries, and recalled his countrymen to the ancient faith of their fathers:—the great truth of the existence of One God, the Creator of the universe; the hope of the reward of virtue, whether in thought, word or deed, and fear of the punishment of vice.

The fundamental principles of our religion are purity and holiness. By maintaining purity in heart and life, a human being

is brought near the throne of God.* By holiness of character, the secret place of the Most High may be approached. The object of the manifold prayers and ceremonies in the Zoroastrian ritual, is to symbolize and strive after that purity, without which one ought not to approach the sacred place of worship. Even before the performance of any of the duties of ordinary ceremonial, impurity must be removed by ablutions and prayers.

When a child is seven or eight years old, the ceremony of investiture with the Sudra and Kusti takes place. He first recites the following prayer from the Avesta three times:—"Broken, broken be Satan Ahriman, whose deeds and works are accursed, May his works and deeds not attain (to us). May the three and thirty Amshaspands, and Ormazd be victorious and pure. Purity is the best good. Happiness, happiness is to him: namely, to the best pure in purity."† The child is then bathed in pure well water, by which he is prepared to approach the Sacred Fire Temple without pollution. After these rites the Sudra is put on. This is made of muslin and somewhat resembles an English shirt, with a bag attached to it, about seven inches below the throat. This appendage symbolizes the gathering together of one's thoughts words and actions during the day; which are taken out during sleep and presented before the Supreme. The Kusti which is made of wool is three several times tied round the waist; the novice reciting a prayer each time it is put on. At each end of the Kusti are three tassels, each tassel containing twenty-four threads. When these rites are concluded, the boy is then a member of the Zoroastrian body.

The followers of Zoroaster marry among those of the same religion, and frequently prefer members of the same family. It was customary in ancient times for a man, besides his wife to have concubines. But now that practice is abandoned, and a man only marries one wife. The ancient practice seems to have resembled that of the Greeks, of which Mitford says:—"Marriage was held highly sacred; virginity in mysterious respect; infidelity in a wife deeply disgraceful; but concubinage for a husband as lawful as it

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* Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God. Matthew, c. v, v. 8.

† *Khordah-Avesta*, iii, *Prayer on taking the cow-urine.* The former portion of this prayer is not in the Zend Text, but being in the Parsee, is supposed to be the interpolation of a later period.

was common; bastardy, little or no stain upon children; and polygamy apparently, and divorces equally unknown."*

When a Zoroastrian dies, his body is washed, wrapped in clean white linen, and put on an iron bier; the priest then recites prayers for the deliverance of his soul; the body is shewn to a dog, and afterwards carried to the Tower of Silence, followed by many friends and relatives, with a priest reciting prayers. The dog also follows in the procession; as, like Pope's Indian, the follower of Zoroaster

"Thinks admitted to that equal sky,
His faithful dog shall bear him company."†

The efficacy of the dog in removing pollution is thus referred to in the Avesta:—"For thus, O holy Zarathustra, by leading about a yellow dog with four eyes, or a white one with yellow ears, the Drukhs Naçus runs to the Northern regions. A priest shall first walk along this road, speaking the victorious words: Yathâ ahû vairyô."‡ The translation of this invocation runs thus:—

"1. As is the will of the Lord, so (is He) the Ruler out of purity.
2. From Vohu-manô (will one receive) gifts for the works (which one does) in the world for Mazda.
3. And the kingdom (we give) to Ahura when we afford succour to the poor."§

In a note to the previous quotation, Bleek says, "In this custom of employing a dog as a purifying agent in funeral obsequies, there is no doubt concealed some old Arian mythical idea. In the Vedas, two dogs, Sârameyan (*i.e.*, sons of Saramâ, Indra's bitch), go as the messengers of Yama to the dying, whom they accompany."‖ When they arrive at the Tower of Silence, the bearers put the body on a slab within the tower, to be devoured by the vultures; meanwhile all the priests and friends pray to the Almighty, to give him a clear way to the bridge Chinvate. Every soul must come to this bridge. The good pass over it easily, but the wicked fall off into hell. The tower is surrounded by a wall about thirty or forty feet in height and two to three hundred feet in length.

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* *History of Greece*, p. 51.
† *Essay on Man*, Epistle i, lines 111, 112.
‡ *Vendidad*, Fargard viii, vv. 48, 49.
§ *Khordah-Avesta*, ii.
‖ *Vendidad*, Fargard viii, note 7.

A hill near the sea is especially preferred for it. In the flooring in the tower, holes are formed, by leaving out alternate slabs five or six feet in length by three or four feet in breadth, through which the bones fall into a pit. Near the tower is a place where every member of the procession washes his hands and feet, preparatory to prayer for the deliverance of the departed soul; and the near relations distribute alms to the poor according to their means. A light is kept burning in the house of the deceased day and night for several days; and food presented and prayers offered up every day for a month, for the forgiveness of his sins. After that, offerings are made every month for a year, and subsequently on every anniversary of the death, subject to the zeal and piety of the heirs and relatives, on whom the duty devolves. It is hoped that the savour of the food presented, and the voice of entreaty in prayer may prevail at the throne of Heavenly Grace, to secure the pardon of the sins of the departed, and his admission into Paradise. In the houses of the pious, near relatives do not eat fresh meat for three days. The Zoroastrian ritual contains prayers to the various objects of nature, such as the Sun, Moon, Stars, Earth, Water, Fire, Wind, etc. etc. which are reckoned symbols of purity and power; and it is deemed a duty to pray to them at dawn, morning, noon, afternoon, evening and night. To those who are unable to pay such frequent devotions, it is incumbent at least to offer morning and evening prayer. After addressing a prayer to the Almighty, and the great luminaries of the creation, it is customary to recite a Monajat, a translation of two of which is here given:—

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### Prayer for the Dawn, by the Kudmi high dustoor Mulla Feruz bin Kawas.

Dawn is the time for prayer to God,
Which will destroy and cut in two all evil genii.

The soaring skylark,—bird of dawn,—warbles in praise to God,
while thou sleepest pleasantly.
Rouse thyself! better far to pray than sleep.

As chirping insects His praise all night sing,
So shouldst thou, brother, hail the coming dawn.

Dawn is the time to purify the soul;
Why waste it thus in idle sleep?

Ask thy heart's wish and t'will be granted.
Thy difficulties will be relieved by prayer.

By prayer to Alahi,* all evil will be shaken from thee;
And the darkness of thy soul be purified and cleansed.

Shake off infatuation and lethargy.
Rise! open thy soul's eye and behold the Creator's goodness.

Slay the evil genii by the fervency of thy prayers for heaven's protection and blessings;
And thou, O Man! walk in the ways of God; as thou prayest, follow his commandments in deed as well as in word.

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### Monajat by Minochir dustoor Aduljee dustoor Jamaspjee Asawalla.

O Khodatala! grant me prosperity and success in all my undertakings, and enable me to earn my daily bread.
Make me steadfast in the paths of purity, and keep me away from all ungodliness.
O Thou Great Architect of architects, Benefactor of the universe, Protector of the world, Dispenser of justice to the just, and Giver of my daily food, Dadar Hormuzd!
Thou art the most far-seeing, without form, and canst fortell our secret thoughts and actions, and all that is done in this world; Thou art the bestower of fortune, forgiver of sin, and the Supreme Ruler and keeper both of heaven and earth.
Thou, in the plenitude of Thy tender mercy, canst pardon all our sins; and Thou observest everything done in this world from first to last.
Thou art imperishable, formless, and invisible. Thou art the giver of knowledge and Supreme Ruler of nature in its varied beauties, and possessor of wisdom.

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* The Creator.

Thou are enthroned in paradise, and Thou shed'st Thy glory and light on sun and moon.

Thou canst bestow kingdoms on beggars, and reduce kings to beggary.

Thou art glory and light itself, and by Thee out of darkness cometh light.

Thou grantest riches to the poor, and Thou givest life to the most insignificant objects of Thy creation.

By Thy almighty skill Thou madest the sky of ever-changing hues, and gavest lustre to the glorious stars.

Thou hast created the ever-enduring earth on water, and out of Thy four elements created man endowed with wisdom.

Thou hast filled that earth with verdant plants and trees, and created singing birds to warble in their branches.

Moreover, Thou hast created the various kinds of animals, and Thou hast plentifully supplied them with food by those growing trees.

Thou art the one Lord who created the numberless pleasant and profitable objects in this world, and made this earth like a garden of paradise, and by Thy will this world enjoys all earthly blessings.

O Khodatala! hear my prayer, grant me my desire, and keep me not under man's obligation.

I am helpless and powerless; grant me help and power.

I entreat Thee to bestow on me prosperity.

O Purvurdagar! open my budding hopes, that they may blossom everlastingly.

Prosper me both in this world and in the next; and guard me from difficulties and danger.

I am in a sea of troubles, difficulties, despair and darkness.

O Thou Dadna-lanar-Yujdatala!* grant my desires and gratify my hopes.

Look with mercy on my wounded heart; for I suffer so, that one day appeareth to me like one month.

O Purvurdagar! relieve me from all my difficulties; and open the doors of prosperity and joy.

Increase Thou my worldly glory; and cause me to be respected among my fellow men.

* "Merciful Father the Creator."

Let Thy mercy fall on me like rain; and wash away my trouble and difficulties.

O Khodatala! I am so sinful that I have no hope of forgiveness but through Thy boundless mercy.

Do not put me to shame for my great sins; for Thou art the sea of blessings and destroyer of grief.

Thy blessings and mercies are greater than our sins and crime; do Thou forgive my sins by my reciting the Patet.*

Give me strength for devotion to Thy service, by which Thou shed'st on me the radiance of Thy countenance.

I am undeserving of Thy mercy; but, Oh! let me with reverence approach Thy throne.

Thou, the most far-seeing, look on my wretched state; and grant me blessings of piety and virtue.

If Thou for my sins do not show mercy, then will the evil genii be successful and ruin my body.

In Thy mercy drive me not away from Thy throne, but forgive my sins; be merciful to me, and bestow Thy favour, both in this world and in the next.

Lead me always in the paths of righteousness; and keep me from speaking lies and from wicked ways.

O! let my days, nights, months and years be passed in uninterrupted joy.

Grant Thou me fruitful fields, profitable commerce, and success in all my undertakings.

Bestow Thou on me reason, wisdom, longevity, health and happiness.

In Thy providence show me the way to earn my daily bread; and keep my heart steadfast to accomplish Thy commandments.

Keep me safe by my pure religion and my true faith, that I may glory in both worlds.

After my death give me a heavenly place, near my Holy Hujrut Zaratosh.

Give to my children, the light of my heart, prudence and brightness; that my flowery garden† may enjoy the light.

Keep Thou my family and friends prosperous.

Bestow prosperity and joy on all my Zoroastrian brethren.

Keep Thou all my Zoroastrian brethren, in whatever place they may be, with prudence, grandeur, victory, health and wealth.

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* "Formulary of Confession."

† "Descendants."

Do Thou increase the number of true followers of Zoroaster, and teach them the paths of virtue; may they zealously follow their creed.

Accept Thou, O Purvurdagar! my righteous prayers, and answer them with Thy blessings.

Command Thou the successful Behrâm Izad,* to befriend me in both worlds.

That they give me success in all my enterprises without hazard, and help me in all places.

Send Thou all the pure Fravashis† to my assistance, to cut off from my path all danger and difficulties.

Thou hast granted, O Purvurdagar! to Thy thirty-three Izad Amĕsha-çpentas, goodness and purity.

That, Thou wouldst grant me, through them, all accomplishments and advantages.

O Dadar Hormuzd! do Thou increase my credit, honour and riches, all the months and years.

Show me the way to pray fervently, and open the door of virtue.

And by that increase my honour, and deck me with laurels of victory.

Do Thou by the help of Bahman‡ Amĕsha-çpent, open the doors of peace and friendship, increase many-fold my knowledge, learning and piety.

Do Thou by the help of Ardibehesht§ Amĕsha-çpent, give to my speech sweetness and justice.

Do Thou by the help of Shahrévar‖ Amĕsha-çpent, grant me riches, goods and valuables.

Do Thou by the help of Çpendârmat¶ Amĕsha-çpent, grant me good intentions and pure actions.

Do Thou by the help of Khordât** Amĕsha-çpent, grant me happiness all my moments, days, months and years.

By the Amerdât†† Amĕsha-çpent, strengthen Thou the veins of my body that I may be victorious by piety.

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* "The Lord of strength, the well-created, the beautiful, the smiter of the wicked."

† "Pure soul of the deceased."

‡ "The Lord of heavenly understanding, of victory and peace."

§ "The Lord of strength and bestower of far-seeing eyes."

‖ "The Lord of metals and of charity which feeds the beggars."

¶ "The Lord of liberality and giver of far-seeing eyes."

** "The Lord of purity and of yearly good dwellings."

†† "The Lord of purity, of cattle, pastures, corn, fruit, horses, fire, the son of Ahura-Mazda and navel of the waters."

By the Dai-pa-Adar* Izad, give me profit in all my undertakings everywhere.

By the Adar† Izad, grant me glory and health; destroy all evil genii, and take away calamities from my house.

Do Thou by the mother Abân Ardvî-çûra,‡ purify my body and grant me purity of heart.

Do Thou by the Qarshêt§ Izad, grant me splendour and better knowledge than all human beings.

By the Mâh-abuktar‖ Izad, open the door of my daily earnings, and cause me to be successful in all my undertakings.

O Khodatala! by the Star Tistar¶ Izad, fix all profitable, pure and fortunate stars for me.

Brighten my fortune with light, and take away all evil and malignant stars.

By Gosh** Izad, keep me under thy guidance; and open the doors of wisdom, skill and the secrets of my pure religion.

By the Dai-pa-mihr†† Izad, grant me gladness, a generous nature, and soften my heart with mercy.

By the Mihr‡‡ Izad Saheb, increase Thy mercy, and when Mehr Izad examines my account of the world at the bridge of Chinvate on my resurrection, do Thou pass me with credit.

O Khodatala! by the honor of Çrosh§§ Izad, accept these entreaties; and when my soul is taken away from my body, let Çrosh Izad help me.

Do Thou send Rashnu‖‖ Izad to my assistance near the judge; to defend my honor at the time that I pass the Chinvate Bridge.

Do Thou by the help of Farvardin¶¶ Izad, open the doors of heaven, and receive me in that everlasting place of bliss.

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* "The Lord of shining, of majesty, of the good wise kings."

† "The Fire, son of Ahura-Mazda, the Lord of fire, of majesty, of brightness, of the kingly majesty, and of the navel of kings."

‡ "The Lord of good translucent and pure water."

§ "The Sun, the immortal shining with swift horses."

‖ "The Moon, which contains the seed of cattle, and the Fravashi, or the soul of the begotten bull and of many kinds of bulls."

¶ "The Star of the East, brilliant, majestic;" it is the first star in heaven.

** "The body of the Bull, the soul of the Bull and protector of cattle."

†† "The Creator, Ahura-Mazda, the shining, the majestic, the Amĕsha-çpentas."

‡‡ "The Mithra Lord of wide pastures; having a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes."

§§ "The holy, beautiful and virtuous; furthering the world; the lord of purity."

‖‖ "The most just, increaser and furtherer of the world, whose language is truth."

¶¶ "The Lord of the good and strong, holy Fravashi or soul."

O Farvardin Izad! be Thou my protector within this world and in the next; protect those also of my faith.

Give Thou me by the help of Behrâm* Izad, success and brightness, and relieve me from danger.

Bestow Thou by the Râm† Izad, happiness, victory and the fruit of joy.

Drive Thou away from me by the help of Vât‡ Izad, sinful thoughts; and destroy them by the root.

Bestow on me by the help of Dai-pa-dîn§ Izad, justice and goodness, and take from me wickedness and crime.

Grant Thou me by the help of Dîn‖ Izad, devotion and my religious rites, endless, high and valuable learning.

Give Thou by the help of Asheshing¶ Izad, riches and power like Kyanian kings.

Increase Thou by the Açtât** Izad, my knowledge of the religious rites of the Fire Temple.

Fulfil Thou by the Açmân†† Izad, my heart's desire, and receive me at the foot of Thy glorious throne.

Give Thou me by the Zemyât‡‡ Izad, but one heart for prayer and earnestness.

Teach Thou me by the Mançerpant§§ Izad, the wisdom and learning of the Zend-Avesta; so that I may obey the commandment of the Sacred Law.

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* "The Lord of strength, the well-created, the beautiful, the smiter of the wicked."

† "The Lord of pure air which works on high, the endless time, the time ruler of long periods."

‡ "The Lord of the holy, life-giving wind."

§ "The Creator, Ahura-Mazda, the shining, majestic, the Amĕsha-çpentas, the good and wise king."

‖ "The Lord of wisdom, created by Mazda pure; the good and Mazdayaçnian law."

¶ "The Lord of the shining, great, powerful, beautiful, enduring, majestic, of the Arian majesty,—the mighty kingly majesty,—the imperishable majesty, the brightness of Zarathustra."

** "The Lord of capability of self-defence, which furthers the world of pure brightness, worthy of honour."

†† "The Lord of heaven, the shining, the best place of the pure, very brilliant."

‡‡ "The Lord of the earth, of places, localities, all mountains with pure brightness, the Lord of purity, the mighty kingly majesty, the mighty imperishable majesty."

§§ "The Lord of the Mânthra-çpenta with much brightness, the law given against the Daevas, the Zarathustrian law."

Shed Thou on me by the Anérân* Izad, the rays of Thy countenance, and increase my credit by piety.

Bestow Thou on me by the Burjo† Izad, ease and comfort; and let my life be spent in holiness and prayer to Thee.

Grant Thou by the Hom Izad, fortune and beautiful children.

And grant Thou to them knowledge, wisdom, riches, victory, gladness, and length of days.

Grant Thou me by the Dahum‡ Izad, knowledge to extol Thy wondrous works; and bestow on me pure and holy understanding.

O Purvurdagar! accept these my entreaties, and crown them with success.

Look Thou with tenderness on my poor self, my household and all my kindred.

Have mercy on my mother, father, grandfather and all my old relations.

Grant Thou me gladness and comfort in this world, and victory in eternity.

O Khodatala! we give a thousand thousand thanks, for our deliverance from hell, by this our holy religion.

And also for sending the holy and wise prophet Zoroaster into this world with Thy Sacred Law, teaching us how to obtain heaven.

May the holy Zoroaster's blessed soul have my thousand thousand blessings, good wishes and thanks after reciting the prayer Ashem Vohu:—"Purity is the best good. Happiness, happiness is to him: namely, to the best pure in purity."

O Omnipotent Creator of this world! Dadar Hormuzd, may Thy blessings be with him who ever recites this prayer.

The sun being the most resplendent of all the objects of creation, after an invocation to the Creator, we next seek his aid. Directions are given in various parts of the Desâtir for worshipping the great works of God. Thus,—"After invoking the name

* "Lords of the light without a beginning, which follow their own law; the shining Garo-nemâna (the abode of Ahura-Mazda); the everlasting profiting house; the great Lord; the kingly brilliant; the navel of the waters with swift horses; the Haŏmo; the Lord who furthers the world, who is free from death; the mighty Yazatas; the good, strong, holy Fravashis of the pure."

† "The Lord who presides over the increase of corn."

‡ "Lord of wisdom, and who attends to the prosperity of families."

of God, praise is to be offered to the seven stars. Erect statues of these seven stars, and thus shew forth the glory of the Almighty as the Great Architect."* The name of God is thus exalted by the consideration of his handiwork. Again the Almighty addressing Tamuraçps the prophet, says:—"The Sun will assist you; I command Khorshed to help you; therefore praise him as follows:—"By the help of Yasda (God), Thou gladness, Thou pleasant one, Thou brightness, Thou living wisdom and immortal brightness; most prominent, universally known, asterism replete with rays, luminary of majestic dimensions, enveloped in light. May the blessings of God attend you with his mercy and favour, O Thou! possessing great wisdom and brightness; the most to be lauded of all luminaries, prosperous, productive, who shinest by the favour of God, who first camest into being, before all creation, and who art without beginning. Loved and cherished by the Creator, etc. etc."† Again:—"Thou, O Moon! art the mirror of thy Creator and his wondrous art."‡

The birthplace of Zoroaster has hitherto been a question with archæologists; Ray, Media and Bactria having each had that honour ascribed to them. On this point there is a passage in the Avesta which must have referred to the native country of the sage, thus:—"Where Rulers, excellent, order round about the lands, where mountains, great with much fodder, abounding in water, afford wells for the cattle, where are canals deep full of water, where flowing waters, broad with water, hurry to Iskata and Pouruta, to Mouru and Haraeva, to Gau, Çughda, and Qâirizâo."§ On this Bleek remarks:—"This verse is important in a geographical point of view, and proves that the writer must have lived in the north-east of Erân, otherwise he could scarcely have represented all the rivers as flowing north and south. *Pouruta* is probably the country of the *Παρυηταῖ*, a people whom Ptolomy places in the north of Arachosia. *Qâirizâo* (in the Cun. inscriptions *Ucârazmi*) is the modern Choaresm."

Zoroaster's father's name was Pourushâçpa, and his mother Dogdo, was a descendant of Feridun. The parentage of the prophet is once or twice referred to in the Avesta; thus the genius

* Page 56, vv. 162, 163.
† Page 163, v. 5.
‡ Page 170, v. 38.
§ *Khordah-Avesta*, xxvi, Mihr-Yasht, v. 14.

of the Haŏma plant address Zarathustra in reply to his question:—"Pourushâçpa has prepared me as the fourth man in the corporeal world, this holiness became thereby his portion, this wish was fulfilled to him: that Thou wert born to him, Thou pure Zarathustra, in the dwelling of Pourushâçpa, created against the Daevas, devoted to the belief in Ahura."* Again we find:—"Born, alas! is the pure Zarathustra in the dwelling of Pourushâçpa."†

Zoroaster had three daughters by his wife Hvôvi, named respectively, Fréni, Thriti and Pŏuru-chiçta. These are all commemorated in the Avesta, thus:—"The Fravashi of the pure Hvôvi praise we. The Fravashi of the pure Fréni praise we. The Fravashi of the pure Thriti praise we. The Fravashi of the pure Pŏuru-chiçta praise we."‡ He had also three sons, Oshedar-bami or Içat-vâçtra, Oshedar-mah or Urvatat-naro, and Çaosh-yanc or Hvarĕ-chithra. These are said to be the progenitors of the three classes, Priests, Warriors and Husbandmen. They are also canonized in the sacred book, thus:—"The Fravashi of the pure Içat-vâçtra, the Zarathustrian, praise we. The Fravashi of the pure Urvatat-naro, the Zarathustrian, praise we. The Fravashi of the pure Hvarĕ-chithra, the Zarathustrian, praise we."§

In conclusion, I will quote the whole of the beautiful poem on the Zend-Avesta, by Edward Vaughan Kencally, LL.D.

### On the Zend-Avesta.

Within this Sacred Book, by Heaven inspired,—
And given to Zaratusht, the Holy Messenger
Of God to man in ages far remote,—
Are lessons, prayers, truths, and laws divine,
Such as the Spirit of Light itself reveals
But to the Chosen Twelve who are the mouth
Of perfect wisdom to the sons of earth.
In the fair Orient was its advent bright;
It shone on man as shines the Morning Star;
It called him from the idols, at whose shrines
Impure he bowed his soul of majesty,
Adoring images, ignoring God.

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* *Yaçna*, ix, vv. 42, 43.
† *Vendidad*, Fargard xix, v. 143.
‡ *Khordah-Avesta*, xxix, Farvardin-Yasht, v. 139.
§ Ibid, v. 98.

It spake in words of thunder-flame; it flashed
In dazzling lightnings on his troubled mind,
And by its own supreme and sovereign presence
Proved its divinity and heavenly birth.
Mountains and forest, river, lake and grove,
In those far distant days, had each their god,
Or tutelary goddess, at whose altar
The priest attended and the people bowed.
The planets, too, were worshipped, and the sun
And stars, and all the visible features
Which indicate God's mighty handiwork.
And man knew nothing of the Supreme Father,
But lavished all religion upon symbols,
Sunshine, and fire and beasts. Therefore was sent
To Zaratusht this volume of pure light,
That he might summon man from fraud to Truth,
And lead him from mesh of priests to God.
And so it came to pass. Therefore do thou
Who would'st in wisdom garment thy clear soul,
And school it for the splendid after-life
Which followeth this, as surely as the day
Succeeds the night, seek in this Sacred Book
The lessons that shall make thee pure and wise.
Think not that to this narrow Western world
The Father gave true knowledge of Himself,
And hid it from the East and Orient men,
But know that all true light proceedeth thence
*Ex Orient Lux;* and that this light
Is God's religion freely given to all;
For are not all mankind the sons of God?
And feels He not as Father unto all?
Therefore, my brother, read, and for thyself
Judge, if it be not a true Word of Truth;
And if thou find in it such speech sublime,
Such doctrine fragrant with the flowers of Heaven,
Such love celestial as the East hath found,
Bow down before it reverently, and believe
That God is not so partial or unjust
As to restrict the knowledge of Himself
To tribes or sects, but that He gives it freely
To all mankind, albeit in different ways.

## ARTICLE III.

### THE ABORIGINES OF NORTHERN FORMOSA.*

By E. C. TAINTOR, A.M., F.R.G.S.

THE eastern portion of Formosa, it is scarcely necessary to remark, is in the possession of aboriginal savages. The part occupied by them, which comprises at least two-thirds of the area of the island, is mostly mountainous and densely wooded. The Chinese settlements lie along the comparatively level tracts which extend from the base of the central range of mountains westward, to the western coast, and continue across the northern end of the island and a short distance down the eastern coast. I cannot better introduce the whole subject than by quoting a few paragraphs from a Trade Report written by me five years since.

"The rugged character of the eastern portion of Formosa has been alluded to above. The proportion of level or valley land to be found is exceedingly small, precipitous and densely wooded mountains occupying by far the greater portion of its extent. The Chinese settlers, in gradually pushing their way into the interior, denude these mountains of their forest coverings; and the dividing line between the territory reclaimed by them and that still in possession of the aborigines, is distinctly marked by the boundary of the wooded tracts. The watercourses are merely mountain torrents, dashing down through the rough rocky gorges, and affording no facilities for navigation. The ability of this part of the island to support a population is thus naturally very limited. The savages who at present occupy it are thinly scattered throughout the few level tracts to be met with, and maintain a precarious existence by hunting, and the cultivation in small quantities of beans, millet and bananas. These supplies often fail them, and with their natural aversion to labor, they will go for several days without food, until pressing hunger prompts them to organize hunting parties for deer, wild pigs or bears, which latter animal is occasionally to be met with. These people stand at the very lowest point in the scale of civilization, and in *physique* those of the northern portion of the island at least are generally puny and insignificant. Long limbs and short trunks indicate a degenerate

* Read before the Society on June 18th, 1874.

type of body, and their habits and mode of life are such as are found only among the most degraded savages. Like most of their class, they have a fatal fondness for ardent spirits, and the use of these has frequently endangered the friendly relations which the Chinese have in some few instances endeavored to establish with them, and has led to conflict, loss of property, and sometimes of life. Few in numbers, and weak in combination, they are incapable of offering very serious resistance to the encroachments of the Chinese upon their territories, and are doubtless destined to disappear before the slow but steady advance of their more enterprising neighbors."—(*Customs Trade Reports for* 1868, *p.* 170.)

"Upon the eastern coast, commencing about twenty-five miles south of Kelung, and extending some fourteen miles farther, to Suao Bay, lies a fertile and beautiful plain or valley. Its popular name is Kap-su-lan (蛤仔難), and the official Ko-ma-lan (噶瑪蘭). It is bounded inland by a semicircle of mountains, its greatest breadth being six or seven miles. The valley is one vast rice field, and much of its produce is carried to Kelung. Several thriving towns lie within its borders. The chief of these, Lo-tong (羅東), is a clean, well-built town, with a considerable population and an active trade. The valley has been almost entirely settled within the present century. It became, soon after its discovery, and while still occupied by savages, the resort of bands of outlaws; but during the closing years of the last century parties of Chinese settlers were attracted thither by the richness of its soil, and as the immigrants increased and pressed upon each other, feuds arose, which led to a memorial to the Emperor from the provincial authorities in 1810, and to its erection into a *t'ing* (廳) district by Imperial edict in 1812.

"The original inhabitants of the plain, a fine-looking race of people calling themselves Kabaran, have been gradually driven by the Chinese farther and farther towards the mountains, or altogether out of the valley. They have become to a great extent civilized, and adopt many Chinese customs. They are called in the local Chinese *Pepo hwan* (平埔番) or savages of the plain, in distinction from those dwelling in the mountains. Driven from their original seats, they have themselves pushed their way in some places into territory in possession of the still untamed savages. An attempt in this direction on a considerable scale has been made during the past year by a colony of Pepos, under the leadership of a foreigner, at a place called Ta-lam-o (大南澳),

situated on the east coast about fifteen miles below Suao. Friendly arrangements have been made with the savages, and the valley is abundant in resources; but the enterprise has met with strong local opposition, and its success is, from a combination of causes, problematical."—(*Id.*, *pp.* 167-8.)

My own visit to the savages on the east coast, which was made in January and February 1869, arose partially out of circumstances connected with the colonization scheme alluded to. Very shortly after my visit, the scheme ended in a disastrous collapse, and a few months later the foreigner who had been its active leader was drowned near the southern end of the island.

I propose first to narrate briefly the incidents of our journey, and then give the results of my observations on the aborigines and their country.

Our party left Tamsui at midnight on the 14th of January, 1869, for Kelung; and the mildness of the winter climate of Formosa may be inferred when I state that we passed the night in an open gig on the river, without discomfort from the cold. We left Kelung on the 16th, in a junk of about twenty tons, and after calling at Pitow, a coal harbor a few miles down the east coast, arrived at Suao Bay on the morning of the 18th. Here a heavy north-east gale detained us for five days, making it impossible for us to put to sea in the small open row-boats in which it was necessary to proceed the remaining 15 or 16 miles to Talamo. This delay enabled me to make some notes upon the customs and character of the Pepos, and to collect a vocabulary of a few hundred words. A small Pepo village lies on the southern side of the bay. I may remark that during our stay here a *census* of our party showed that it was composed of no less than eight distinct nationalities,—two Scotchmen, one German, one American, and one Spanish Mexican, one Goa Portuguese, a Malay, and sundry Chinese and Pepos. Finally, the gale subsiding, we embarked in small boats manned by Pepos, on January 23rd, and reached Lam-o (南澳), the landing place for Talamo, after a pull of three hours. Here we found a small stockade or fort, built by the Pepos under foreign direction, as a defence against sudden surprise by the savages. Talamo, the site of the newly formed colony, lay about two miles from Lamo, the path thither winding inland round the base of a steep mountain which abuts abruptly upon the sea. A still larger stockade, with bastions of stone, and capable of holding at least a hundred men, had been built at Talamo,

a short distance from the sea. At both places we found large parties of the savages who had come down from the interior to see the foreigners, the report of our intended visit having been spread among them by the Pepos.

Our stay here, of eleven days, was passed in making short excursions into the interior, and in getting vocabularies of the savage language and making notes on their habits and characteristics. The longest of our excursions, some seven or eight miles, was up the valley of the small river which flows into the sea at Talamo. The valley, perhaps a mile and a half wide at the sea, rapidly narrowed, until soon it was a mere mountain gorge, and the river a mountain torrent. Enormous boulders blocked the way, and over these the narrow and not easily distinguishable savage trail led; and our scrambles over them were often attended with considerable risk to neck and limb. In such places as these a few determined men might hold their own against hundreds of invaders.

Our embarkation at Lamo on our return was delayed by a N.E. wind, which rendered the surf so great that it was impossible to get the boats afloat. While here one of the straw huts took fire in the night, through the carelessness of one of the Pepos, and caused some excitement, as it was mistaken by some for a night attack by the savages. We finally left Lamo on February 3rd, had a quick run to Suao, and left there the same day on our return to Tamsui. We had determined to follow the land route, through the Kapsulan valley. A walk of four or five hours brought us to Kilokan, on the Ka-lee-wan (加禮遠) river, and the principal town at the southern end of the valley. Here we obtained a boat, and after visiting a Pepo village on the western confines of the valley, followed a canal which runs parallel with the sea-coast, to the large town of Tow-sia* (頭圍), at its northern end. Transferring ourselves here to chairs, we followed the steep and winding road over the mountains to the town of Nwan-nwan (暖暖), at the head of the boat navigation on the Tamsui river. A north-east gale, with drizzling rain, detracted much from the enjoyment of what would otherwise have been a very interesting part of the journey. Reaching Nwan-nwan on the 6th, we found our boats in waiting, and after shooting the rapids which occur in several

* I give the corrupt pronunciation which has come into use among foreigners.

places in the upper course of the river, and which were now swollen and turbulent from the rains, we arrived at Tamsui early on the morning of February 7th; the only incident of the homeward journey having been a summons to stop, during the night, from a party of river pirates, who quickly retreated into the darkness, however, at the cry of *hwanna!* (foreigners) raised by our boatmen.

I proceed now to give a brief sketch of Suao Bay and vicinity. The harbor of Suao is nearly landlocked, and affords good shelter to small vessels. The bay is almost entirely surrounded by steep hills, green and wooded. On the north side of the bay is the small Chinese fishing village of Pak-hong-o (北風澳), and on south side lies a Pepo village, Lam-hong-o (南風澳), containing perhaps one hundred souls. On the western side of the bay, on a small stream, lies the Chinese town of Su-ao (蘇澳), or Saw-o, in the local pronunciation. It is a wretched town of about fifty houses. I had hitherto always held Kelung to be the filthiest town in the universe, not deeming it within the bounds of possibility that a place could be worse than it; but a visit to Suao forced me to confess my mistake. Suao thus far, in my experience, bears the palm, with little danger of losing it. The valley of the Suao river extends towards the south-west for a few miles, to the base of the wooded hills. It is now largely occupied by charcoal burners from the Kapsulan valley, but the ground is gradually being cleared, and will make very rich rice-fields. A few tea plantations had already been made upon some of the hills just back of the town, and five or six years previously a seam of coal was discovered by the Pepos, only a few hundred yards from the beach; but the pit was abandoned when it became filled with water. Besides, the abundance of wood for fuel prevented any inducement to keep it open. At the time of our visit the pit had become so filled with *débris* that no traces of coal were discernible.

About five miles below Suao, in a small bay called Tang-o (東澳), an enterprising Chinaman had erected a saw-mill, where he was cutting timber for the Kelung market, and he was about to set up some camphor stills, the locality being very favorable from the abundance of camphor trees in the vicinity. He had succeeded in making friendly arrangements with the savages, but these had been seriously endangered by occasional brawls, in which the quarrelsome and treacherous savages were only too ready to engage. Talamo, or rather its landing place, Lamo, is

about ten miles farther down the coast. We were told that the Chinese had on three previous occasions, in 1858, 1862 and 1866, made attempts to form a settlement in the valley, but had in time been driven out by the savages. Shortly after the second of these attempts was made, the settlers were surprised by night, and about a hundred were killed. A low enclosing wall of earth, surrounded by a ditch, and which had formerly been crowned with a bamboo stockade, remained as the evidence of the Chinese occupation; and the European leader of the latest colonizing scheme, referred to in the extract above, was greeted on his first landing by the sight of some thirty-five skull-less skeletons, arranged in a row on the beach,—a striking evidence of the failure of the last preceding attempt at Chinese colonization.

The climate of the eastern coast of Formosa, under the influence of the warm Kuro-siwo, or Japanese stream, is considerably milder than that of corresponding positions on the western coast. This stream, the counterpart in the Pacific of the Gulf-stream of the Atlantic, flows northward along the eastern coast at the rate of thirty or forty miles a day. Its effects on the temperature may be judged from the facts that we found sea-bathing very agreeable in January, and that light flannels formed the most suitable clothing. I am inclined to believe that what Mr. Swinhoe thought a southerly current close in-shore, was merely the set of the tide along the coast.

The Pepos live mostly by fishing, and are remarkably expert in the management of their boats, evincing their connection with the Malay races in this respect, and particularly in their methods of handling their boats. The landing on the difficult and dangerous beach at Lamo afforded an apportunity of exhibiting their skill and coolness. The narrow, shelving beach slopes off under the water at an angle of about thirty degrees; and when the least easterly wind prevails, it is always dangerous, and very often impossible, to effect a landing at all, in consequence of the surf. Under the most favorable circumstances even, there is always risk of the boat being caught by the under-tow, and capsized, or dragged beneath the next in-coming breaker. The Pepos therefore adopt a practice in landing a boat which is followed among the Malay races of the Archipelago, from whom doubtless they have inherited it. When our boat had reached within sixty or eighty yards of the beach, a man swam out from shore, carrying in one hand, or in his teeth, one end of a long rattan rope. The

shore end of the rope was held by twenty or thirty men. The swimmer was hauled into the boat, and the end of his rope made fast to the bow. Watching then for some minutes, for a favorable wave, when one came the crew, raising a loud shout, began to pull with all their might, and the men on shore ran rapidly up the beach, towing the boat. We thus followed in on the very crest of a wave, and just as it was about to break, our boat jumped from its crest to the beach. All hands sprang quickly out and ran up the beach, to escape being caught by the next wave, while the boat was prevented by the long rope from bring carried away. Only the day before our arrival, a junk which attempted to land without the aid of the landing rope was capsized, and eight of her crew drowned. It will easily be understood therefore, that putting to sea is even more dangerous than landing. In fact we awaited our chance for about an hour, before a sufficiently moderate wave came in to allow of the boat being launched; one half of the crew pulling in the boat, and one half running out with it into the surf until it was well afloat, and then scrambling in.

The Pepos of northern Formosa, who, as already remarked, call themselves Kabaran, are generally called by the Chinese *shek-fan* (in mandarin *shu fan* 熟番), and stand in much the same position *vis-à-vis* the *shêng fan* (生番) or savages, and the Chinese, as do the *shu Li* of Hainan. Like the latter, they act as go-betweens with the Chinese and the savages; but they seemed to me to be relatively fewer in numbers, and restricted to a smaller area, than were the *shu Li* in Hainan. Their settlements are scattered along the north-east coast, and about 4,000 of them inhabit the Kapsulan valley. They are divided into different clans, and these are frequently divided amongst themselves. Were they to combine, they might often offer successful resistance to the Chinese encroachments, which are gradually pushing them from their original seats. The unprincipled and lawless Chinese who abound along the borders lose no opportunity of oppressing them. At the very time of our visit, an illustrative case came to our notice, and enlisted our sympathies. A well-to-do farmer had died, leaving a widow with three children. The Chinese had dispossessed them of their fields, driven them from their home, and we found them wanting for food. On another occasion we met an old Pepo chief, of an energetic, resolute mien, and who had been a great traveller, having been in all parts of Formosa. He too had formerly been a farmer in comfortable circumstances in the

Kapsulan valley, with fields and herds of cattle; but three or four years previous to our visit, the Chinese attacked his village and stole his cattle. In attempting to defend them his son killed a Chinaman, and he and his villagers thereupon retreated farther into the mountains.

The Pepos present a great variety of face, especially among the women. Many of the men—perhaps the greater number—are tall and straight, and much superior in *physique* to the Chinese. They have a much more frank, open, manly expression of countenance than the latter, and this is greatly heightened by their eyes. The women are small and slender, and although marrying young, do not appear so prematurely faded as the Chinese women. Some of them have really handsome, regular features; others are extremely ugly. Some of them are of a clear olive color,—others as dark and coarse as Malays. Their finest features are their eyes, which are uncommonly large, round, and full, with an iris of a deep, rich black, and languid as a Spanish belle's. The cheek-bones are all high; in some thick lips, in others very thin ones, are seen. In other features they do not differ greatly from the Chinese; but they can generally be readily distinguished from them by their eyes. Traces of aboriginal blood are constantly to be met with among the Chinese in northern Formosa, in these characteristic eyes. The women are simple, *naïve*, and curious, and have none of the affected prudery of the Chinese women.

The Pepos have long, straight, jet-black hair. The men, when among the Chinese, commonly shave the head and wear the queue in the Chinese fashion, but at home generally allow it to grow. The hair of the women is sometimes braided into a queue, but is more frequently gathered into a long tress and wound round the head, being held in this position by a long cord wound over it. The ears of the women are pierced with no less than five holes, for as many rings, which are inserted, in some of their ceremonies. Both men and women wear the tunic and short loose trousers of the Chinese, and over them frequently wear a large square piece of cloth, two adjacent corners of which are tied in a knot over the shoulder, or at the back of the neck, or sometimes under the arm, thus greatly impeding the use of the arms. They eat in a simple fashion. A large wooden tray of boiled rice is placed in the middle of the floor, and a few bowls of vegetables are arranged around it. The whole family seat themselves around on the ground, and making up little balls of rice with their fingers, con-

vey them in the same manner to the mouth. Chopsticks seem unknown. The people seem a little cleaner in general appearance and habits than the Formosan Chinese, although it required some observation to discover it.

The whole people, men, women and children, speak the local Chinese in addition to their native language. Some few of the men can read and write a little Chinese, having been at Chinese schools. Their own language abounds in the hard, abrupt consonants, as *h*, *t* and *ss*; *r* is especially frequent, and is rolled or trilled very strongly. They speak in a high key, with a monotonous tone of voice, and the whole sentence is uttered with a peculiar *staccato*, ending with a falling of the voice and a strong accent or *ictus* on the last syllable. In the strong and distinct articulation of words as well as in the general sound of them, the language bears much resemblance to the Malay, with which, as will be seen from the vocabulary at the end of this paper, it is closely connected. In fact, an intelligent Malay whom we had with us, and who had been considerably among the Pepos, told me that about half of the words were almost identical in the two languages, and that he could understand very much of what the Pepos said. I may remark here that they cannot count above a thousand.

The coast Pepos are mostly fishermen. The women manufacture salt by filtering sea water through sand, and boiling it down. The Pepos of the interior are chiefly hunters. Some cultivate a little ground. They have, as domestic animals, a few buffaloes, pigs, Chinese dogs, short-tailed Malay cats, and fowls. The women do most of the drudgery, as carrying water, pounding rice, etc. The latter operation they perform in a large mortar with a heavy wooden pestle about five feet long. They live much of the time out of doors, and when not employed in their household duties, they are engaged in weaving cloth, or in spinning the thread for it on a reel which they twirl in their hands, the ball of thread being held in a small basket on the arm. The cloth is a very strong, durable material woven of a fibre resembling hemp. The process of weaving is very tedious and laborious. The weaver is seated upon the ground, and holds the stick which supports one end of the web, by means of her feet. Every thread of the woof which is passed through the warp is pushed firmly home with a thin, sharp-edged piece of wood. The cloth is woven in continuous or endless pieces, twelve or fourteen inches broad, and

five or six feet in length when cut open. When used for men's coats, two strips are sewed together through half their length, so as to form a seam down the back, and the sides are sewed up, with the exception of a space for the armhole, thus forming a sleeveless coat open down the front. A border, a foot or more in depth, is often worked around the bottom in neat and tasteful patterns in red and blue. The red is procured by unravelling scarlet long ells, and the blue is cotton or woollen and cotton yarn, both obtained by barter with the Chinese. The savages make coats exactly similar to these.

I found it extremely difficult to get any satisfactory ideas regarding the religious beliefs and superstitions of the Pepos, during our short stay among them. I was simply told that "they had no religion like the Chinese." We were entertained, however, by a number of curious and interesting performances, in which singing and dancing were blended. Men and women, joining hands, and keeping time with their feet, and occasionally giving emphasis to appropriate passages by a stamping of the foot or a bending of the knee, and sometimes swaying their bodies slowly back and forth, chanted in a slow, simple, and not at all unmelodious strain, their popular ballads. As the song proceeded, they became more animated, the air became more lively, and the motions of the body more marked and frequent. The last note of each stanza is prolonged *ad libitum*. The airs are all very simple, seldom ranging over more than two or three notes. In one song, after a semi-chorus sung by the men, the whole body of about thirty men and women, joined in a chorus, which was unique and effective. In another, and perhaps the most pleasing song, they chanted in a low plaintive voice, the story of the wrongs they have suffered at the hands of the Chinese, who have driven them from their homes, seized their lands, and killed their people.

After one of the songs, a curious ceremony, apparently of a religious character, was performed by several women. One seated herself on the ground, and took in her lap the head of another, who lay feigning death. Two others held the hands, in each of which was placed a small green branch. The three then began a slow, mournful chant, and one of them waved a cup before the face of the sleeper. After a few strains one of them arose, waved the branch towards heaven, and uttered a loud cry in her ears. She at once awoke and arose, and all joined in a lively dance and song, going round in a circle, or winding in a snake-like maze.

In still another dance, after a brisk solo from one of the women, the rest joined in, and broke out suddenly with the cry he! he! he! accompanying each cry with a low bow. In many of these songs, which varied in style and gestures, some of the singers bore green branches in their hands.

Another curious ceremony, which may be called the ladder of knives, which I did not witness, was thus described to me. Two stout poles are fixed firmly in the ground, projecting some ten or twelve feet. To these is fastened a ladder, formed by lashing their long knives, edge upwards, to two bamboos about thirty feet in length. The priest, or whoever it is who officiates, burns some paper, and dances around until he works himself into a great excitement. He then draws his knife and feigns to rip open his bowels, a delusion which he supports by cutting open a bladder filled with blood, and placed under his clothes. He then begins to ascend the ladder of knives, holding on by his hands to the upright bamboos, but still stepping on the knives. Under his feet are bound small pieces of leather, which afford a partial protection. The more daring and ambitious of the men then endeavor to emulate his dangerous feat.

The Pepos have among them a tradition that they came by sea from the southern end of the island, during the time of the Dutch occupation. While on our return journey I was told that in a Pepo village in a remote part of the Kapsulan valley there still existed some earthen jars, with foreign characters upon them, which had been handed down for many generations as mementoes of the former masters of Formosa; and I regretted exceedingly that want of time prevented me from tracing them up, and verifying or disproving the existence of such interesting relics of the Hollanders. Having regard to similarity in *physique* and in language, as judged by descriptions and vocabularies of the Pepos of southern Formosa, I am inclined to accept the tradition of the immigration of the northern Pepos from the south, as true.

The *shêng fan* or savages proper, of whom a brief description has been given in the paragraphs quoted above, are much smaller in stature than the Pepos, and far inferior in general aspect. It was stated that they intermarry very closely. Their skulls are not so large and full as those of the Pepos, nor yet so almond-shaped and oblique as the Chinese. The hair is coarse, straight, and black, uncut and unshaven, but carefully gathered into a bunch at the back of the head, where a band of cloth holds it in

position. The men's ears are pierced for very large ear-rings, a quarter of an inch in diameter, and the women's ears have two of the same size. Hollow bamboo tubes are worn in them, and strings of beads are hung through these. The women are remarkably short and thick-set, and are accustomed to carry heavy burdens. Very low foreheads predominate, and the whole expression is destitute of intelligence. There is a peculiarly suspicious, sinister, dogged look about these savages, which is the more prominent in contrast with the open, trustful countenances of the Pepos. They are far lower than these in the scale of civilization, and the language in which Virgil describes the aborigines whom Æneas found on his first arrival in Italy is exceedingly appropriate to the savages of Formosa:—

"Gensque virûm truncis et duro robore nata,
Quîs neque mos, neque cultus erat; nec jungere tauros,
Aut componere opes nôrant, aut parcere parto;
Sed rami, atque, asper victu, venatus alebat."

(*Æneid*, Book viii, vv. 315-18).

The Formosans belong to Prichard's Malayo-Polynesian or briefly Malayan branch, the same as that in which the aborigines of the Philippine Islands other than the Negritos are classed.

Tattooing the face in dark blue lines with indigo is almost universal amongst the savages. The men have two or three sets of short lines, of four in each set, and about three quarters of an inch long, on the forehead, and one such set on the chin. The girls on arriving at the age of fifteen or sixteen have one or two sets of lines tattooed on the forehead, and when they are married, one set of four parallel lines is tattooed from the middle of the upper lip to the upper angle of the outer ear; another set of four runs from the corners of the mouth to the centre of the ear; and a third set of four from the centre of the chin to the lobe of the ear. The spaces between these parallel sets of lines, about an inch broad, are tattooed with diagonal lines in a sort of diamond pattern. This broad band of sombre blue, running across the whole face of the women, adds materially to their prevailing natural ugliness, and should be a far more effective safeguard for jealous husbands than even the blackened teeth of the Japanese women.

The dress of the men frequently consists of nothing more than a long piece of cloth wound round the loins. Besides this some wear a coat, such as that of the Pepos above described. The chiefs and their families are distinguished by a square piece of

cloth worn on the chest, worked in colors, and sometimes adorned with discs of bone and tassels of blue, white, or brass beads. The chiefs also often wear two or three of the sleeveless embroidered coats, and in addition the large square piece of cloth as worn over the shoulders by the Pepos. The savage women also wear a small piece of cloth tied around the leg just below the knee. This indeed is the last garment which they would be willing to dispense with. Head coverings were very rare. Some of the men wore skull caps of deer skin, or plaited of fine strips of bamboo or some hard wood. These were water-tight, quite heavy, and capable of resisting a very hard blow. The fingers of many of them were adorned with a profusion of brass wire rings, and the arms of some bore bracelets of the same material, often triangular in shape. Bead bracelets, generally blue, were also common. One of their most singular customs is that of knocking out the eye teeth of all the children when they reach the age of six or eight years, in the belief that it strengthens their speed and wind in hunting. The effect of seeing a whole tribe destitute of these teeth was peculiar, and not particularly agreeable.

The savages live chiefly by hunting the small mouse deer, which abound in the forests. Their weapons are spears, bows with arrows of reeds tipped with iron, and occasionally matchlocks, which they obtain from the Chinese in barter for deer-skins, etc. Besides these each man carries in a sheath at his side, a long heavy knife, which is an indispensable companion, and which serves for every use, from cutting up food and cutting a path through the bush, to chopping off Chinese heads. The spears have bamboo shafts, with iron heads obtained from the Chinese, and which when not in use are covered with a leather sheath. These, as well as their knife sheaths, are ornamented with tassels of hair obtained from the heads of Chinese whom they have killed. One handsome, active, athletic young man, the son of a chief of the Yukan tribe, and a very beau ideal of the "noble savage," had dangling at the end of his knife sheath no less than twenty-three of these tassels, formed from the queues of five Chinese who had lost their heads by his hand.

On their hunting expeditions they bivouac at night around a fire, lying head to head and feet to feet in a circle, on bundles of grass, sometimes building rude huts as a shelter. They use two or three kinds of traps for snaring deer, and occasionally meet with bears. They sell the bear's feet and gall-bladder to the Chinese, who

esteem the latter very highly as medicine; it being worth four or five dollars a tael weight. The rest of the bear is then roasted, hair, skin and all. We met one savage whose nose had been entirely torn away, and one of whose eyes had been injured, by a blow from a bear's paw. Wild pigs are also found, and an animal resembling the leopard, with a dark skin. Troops of monkeys roam through the forests. Of birds there are very few.

Besides the articles of food mentioned in the extracts from the Trade Report given above, the savages cultivate sweet potatoes, the cocos, ground-nuts, and yams; and from the fresh shoots of ferns they boil a soup which is said to be quite palatable. Bananas are abundant, and also a wild orange, which is very bitter. They also raise a few water-melons, from seed obtained from the Chinese. They are particularly fond of Cayenne or chilli peppers, to obtain which they make frequent raids upon Chinese gardens. Tobacco is cultivated, and the women and children especially were incessantly smoking their little bamboo pipes. The name, *ta-ba-ku*, is sufficient evidence of its introduction among them by either the Dutch or Spanish colonists. The savages weave very neat elastic and durable mats from a long grass. They carry on a little barter with the Chinese, exchanging their hemp, venison, deer horns, skins, and sinews for knife-blades, matchlocks, rice, powder and shot, copper pans for cooking, colored cloths for working coats, and salt, of which they are very fond. They themselves attach the handles to the knife-blades, often with strong and neat rattan work.

The savage huts are simply constructed. Two upright poles are fixed in the ground, and longer ones laid sloping from the tops of these. Others are laid lengthwise over these, and the whole is covered with coarse dry grass. The triangular ends and the front are then filled in with grass or reeds. A few stones in the middle of the hut form the fireplace, and the smoke finds its exit as it can. Grass spread on the ground serves as beds, and a few rattan trays and baskets depending from the roof, and holding the supplies of millet, beans and salt, complete the scanty domestic furniture. In one village which I visited, in front of the huts were small frameworks of poles, beneath which a few chilli peppers were growing. They bury their dead standing upright, and their weapons and utensils are buried with them.

Many dialects exist in Formosa, as in most of the islands of the Indian Archipelago, and according to Crawfurd they are numerous

in proportion to the rudeness of the people. He states that there are ten languages in Sumatra and its islands; more than fifty are known in Borneo, and twenty in Luzon. The language of the savages near Talamo is very harsh and guttural, and has many difficult combinations of consonants. The following were given me as the names of clans living in this vicinity: Yukan, Kowsia, Tapihan, Sikilut, Laohin, Katasei, Bisut, Bina-watan, Gugut, Matakan, Watan-kakai, Watan-bituk, Haoyit-aobin, Wang, Mutat, Taosai, Vatu, Yao-ei, Piho, Vuta, Tsi-et, Yapu, Teimuk, and Chiring. The word *sia* (written in Chinese *shê* 社), meaning clan or tribe, is added to each of these names in speaking of them, as Yukan-sia, Vatu-sia. Of the fourteen clans represented at the feast presently to be described, the principal one was the Yukan, whose chief seemed to be at the head of them all.

The savages have a singular way of pledging friendship, and one not altogether agreeable to the other party to the pledging. Each man puts his arm around the other's neck, and then, placing their heads and mouths close together, they both drink wine at the same time from one cup. This ceremony ensures eternal friendship, and as there were about a dozen chiefs of tribes with whom we had to take this pledge, we felt by the time we were through that we had formed quite as many friendships as we cared to maintain. Knowing, however, as we did, the treacherous and quarrelsome nature of these savages, we deemed it expedient, from prudential motives, to submit to the rather disagreeable ordeal, upon the invitation of the chiefs. Another method of ensuring friendship, although less formal and binding, is for both persons to eat salt from the same dish.

The most acceptable present to make to the savages, and in fact an indispensable one to gain their good-will, is a pig. We had taken with us two or three for this purpose, and the day after our arrival the savages were entertained at a great feast. The method of cooking was altogether primitive. The pig was killed by a stab in the breast, and the feet and the tip of the snout being cut off, it was at once placed whole, bristles and all, upon a fire of sticks, built on the ground. It was allowed to roast only ten or fifteen minutes,—just long enough to singe off the bristles and warm through the fat. Grass was spread on the ground, and the chiefs then cut up the pig into long strips, and all hands were set to work to cut these up into very small cubes. Nothing was wasted; bones, entrails and all received the same attention.

When the cutting up was finished, the people formed circles around the piles of meat, apparently arranged according to families, and the chiefs distributed each portion equally among the different groups. Some of the hungrier ones roasted a few pieces in the embers and ate them; most of them carefully packed their shares away. The chiefs insisted upon our accepting from them some of the choicest titbits as marks of special honor, but fortunately for us did not insist upon our eating them; but I grievously offended a young chief who had selected for me a handful of the most dainty bits, by watching my chance, and, slily as I hoped, giving them to the first savage I met. I was observed, and the heavy frown which passed over his face showed the affront I had given. The whole scene was wild and lively. About sixty savages, the men all nearly naked and the women variously clad, and all excessively dirty, were squatting on the ground or running to and fro, busily hacking away at the piles of raw pork, and all chatting in the most animated style. The present of a pig is a great event for them. In the evening the whole party, including the Pepos with us, to the number of over a hundred, got partially intoxicated over some samshu which had injudiciously been given them, and for which they have a fatal fondness. With a hundred half-drunken savages yelling and dancing around their camp fires, and only needing the slightest provocation to engage in brawls and fights, in which they freely use their knives, this night scene before us seemed a veritable Pandemonium, and it was a grateful relief when in the early hours of the morning fatigue drove them to rest from their orgies. The Chinese frequently take advantage of their fondness for liquor to get them intoxicated, when they may extort from them anything.

Among the savages the principle of blood revenge holds with full force. The murder of a man is bound to be avenged by his kindred, and no rest is given until this is accomplished. I was informed that a reward of twenty dollars was still offered by the local Chinese authorities for every savage head, but that only a few—perhaps not more than five—are got in the course of a year. Some fifty or sixty Chinese heads, however, are annually lost to the savages. This discrepancy is readily accounted for. The Chinese have merely the stimulus of a small money prize in getting savage heads, and this is rarely sufficient to induce them to risk their own in the attempt. The savage, on the other hand, has higher motives; his rank and character depend on his personal

prowess and valor; and a savage who has not killed and beheaded a Chinaman is "of no use," as it was explained to me. His word is not believed, he has no respectable standing in the community, and in general terms it may be said of him that he has not won his spurs. He rises in position and character according to the number of heads he can count, and those who get the most heads become, as it is in truth said, the *head*-men of the villages.

So far as my own observation extended, the principal wild animals of the country are small deer and large fleas. The former are hunted by the savages for food; the latter hunt the savages with the same object. I am inclined to think that the thinness of the population, both in numbers and in flesh, is partially to be attributed to these harpies; and reciprocally, it is but logical to conclude that the natural ferocity of these latter is heightened by the savage character of their prey. The crazy engraver-poet William Blake, in one of the outgrowths of his wild, erratic imagination, (I quote from a review of Swinburne's Critical Essay on Blake,) "drew the portrait of the ghost of a flea. . . . . He said that while he was making the drawing the flea told him that all fleas were inhabited by the souls of such men as were by nature blood-thirsty to excess, and were therefore providentially confined to the size and form of insects; otherwise, were he himself, for instance, the size of a horse, he should depopulate a great portion of the country." A bitter (or better, *bitten*) experience convinced me that Blake must have been in one of his lucid moments when he conceived this grotesque fancy. It would be necessary to increase the size of the Formosan fleas but a very little, to ensure the result foreshadowed by Blake's informant; and even under present conditions, were the hasty Japanese only willing to abide the course of time, they might safely leave to the operation of Natural Selection, or "the survival of the fittest," the extermination of the savages who seem to be giving them so much trouble. Possibly, however, it might be found, for any future shipwrecked mariners, that after Darwin's law had worked its full effect in the annihilation of the human savages, the last estate of that island would be found worse than the first. The fleas who would remain the sole possessors of the soil might refuse to recognize a red flag of certain dimensions as a signal of distress.*

* "A consular notification has been issued, describing a flag to be shown by vessels in distress off Formosa, to secure protection from the natives, under the agreement lately concluded with the latter by the U. S. Consul at Amoy [Mr. Le Gendre]. It is red, oblong in shape, 2 ft. 9 in. long and 1 ft. 7 in. broad."—(*North-China Herald*, Shanghai, February 29, 1868.)

Much of the pleasure of our trip was blasted by the constant torments inflicted by these monsters. Sleeping on piles of freshly cut camphor-wood chips was of little or no avail; and I cannot possibly better portray our plight than by a slight paraphrase of the lines in which Pollok, in his poem "The Course of Time," describes the thirst for gold:—

"Fleas many hunted, sweat and bled for fleas;
Waked all the night and laboured all the day.
. . . . . .
. . . . . Ill guided wretch!
Thou mightst have seen me at the midnight hour,
When good men slept, . . . . . .
. . . . . in *flea*-ful hall,
With vigilance and chasing worn to skin
And bone."

The natural resources of Formosa are most varied and abundant and as the principal source of the camphor supply of the world, the island has an exceptional interest and importance. I may be allowed to quote on this subject two paragraphs from the Trade Report already cited.

"The camphor producing districts lie in that narrow belt of debatable ground which separates the border Chinese settlements from the territory still occupied by the savages. The manufacture is attended with constant danger, from the quarrelsome disposition of the savages, and their jealousy of Chinese encroachments. Steps are sometimes made towards amicable arrangements for the right of cutting the timber, but it more frequently results that the Chinese, in their attempts to overreach their less crafty neighbors, only excite their hostility, and incessant feuds are the consequence. The Hakkas are extensive camphor manufacturers in many districts. Like their kinsmen on the main-land, they are frugal and industrious, and pursue many of the mechanic arts. Most of the knives, matchlocks, and spear-heads furnished to the savages are their workmanship. They have many thriving towns on the border, and are to some extent, both from their position and character, independent of the Chinese authorities."—*(Customs Trade Reports for* 1868, *p.* 165.*)*

"As the suggestion has been made in some quarters, of the possibility of a diminution in the production of camphor, or of the exhaustion of the sources of its supply, it may be well to remark that throughout the whole of the mountainous district comprising the eastern part of Formosa, and which is densely wooded, the camphor tree seems to abound and flourish; and judging by the

rate of progress towards the interior now made in procuring the annual supply, it must require many years, even with the crude and wasteful process at present followed, to exhaust the vast forests of camphor trees as yet untouched, and inaccessible. At the same time, in view of the comparatively limited extent of the island, and the possibility of an increased consumption of camphor, brought about by its greater cheapness and the discovery of new applications of it in manufactures and the arts, it is much to be regretted that no measures are being taken to replace the trees destroyed, by the planting of young ones. . . . . The tree is of rapid growth, and the adoption of some such system as that pursued in the chinchona cultivation in India would be a measure at once wise and profitable. The declivities of the mountains of the interior and east coast, most of them too steep for almost any other cultivation, are the natural home of the camphor tree, and by the expenditure of a little labor in planting young trees now, new forests of the valuable timber might be expected in a few decades to cover the hills now being denuded of it. The lawless and independent character of those engaged in the manufacture would, however, be a serious obstacle to any attempted introduction of a measure such as that suggested."—*(Id., pp.* 169-70.*)*

I need only mention the coal found in abundance near Kelung, and the tea which has during the last few years so rapidly risen in importance. Sulphur is even now, in defiance of prohibitions, manufactured in large quantities at the *solfataras* in the vicinity of Tamsui, and the legalizing of the trade might lead to its indefinite development. The forests furnish numerous varieties of valuable timber; rattans impede locomotion through them from their profusion, and the tree whence the pith paper is obtained is common. In the waters on the east coast large turtles are numerous in the spring, and fish of the most brilliant and varied hues are caught by the Pepos. The portions of the island settled by the Chinese have already, from the abundance of their rice crops, earned the title of the "Granary of Southern China," and the gradual reclamation from the savages of the soil now untilled, is capable of affording a great extension in this direction.

I conclude this paper with a few notices of the savages of Northern Formosa, condensed and translated from the *Ko-ma-lan-t'ing chih* (噶瑪蘭廳志), the geographical and statistical description of the Komalan or Kapsulan valley.

"The savages are very expert in handling their bows, in the use of which they are practised from the age of ten years upwards. In the spring they collect large hunting parties for deer, which are driven within the enclosure of gradually narrowing circles, and caught. They are killed by a stab in the throat, and the fresh blood drunken. The flesh of hares caught is eaten raw, and their entrails are salted down. When these have sufficiently putrefied to generate maggots, they are considered excellent eating."

"The savages have no idea of the year, or of the four seasons. The blossoming of the *tz'e-t'ung hwa* (刺桐花, a species of Panax,) is with them the beginning of a fixed period. When vegetation bursts forth the women array themselves in their best clothing, and pay visits to their friends in the neighboring tribes."

"The savages of the plain do not differ greatly from the Chinese in appearance, except in their eyes, which are fuller and more expressive. They have no idea of the year or the seasons, and cannot tell their own ages. If they ever get any money they never lay it up; and when they have gathered in their crops they set apart enough for a year's supply of food, and make the rest into wine, of which they are very fond. Every one builds his own house, and weaves the cloth for his own clothing, as there are no artisans of any kind. The large knife which the men wear at their sides serves them in all kinds of work. They make what iron utensils they have from the crude metal, by hammering it out with stones. In every clan or village there are one or two men called *kalo* (甲螺), who correspond to the village elders or headmen of the Chinese."

"The savages of the Komalan district who dwell in the mountains select elevated spots for their huts, to enable them to command a good lookout for defence. Those who dwell near the sea-coast, and have become partially civilized, are called *p'ing-p'u fan*,* because they live on the level ground, or plains. They sometimes build houses by excavating the trunk of a large tree and inverting it, supporting it upon bamboo poles. There is a tradition among them that some old Pepos having visited Kelung and seen some Chinese boats turned bottom upwards on the shore, adopted the idea for their houses."

"When the Komalan valley was first colonized, the Pepos living there had no system of storing their grain. When this was gathered it was hung up in the ear, unthreshed, in the houses,

* The *Pepos* described above, pp. 54, and 59-63.

and was beaten out in a mortar daily, as it was wanted for food. The people had no fixed seasons for planting their crops; they were guided by the starting forth of vegetation in the spring. They cultivate merely enough to supply themselves with food from season to season, and hence there is no surplus grain, and much uncultivated land."

"Their wine is made from glutinous rice. Each person takes a handful of rice in his mouth, and masticates it until soft. It is then put into an earthen jar, and by the next day it has fermented, so that by adding water, wine is produced. They consider very sour wines the best."

"The women do all the drudgery, such as tilling the ground. They are often seen at hard work with their infants fastened upon their backs. The men merely see that they get their food."

"The savages call a dead man *matai*, which means *ruined, destroyed*. They bury their dead without coffins. Friends assist in digging a pit, in which the corpse is placed. If a death happens in the busy season, while they are planting or gathering their crops, they suspend the corpse from two poles, near the water's edge, and leave it to decay there. Such a place is called *malin*, which means *unlucky*, and they ever after avoid going near it."

"The small boats which the savages use in crossing streams, they call *mangka*.* A boat is made by hollowing out a log of wood, and fastening a board upon each side of it, to prevent its capsizing. They have no oil and chunam for filling the cracks or seams, and hence have to bail constantly. A boat will carry only two or three people."

[The following passage, quoted from a work entitled *Tung-chêng tsi* (東征集), is noteworthy as a specimen of the peculiar antithetical style which is so esteemed in Chinese literary productions, as well as for the sentiments expressed as to the proper method of dealing with the savages.]

"Murders by the savages of Formosa are of constant occurrence. Although they have men's forms, they have not men's natures. They find their way through the forests like birds and monkeys.

* The characters used here (艋舺) are those of the name of the large trading town of *Banka*, near Tamsui. The local pronunciation varies from *Mangka* to *Bangka*. The town is said to derive its name from the fact that its principal street resembles one of these boats in shape—broad in the middle and narrow towards each end.

To govern them is impossible: to exterminate them not to be thought of; and so nothing can be done with them. The only thing left is to establish troops with cannon at all the passes through which they issue on their raids, and so overawe them by military display, from coming out of their fastnesses. The great cause of this state of affairs is the extent of the country and the scanty population; quarrels between the savages and the settlers are not the sole cause. The savage tracks lie only through the dense forests, thick with underbrush, where hiding is easy. When they cut off a head, they boil it to separate the flesh, adorn the skull with various ornaments, and hang it up in their huts as evidence of their valor. Even if any attempt were made to keep them within bounds, it must sooner or later end in failure. If it is asked, then, what shall be done, the reply is, murders must be punished in kind, and friendly aborigines must be used to gradually reclaim and civilize them. They must be conquered, to make them fear, and then they can be controlled, to make them obedient. Their country must be opened up and Chinese settlers introduced, and then the harm done by them will gradually cease. Later they will become tamed, and finally they may be enrolled as subjects, and pay tribute."

"In the fifteenth year of Kiaking (1810), when the Governor General of Fukien arrived at Banka on a tour of inspection through the island, the headmen of the Pepos of the Komalan valley made submission to him and requested to be enrolled as subjects, in order to obtain protection against the oppression and cruelty which they experienced. There are 36 tribes of tame aborigines scattered over the Komalan district. They are simple and dull by nature, and the Chinese, by giving them a measure of wine or a foot of cloth, can induce them to sign the lease of large tracts of land. As they cannot read, they cannot know the contents of the lease, which they sign by impressing upon it a finger wet with ink; and they are thus completely at the mercy of the Chinese.

"The inhabitants of Formosa are of various origins. There are aborigines proper (土產者), and people from other islands whose boats have been driven ashore and wrecked, and who in consequence have settled there. There are also the descendants of fugitives from the last naval battle between the Mongols of the Yuen dynasty and the forces of the Sung dynasty, near Lingting [Lintin, at the mouth of the Canton River]. The latter were entirely defeated, and a few refugees escaped to Formosa, where they settled."

*Comparative Vocabulary of the Kabaran (Pepo) and Yukan (Savage) Dialects of North-Eastern Formosa.*

The Kabaran and Yukan words in the following list were taken down by me from the mouths of the Pepos and savages, during the visit among them which served for the foundation of the preceding paper. Like most vocabularies of its kind, it consists chiefly of the names of such natural objects as can easily be described or pointed out to a savage. It comprises 378 words of the Kabaran dialect, and 135 words of the Yukan dialect. Mistakes, both in correctly identifying objects, and in correctly representing sounds, doubtless occur, and indeed are under such circumstances scarcely avoidable; but care was taken to secure accuracy in both respects, as far as possible, by asking the name of the same object on different occasions, and from different individuals. With some sounds, it was observed that the same individual would give different values to them on different days. Thus in the Kabaran language *r* and *z*, when initial or medial, and sometimes when final, are often interchangeable; and the word for *water* would be given by one as *ranum*, by another as *zanum*. Final *l* and *z* are often confounded, as are also initial *k* and *t*.

Regarding the values of the letters used, the vowels generally are to be sounded as in Italian, and the consonants as in English. In an open syllable *u* has the long sound, like the *oo* in *too*, and in a closed syllable the sound of *oo* in *took*; when marked *ŭ* it has the sound of *u* iu *but*. The diphthong *ei* has the sound of *ey* in *they*. The sounds of *b* and *v* often merge into one another, and have nearly the value of the German *w*, or of *bw* in English, but much lighter than the latter. The final *ss* common in Kabaran has a strong hissing sound. A regular series of changes will be observed between Kabaran, and Malay and other languages of the family, by the addition of this *ss* sound to the words of the latter. Thus,

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *sugar-cane* | is in Malay | | *tabu*, | in Kabaran | *tavuss* |
| *face* | ,, | Javanese | *raki*, | ,, | *ra-iss* |
| *child* | ,, | ,, | *sunu*, | ,, | *suniss* |

An analogous change seems to be formed in the Yukan dialect by the addition of the suffix *nukh*, *nikh*, *ukh*, or simply *kh* (the German *ch* of *buch*). Thus,

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *stone* | is in Kabaran, Malay, Bisaya, etc. | | *batu* or *vatu*, | in Yukan | *vatunukh* |
| *wood* | ,, | Tagalog and Bisaya | *cahoy*, | ,, | *khahunikh* |
| *rattan* | ,, | Kabaran | *u-ai* or *wai* | ,, | *hwaiukh* |
| *red* | ,, | Bugis | *machala* | ,, | *m'talakh* or *matalakh*. |

The columns of corresponding words in Malay and various other languages of the Archipelago are far from being as full as I would wish; but the want both of time and of the necessary vocabularies has prevented me from giving more than the present imperfect comparisons. The words given in these languages are merely such as I have been able to gather, somewhat at random, from Crawfurd's *Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands*, Latham's *Comparative Philology*, vocabularies found in the Journals of the Royal Asiatic and Royal Geographical Societies, and in a few works of travels in the Philippines and neighboring islands. It will be seen that a close resemblace exists between many Kabaran and Malay words.* So far as the limited examples afford means of comparison, the Kabaran will also be found to be closely allied to the Tagalog and Bisaya dialects of the Philippines,—the former in the north, the latter in the south,—and to the Bugis, Macassar, Mandhar, Menadu, Buton and Sangir dialects of the Celebes group. The Biajuk of Borneo, the Bima of Sumbawa, the Sasak of Lombok, and the Javanese also furnish many analogous words. The Yukan words indicate a connection with several of the above, but more particularly with the Tagalog and Bisaya, and the Bugis and Biajuk. The resemblances thus traced are sufficient to establish the close relationship between the two Formosan dialects now given, and the extensive family of languages known as the Malayo-Polynesian or Oceanic; but the particular group of this great family to which these dialects belong, can be determined only after the collection and study of fuller materials than are now available.

The vast area over which this Oceanic family of languages is spread will be best realized from the remark of Professor Whitney:† "Those who speak its dialects fill nearly all the islands from the coasts of Asia southward and eastward, from Madagascar to the Sandwich group and Easter Island, from New Zealand to Formosa." A few words from the Malagasi, the language of Madagascar, are given here, in illustration of the statement just quoted, and as a further proof, I may add that a number of the Yukan words are to be found in a vocabulary, given in Cook's *Voyages*, of the language of Atui, an island belonging to the group called Cook's Islands, in the South Pacific. The Great Polynesian occasionally

* See also above, p. 61.

† *Language and the Study of Language*, pp. 337-8.

quoted is, according to Crawfurd, the common element which is to be found throughout all these languages. It was first pointed out by Marsden. It bears the same relation to the languages of the Malayo-Polynesian family that the Aryan does to the Indo-European languages; and although unwritten and extinct, its former existence is inferred and established by the same arguments and inductions which have demonstrated the former existence of an Aryan parent of the family of languages which bears its name.

In the following vocabulary the numerals from one to ten are first given, in the two Formosan and six cognate languages. The remainder of the vocabulary consists of words classified in ten sections or groups, and arranged alphabetically under each group. Professor Max Müller* quotes from Hale's *Ethnology and Philology of the United States Exploring Expedition*, vocabularies of the ten numerals in ten different Polynesian dialects, including those of Samoa, New Zealand, Rarotonga, Tahiti and Hawaii; and a comparison of them with those now given will be found interesting, showing as it does the very close resemblance which exists between them, and which with the numerals 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8 amounts to almost absolute identity.

* *Science of Language*, sixth ed., vol. ii, p. 26.

## I.—Numerals.

| | *Formosa.* | | *Philippines.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *Yukan.* | *Tagalog.* | *Bisaya.* |
| one | issa | utuk | isa | usa, isa |
| two | lusa | saieng | dalava | duha |
| three | tulu | turūl | tatlo | tolo |
| four | supat | s'paiat | apat | upat |
| five | lima | maral | lima | lima |
| six | nim, n'm | teiuk | anim | unum |
| seven | pitu | pitu | pito | pito |
| eight | waru, aru | muss'pat | valo | valo |
| nine | siwa | meishu | siam | siam |
| ten | trai | mapu | sampo | napulo |

---

| *English.* | *Malay.* | *Javanese.* | *Sasak (Lombok).* | *Malagasi (Madagascar).* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| one | sa, satu | sigi | satu | issa |
| two | dua | loro | dua | rue |
| three | tiga | t'lu | telu | telu |
| four | ampat | papat | mpat | effat |
| five | lima | limo | lima | lime |
| six | anam | nanam | nam | ene |
| seven | tudiu, tojiu | pitu | pitu | fitu |
| eight | d'lapan | wolu | balu | valu |
| nine | sambilam | sungo | siwa | siva |
| ten | s'pulo | s'pulo | sapulu | fulu |

---

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *Yukan.* | *Malay.* | *Sundry.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| eleven | trai-issa | — | sablas | — |
| twelve | trai-lusa | — | duablas | — |
| twenty | lusa-ptīn | — | dua pulu | — |
| thirty | utulu-ptīn | — | etc. | — |
| forty | mruspa-ptīn | — | — | — |
| fifty | ulima-ptīn | — | — | — |
| sixty | unim-ptīn | — | — | — |
| seventy | upitu-ptīn | — | — | — |
| eighty | mwaru-ptīn | — | — | — |
| ninety | mrusiwa-ptīn | — | — | — |

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *Yukan.* | *Malay.* | *Sundry.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| one hundred | mrasivu | kabahún | saratuss | — |
| two „ | mrusa-mrasivu | — | dua ratuss | — |
| three „ | udula-mrasivu | — | etc. | — |
| four „ | mruspa-mrasivu | — | — | — |
| five „ | ulima-mrasivu | — | — | — |
| six „ | unim-rasivu | — | — | — |
| seven „ | upitu-mrasivu | — | — | — |
| eight „ | mwaru-mrasivu | — | — | — |
| nine „ | mrusiwa-mrasivu | — | — | — |
| one thousand | mratharan, malaran | — | — | — |

## II.—Human Beings and Relations.

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *Yukan.* | *Malay.* | *Sundry.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| brother, elder | haha | — | abang | *Bugis* / *Macass.* kaka |
| „ younger | swani | — | — | — |
| child | suniss | ulai, ulakhi | — | *Javan.* sunu |
| clan, tribe | sia | tutúnukh | — | — |
| father | tamma | yaba, yava, aba | bapa | *Javan.* yayah; *Mandhar* kama; *Bisaya* ama |
| human being (*homo*) | razat, zarat | s'khulikh | — | *Javan.* jalar; *Malagasi* hulu |
| infant | kmangat | — | anak | *Bugis* ana |
| man (*vir*) | riunanai | malikwi | laki | *Tagalog* lalaqui; *Bisaya* dala; *Bugis* uruani; *Macassar* burani |
| mother | tina | aia | ma | *Bima* / *Sasak* ina |
| old man | — | navákiss | — | — |
| savage name for themselves | — | taial | — | — |
| woman, female | tarungan | kaneiril | parampuan | — |

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *English.* | *Kabaran.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| family | marakira | Pepo name for foreigners | leiniss |
| friend | simhangni | „ „ Chinese | vususs |
| husband | pakwaian | „ „ savages | meitumal / prussarum |
| orphan | mrapunu | | |
| parents | tima-tina | wife | passamaian |

Pepo name for themselves kabaran

## III.—Parts of the Body.

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *Yukan.* | *Malay.* | *Sundry.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| back | doror | suru | — | — |
| beard | mumuss | nguruss | — | *Tagalog* gumi |
| body (life?) | izip | — | *(life)* idup | *Javan.* / *Bali* urip |
| bones | tiran | — | tulang | *Bisaya* tulang |
| calf of leg | vatiss | — | — | *Bali* batis |
| cheek | — | ra-í-ass | — | — |
| chin | — | abalit | — | — |
| ear | kaiar | papak | — | *Atui* papai |
| elbow | siku | haiku | — | — |
| eye | mata | ro-i, rao-i | mata | *Bugis* / *Gt.Polyn.* / *et passim* mata |
| face | ra-iss, za-iss | — | — | *Javan.* rahi / *Bali* rai |
| fingers | nulir, nuzil | taluling | — | — |
| fingernail | knukuss | kakámin | kuku | *Tagalog* cuco / *Bisaya* cucu |
| foot | reikan | kakai | kaki | — |
| forehead | ngorll, woŭll | lihui | — | — |
| hair | vukŭss | yunukh | — | *Menadu* wuhuk / *Bima* honggo |
| hand | lima | keiman | — | *Bugis* / *Mándhar* lima; *Tagalog* / *Bisaya* camay |
| head | uru, uvu | túnukh | — | *Bisaya* / *Gt.Polyn.* ulu |
| knee | dusur | tari | — | — |
| leg | rapan | mriu | — | — |
| lips | — | paráhum | — | — |
| mouth (teeth?) | ngivir, nigiv | — | *(tooth)* gigi | *Bugis* gigi |
| *nates* | punur, punuz | veiyukh | — | — |
| navel | — | puga | — | — |
| neck, throat | lulun | oluk | — | — |
| nose | unung | moru, norho | idung | *Javan.* / *Gt.Polyn.* irung; *Malagasi* orung |
| palm of hand | rukap | (ava) | — | — |
| shoulder | triar, kreiar | hanáli | — | — |
| stomach | tian | — | — | *Tagalog* / *Bisaya* tian |
| temples | pipiss | sasak | — | — |
| teeth | bangarao, vangrao | gunukh | — | — |

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *Yukan.* | *Malay.* | *Sundry.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| thigh | pnannian | mu-i | — | — |
| toe | kamŭss | uyu-kakai | — | — |
| tongue | lilam | hamá-ui | lidah | *Tagalog* dila; *Bisaya* dila; *Bugis* lila; *Macassar* lila; *Lampung* ma |
| upper arm | b'lubuk | kiumiu | — | — |

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *English.* | *Kabaran.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| ankle | vukul-a-rapan | heart | anŭm |
| blood | rinang | heel | rusil |
| brain | punŭl | nipple | sarang |
| breast | danga | nostrils | rasukh |
| flesh | bisor | queue (Chinese) | napina |
| fore-finger | kaiwass | sinews | urat |
| second finger | smut'van | skin | luvung, ruvung |
| third finger | smulikur | thumb | moraia |
| little finger | smutki | wrist | vukul-a-rima |

## IV.—Domestic Life.—Clothing, Utensils, etc.

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *Yukan.* | *Malay.* | *Sundry.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| bed | — | pa | — | — |
| board, plank | sapar | — | papan | *Javan.* papan |
| bottle | praskn *(derived from Spanish.)* | — | — | — |
| bowl, cup | kaising | paiatu | — | — |
| breeches | kun | yupun | — | — |
| bucket | kungkung | kulu | — | — |
| coat, tunic | kuluss | lukuss, ratang | — | — |
| door | iniv, ainiv | v'lihun | — | — |
| finger-ring | tamoss | p'kamui | — | — |
| hat | kuvu | avuvu | — | — |
| house | rapao | ngrasal | — | — |
| jar | pulok | halâman | — | — |
| knife | raviss, habiss | b'litukh | karis | *Javan.* karis |
| large knife | sarekh, aniv | — | — | — |
| matting | intpan, slayu | lapítukh, lupi | — | — |
| matting for bed | — | smamao | — | — |
| necklace of beads | — | imsing | — | — |

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *Yukan.* | *Malay.* | *Sundry.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| pipe | kwaku | tuturkh | — | — |
| pole, for carrying | karao (the Chinese *pien-tan.*) | — | — | — |
| pot, pan | — | tabáli | — | — |
| robe | kratei, haratei | taoya | — | — |
| shoe | zapu, rapo | yamil | — | — |
| weaving, web of cloth | tinun | — | tanun | *Javan.*, *Gt. Polyn.* tanun; *Bugis* tanung; *Malagasi* tenuna |

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *English.* | *Kabaran.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| basket | kanass, hanass | nail (iron) | variss |
| bench, table | dakan, kanan | needle | zarum |
| brick | luvungan | oil | siti |
| button | tao-ez | paper | buruk |
| charcoal | vilu | pencil, pen | tuliss |
| chisel | supar, supan | pillow | erungwan |
| chopsticks | ipit, aipit | plane (carpenter's) | lussluss |
| clothes in general | rivarivang | plate | dapak |
| cotton cloth | rao-a | small plate | piar |
| court (manège) | lamu | roof | sniuva, sniuv |
| coverlid | sikar | shop | tiaman |
| cradle | ziun | spoon | halur |
| cupboard | tarŭv | stocking | buiya |
| doorway | dangan | straw thatch | sirass |
| fan | pa-iz | string | warai |
| granary | si-er | teapot | pustian |
| key | suksuk | thread | kriz'n |
| kilt, a sort of | halapian | towel | liziup |
| knife edge | mangan, nangar | trunk, box | s'rakhpan |
| knife handle | parŭss-han | window | n'lat |
| lamp | kaskian, haskian | | |

## V.—Time, the Elements, Metals, etc.

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *Yukan.* | *Malay.* | *Sundry.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| copper | tabari | — | tambaga | *Bugis*, *Mac.*, *etc.* tambaga |
| „ or brass | sibali, s'pali | limukh | — | — |
| day, daytime | darreiti, darri | — | hari | — |

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *Yukan.* | *Malay.* | *Sundry.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| earth (mountain?) | vanang, mranai | — | tana, benua *mountain*, gunung | — |
| east* | wari (timor?) | — | timur | *Javan.* purwo, timur |
| evening, darkness | raviti, drabiti | r'vian | — | — |
| fire | amaz, lamar | hapúni | api | *Bugis* api; *Bali* brahma |
| gold | brao-an, bra-wan | — | — | *Bisaya* malawan |
| heaven, sky | z'lan, l'zan | wari | langit, surga | *Javan.* suwarga; *Bugis*, *Gt. Polyn.* langit |
| iron | namat | vali-ekh | — | *Biajuk* sanaman |
| island | puro, puror | — | pulo | *Javan.*, *Bali* pulo |
| lightning | lirap | — | kilat | *Bugis* kila; *Malagasi* helatra |
| moon† | buran, vulan | viating | bulan | *Tagalog* buan; *Bisaya* bulan; *Javan.*, *Gt. Polyn.* *et passim* wulan; *Malagasi* volana |
| north | imiss | — | utara *(v. south)* | — |
| ocean | balung | — | — | *Bugis*, *Macassar* balang |
| rain | uran, uzan | mwalŭkh | ujan | *Biajuk* ujan; *Malagasi* orana |
| rainbow | niu-war | haong-u | — | *Javan.* kuwung; *Malagasi* avvar |
| sea | rzin, rthin, z'rin | sílung | — | — |
| silver | pila | — | pirak | (*Tagalog* pilac) |
| smoke | kairŭm, teirŭm, hirŭv | hilukh, heilu | — | — |
| south | timor (s'tara?) | — | salatan | — |
| star | bat'lan, mat'ran | henga, ve-inga | bintang | *Javan.* lintang |
| stone† | vato, vatu | vatúnukh | batu | *Tagalog* bato; *Malagasi* vato; *Bisaya*, *Bugis*, *Mandhar* *et passim* batu |
| sun | matlan'zan‡ | wagi, waki | mata-hari | — |
| thunder | zŭng-zŭng | — | guntur | — |

* The points of the compass were not clearly understood by the Pepos, and the terms given here for them are somewhat uncertain.

† The words for *moon*, *stone* and *hog* are almost identical in all the languages of the Archipelago.

‡ "Eye of the sky." In Malay, "eye of the day."

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *Yukan.* | *Malay.* | *Sundry.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| to-day | stangi, stanian | kisa | — | — |
| to-morrow | tmao-ar | sinkhan | — | — |
| water | zanum, ranum | usiak | — | *Biajuk* danum; *Malagasi*, *Menadu* rano |
| weather, pleasant | — | malakh kaiel | — | — |
| yesterday | snaosirav | m'kaha | — | — |

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *English.* | *Kabaran.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| autumn (rainy season) | paoman | tin | b'laban, b'labal |
| creek, rivulet | mukhral | wave | sar'zin |
| flint | taking | weather, hot | s'mzang |
| hill, mountain | dahê, dahêr | ,, cold | sass'n |
| lead | rasu | well (of water) | rasung, lasung |
| month, 6th | skao-aru | west | s'zaia |
| plain | kuvŭk | wind | vari, bari |
| river | tab'li | ,, north | siara |
| sand | vuhan | ,, south | timo |
| sea-shore | sapan | ,, west | s'zaia |
| spring (dry season) | d'lun | year | dasao |

## VI.—Vegetable Kingdom and Products.

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *Yukan.* | *Malay.* | *Sundry.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| bamboo | naian, d'naian | vatakán | — | — |
| fruit | — | buakh | bua | *Bisaya*, *Bali* bua |
| grass | — | rgi-ui, l'mihui | — | — |
| ,, for thatch | rŭll, hŭll | paliung | — | — |
| hemp | — | nuka, noka | — | — |
| millet | lurai, luthai | karákiss | — | — |
| orange | muru | r'zaho | jarruk | *Javan.* jarruk |
| rattan | u-ai | uani, hwai-ukh | — | — |
| reed | isam | s'mu | — | — |
| rice | b'rass, rrass | — | bras | *Javan.* bras |
| ,, boiled | mai | mamiukh | nasi | — |
| sugar-cane | tavuss | — | tabu | *Javan.*, *Bugis*, *Gt. Polyn.*, *etc.* tabu |
| tobacco | tabaku | tabaku | — | — |

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *Yukan.* | *Malay.* | *Sundry.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| wine, Chinese | rakh | u-o, u-ao | — | — |
| wood | barin | khoni, khahunikh | kayu | *Tagalog* parang, cahoy; *Bisaya* cahoy |

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *English.* | *Kabaran.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| banana | bunina | persimmon | amuss |
| camphor | rakŭss, rahŭss | plum | sinsuli |
| celery | rupŭl | prune | paosi |
| chilli pepper | sili | pumelo | t'bahan mulu |
| flower | murai | pumpkin | saru |
| ginger | uzip | root | ravass |
| ground-nut | bukh | sweet potato | hopir, dari |
| guava | biabass | tree | si-p'ri |
| leaf | viri | vegetables in general | t'nŭll |
| mango | vatuna-vususs | water-melon | pluru |
| peach | rupass | wine, Pepo | isi |

## VII.—Animal Kingdom.

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *Yukan.* | *Malay.* | *Sundry.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| buffalo | k'ravao | kating | karbao | *Javan.*, *Gt.Polyn.* kabu; *Bugis*, *Macassar* tedung |
| cat | saku | niao | — | *Bugis* miao |
| deer | bassan | nánukh | rusa | *Bugis* jonga |
| deer-skin | ruvung-a-bassan | hanukh-kwei | — | — |
| dog* | wasu | hu-il | — | *Javan.*, *Gt.Polyn.* asu |
| duck | k'rava | rguru | — | — |
| fish | vaŭt | siukh, kulikh | — | *Gt.Polyn.* iwak; *Biajuk* lauk |
| fowl | rakok, t'rahokh | yaoal, inta, weilung | burung | *Javan.*, *Gt.Polyn.* manuk |
| hog† | vavui | vei-uakh | babi | *Javan.*, *Gt.Polyn.* bawi; *Bugis*, *Buton*, *et passim* babi, vavi |

* "The usual Javanese name [for dog] is asu; and it is remarkable, that this word is the name for the dog in the languages of tribes remote from Java; being those too of countries having themselves no wild dog, as Floris, Timur, and the Philippine Islands. This fact seems, at least, to show that Java was the source from which these countries derived the domestic dog." (Crawfurd, *s. v.* Dog.)

† *See note* †, *p.* 83.

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *Yukan.* | *Malay.* | *Sundry.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ox, bullock | vaca | — | — | { *Tagalog* / *Bisaya* } baca |
| turtle, tortoise | p'nu | — | pannyu | { *Javan.* / *Gt. Polyn.* / *et passim* } pannyu |

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *English.* | *Kabaran.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| flea | timora | venison | apun |
| horse | kwaiu | | |

## VIII.—Miscellaneous Nouns.

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *Yukan.* | *Malay.* | *Sundry.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| boat | broa | asu (?) | prau, prahu | *Javanese* prahu |
| large boat, ship | vawa | achuying | — | — |
| cannon | ku-ang | a-ungu | — | — |
| copper cash, money | karisiu | habángan | wang | { *Javanese* huwang / *Bugis* uwang |
| copper wire | — | anaoal | — | — |
| field, country | zana | — | tana | { *Javanese* / *Gt. Polyn.* } tana |
| gun | papilsá | patuss | — | — |
| gunpowder | kuti | avuli | — | — |
| milk | sisu | — | susu | *Bugis* susu |
| road | zaran, rathan | — | jalan | *Javanese* dalan |
| tattoo | — | patass | — | — |
| village, town | rahit | — | dukuh | *Malagasi* vohitra |

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *English.* | *Kabaran.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| anger | hunut | fishing net | tabukūn |
| barber | pakiss-kiss'n | flag | vakhwi |
| bridge | sazan | food in general | han, hanpaita |
| Chinese written characters | sulan, sulal | garden | vaovi |
| | | herdsman | pakrama |
| compass, watch, etc. | pannwan | mast | ereran, ireran |
| disease | tarao | oar | p'luna, p'runa |
| farmer | sarŭnna | pirate (sea-thief) | haisan-a-zarin |
| fisherman | para-vaŭt-un | | |

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *English.* | *Kabaran.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| rogue, rascal | supa | silversmith | passangin-du-pila |
| sail | raiar | slow-match | rizŭss, zirŭss |
| salt | z'mian | spear | snuvungan |
| sedan chair | nungan | sword | kwisuisan |
| ,, bearer | panungan | tears | t'miliss, (rusi) |
| smith, wright | passangin | thief | haisan |
| blacksmith | passangin-du-namat | trade | sianŭm |
| goldsmith | passangin-du-braoan | whip | passpass |
| shipwright | passangin-du-vawa | | |

## IX.—Pronouns, Adjectives, Adverbs.

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *Yukan.* | *Malay.* | *Sundry.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | aiku | — | aku | *Javan.*, *Gt. Polyn.* aku; *Biajuk* yaku |
| that | wanistaoan, wiyu | (hani) | ini | — |
| this | izistaoan, witao-ian | | | |
| what | niana, nini -wanai (?) | — | yang | *Bali* nyang |
| bad (spoiled) | masukao | m'huti | — | — |
| bad (wicked) | lalass | lakhan | nakhal | (*Javan.* ala, olo); *Bali* jaleh |
| black | tŭngŭn | m'kálukh | — | — |
| blind | bukhit, m'burar | — | buta | *Bugis* buta |
| blue* | puli, mrapuli, b'nuran | lasu | bira | — |
| clean | blamŭss, dangirao | muakh | — | — |
| cold | durpuss | maskinuss | — | — |
| deaf | turŭss | — | tuli | *Javan.* tuli; *Sunda* torek |
| dirty | matar | m'k'púta | — | — |
| drunk | vusuk, busuk | m'vusuk | — | — |
| good | malaka | b'lakh | baik | *Bali* malak; *Biajuk* bahalak |
| hot | maramuk | makilukh | — | — |
| lame | pirŭss | — | — | *Bali* perot |
| large | raia | n'huyal | — | *Madura* raja |
| long | marung, mahung | nduyukh | — | — |
| many | nangei | valei | banyak | *Madura* banyak |
| red* | t'barei | m'talakh | mira | *Bali* bara; *Bugis* machala |
| short | k'zu | zatung | — | — |
| small | kia | tikai | kutu | *Bisaya* kutu |
| white | vussar, bussar | m'lávu | — | — |

* Both Pepos and savages have very crude and indistinct ideas of color, and the terms given here are subject to some uncertainty.

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *English.* | *Kabaran.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| he (?) | aisu haia | silly, garrulous | mutamut |
| thou, (you) | aisu | smooth, level | lasilass |
| who | tiani-wanai (?) | stupid, foolish | mrimarukh |
| | | yellow* | palao, mrapala |
| all | hanizka, maniz | | |
| broad | tabai | far | ma-ra-ul, ma-za-ul |
| cooked | mammin | near | ma-ra-ki |
| dumb | murar, muzar | no, not | m'taha |
| fragrant | vangsiss | very | palamsu, maluna, (tiku?) |
| green* | bruviru | | |
| honest | parakŭn | "can do" | wanai |
| narrow | basil | "no fear" | meiku, aska } -meikiss |
| offensive (odor) | vangt'o | | |
| perspiring | satihuss | | |

## X.—Verbs.

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *Yukan.* | *Malay.* | *Sundry.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| to come | naori, akwa | — | mari | *Bisaya* | mari |
| to eat | k'man, han | mani | — | *Tagalog* | comain |
| | | | | *Bisaya* | cumaon |
| to sleep | meinŭp | mavi | — | *Bisaya* | modap |

| *English.* | *Kabaran.* | *English.* | *Kabaran.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| to arise, get up | kasswat, hasswat | to labor | saharun, sahalun |
| to awake | mainar | to love, desire | mangil |
| come (imperative) | akwasi | to quarrel | saku-saran |
| to cry | muring | to rejoice | sarumakŭn |
| to dream | braputui | to see, look | maita |
| to eat with the hand | h'mapu | to shave the head | musskiss |
| to eat with chopsticks | ipita-k'man | to smell | smanuk, smingut |
| to fight | mabul | to smoke | han tabaku |
| to go | wiati *(sing.)*, wiata *(plural)* | to sneeze | vassing |
| | | to talk | sikaoma |
| to be about to go (?) | havitiku | to taste | smilam |
| to hear | darav | to wish | pali |
| to kill (an animal) | s'marira | to write | sulal, smulan |
| to kill, slay (a man) | mutung | | |

* *See note* *, *p.* 87.

## ARTICLE IV.

### NOTES ON THE *MIAO-FA-LIEN-HUA-CHING*, (妙法蓮華經) A BUDDHIST SÛTRA IN CHINESE.*

By T. WATTERS, H.B.M.C.S.

I PROPOSE to give in the following pages, some account of a well-known Chinese Buddhist work,—of its history and nature, and of a few other subjects connected with it which seem to be of importance. These notes embody a portion of the results of a careful study of the book, first begun several years ago, and undertaken with the view simply of acquiring information about the religion of which it is to a certain extent an exponent. Very many difficulties beset the student of such a work as this, and several of these are, under present circumstances, almost or altogether insurmountable. They arise on the one hand from the nature of the subject, and on the other hand from the character of the language. To these must be added the fact, that many of the distinctive terms or phrases employed, are translations of expressions which in their original language often have for Buddhist writings peculiar meanings, very unlike their common acceptations; and that the Chinese equivalents not seldom are either anomalous phrases, or regular phrases in ordinary use, but in the Buddhist writings invested with peculiar significations. So far as regards the work now about to be considered, the student's difficulties are greatly lessened by the excellent translation which has been made, of what is at least to some extent the original treatise; and here in the very forefront of my notes, I wish to express my deep obligation to Burnouf's works on Buddhism, not only for the facts which they contain, but also for the valuable guidance which they afford. The wide and deep learning, the illuminating genius, the cautious judgment, and the liberal heart which this scholar possessed, have made his name revered and his loss deplored, by all who take an interest in Buddhism. His mantle has not fallen on another, though many have entered into the fruits of his labours.

* Read before the Society on November 23rd, 1874.

The name of the treatise concerning which these notes are written is *Miao-fa-lien-hua-ching* (妙法蓮華經), or as it is more frequently styled simply *Fa-hua-ching*. The work is very highly esteemed by the professed followers of Buddhism in this country, though I cannot from personal observation endorse the statement of Wassiljew, that it is always found in Chinese temples on the altar in front of the images.* On the contrary, the monks generally declare that it is a Great Sûtra (大經 *ta ching*),—one only to be brought out and used on special occasions. Sometimes in a large monastery, one of the brethren will devote himself exclusively to its study, living apart in a small room or cell, and trying to understand its dark allegories and realize its grand visions. By none, however, is it so devotedly studied and so profoundly venerated, as by the adherents of the T'ien-t'ai sect, which has its chief seat in those mountains of Chekiang from which the name is derived. The person who became the illustrious founder of this sect, and who is generally known as Chih-chê (智者) or Chih-chi (智顗 the latter character being also read k'ai), heard when only seven years of age, the 25th or *Kwan-yin* chapter read by a monk, and he suddenly obtained an intuitive knowledge of the whole work. So great an impression did the scenes and dialogues which it records make on his mind, that while still a youth, he saw as in a trance by the means of magic power, the Great Assembly still convened on the Vulture-peak hill, and Sakyamuni continuing his discourse.† Many anecdotes also are related to illustrate the great and good effects which have resulted from the pious study, or even only frequent repetition of the whole or a part of our Sûtra. Such a story is that of the unfortunate beauty, whose breath had the sweet scent of the lotus flower.‡ Countless ages ago, in a former state of existence, she had been a devout nun, and had in that capacity conned the *Fa-hua-ching* for thirty years with holy fervour. The merit of this pious exercise prevailed, even when on her subsequent re-birth into the world she had to reap the bitter fruit of that root of sin in connection with the same planted then, before the "long night" of those vanished ages.

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* *Der Buddhismus*, p. 163.

† See the *Chih-yue-lu* (指月錄) ch. 2, p. 21; and Edkins in the *Shanghai Almanac and Miscellany* for 1855-6,—Notices of Buddhism in China.

‡ This story is told in the *Lung-shu-ch'ing-t'u-wên* (龍舒淨土文), ch. 7, p. 15.

At the present day we often see, at the beginning of a copy of this work, or of the *Kwan-yin* chapter, a statement to the effect that it is printed and circulated by so-and-so, as a vow-offering, or a thanksgiving for the life of a father, or mother, or husband, or occasionally simply as a good act towards the individual's salvation. This is done not only by the common Chinese, who own a mixed religion, but by many who pass as pure Confucianists. This Sûtra, however, has never attained the wide-spread popularity and reputation of the *Chin-kang*, *Hua-yen*, and some other Sûtras. By the ordinary Buddhists it is generally considered deep and hard to be understood, many regarding it as being throughout a dark allegory. The strict Confucianists again often condemn it, as well on account of the rudeness of its style, as on account of the wild and extravagant fictions which it contains. Yet many of these study it, and some, like the famous Chên Hsi-shan (眞西山) of the Sung dynasty, elaborate a reasonable meaning out of its wayward parables.*

As is well known, the *Fa-hua-ching* professes to be a translation, and it is now quite established, that its original was a copy of the *Saddharma pundarîka*. Burnouf's translation of the latter work, under the title "Le Lotus de la bonne Loi," from a manuscript sent to Paris by Mr. Hodgson, is of inestimable value, as well to the student of Chinese Buddhism as of Indian. His comparison of the other accessible manuscripts with the Paris one was of great importance, affording corrections on the one hand of mistakes which had got into the text of the latter, and on the other hand of Burnouf's occasional errors of interpretation. His Notes and Appendices also are a perfect store-house of Buddhistic lore, and they, taken together with his "Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien" give us a mass of important information, while at the same time they make us regret the unfinished state of the great work which he had proposed to himself. M. B. Saint-Hilaire has to a certain extent popularised the "Lotus de la bonne Loi" among western readers, and all good writers on Buddhism since Burnouf's time have drawn largely from his treatises. The Chinese translation, however, differs considerably from the French, and this fact has been already noticed and commented on by Julien, Beal, and others; but no one apparently has taken the trouble to ascertain the extent of the agreement and difference

* See the *Wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao* of Ma Tuan-lin, ch. 226.

between the two versions. In order to learn which is the more correct, or whether they are not each a faithful translation of its original, we should have the Sanskrit texts at hand, and this is at present quite impossible for students in China. Nor indeed would it be practicable even at home, for any one who devoted his energies to the study of Chinese, to decipher, compare, and translate Sanskrit manuscripts. The work should be divided, and carefully edited copies of at least the most important of the Nepalese manuscripts ought to be printed and published, under the supervision of Sanskrit scholars. Up to the present moment the only works of the kind accessible to us here, so far as I know, are the *Lalita-vistara*, edited by Bábu Rájendralál Mittra, in the series of the Bibliotheca Indica;* the Fourth chapter of the *Saddharma pundarîka* edited by M. P. E. Foucaux, and an Avadâna of 15 pages, edited by M. Léon Feer. As M. Foucaux complains, during the thirty-six years that England and France have possessed the precious manuscripts sent by Mr. Hodgson from Nepal, not a single one of them has been published, whilst in the same period an enormous number of works relating to Brahmanism have been printed from manuscripts in India or elsewhere.† Yet these Buddhist treatises are of considerable importance for the study of the language, literature, and religion of India. On the first of these subjects it is probable that they would throw some valuable light, by the indications which they afford of the extent to which the literary language was broken up and otherwise altered, and of the changed meanings which many terms had received on their adoption by Buddhism. For the Chinese student, however, still greater advantage would be gained by the discovery and deciphering of the actual originals from which the existing translations were made. We know that in this country there were formerly palm-leaf manuscripts of Buddhist works, and it is not unlikely that some of these still survive. Mr. Edkins tells us of one Sanskrit manuscript which he saw in the Kao-ming-ssŭ (高明寺), one of the T'ien-t'ai temples in Chekiang;‡ and though he does not state distinctly what

* There is also an independent edition with an English translation of the first and second chapters and a portion of the third. M. Foucaux has also published a portion of the seventh chapter in his edition of the Tibetan translation of this work.

† *Etude sur le Lalita Vistara*, p. 6.

‡ Trip to Ningpo and T'heen-t'hae, in *Shanghai Almanac &c.*

is the nature of this highly-prized curiosity, yet we may perhaps infer that it is Buddhistic, and as such the manuscript should be turned to some account.

I now proceed to consider the meaning of the title of our treatise, which is in full *Ta-shêng-miao-fa-lien-hua-ching* (大乘妙法蓮華經). Of this the first two characters mean "Great Vehicle," and are the Chinese rendering of *Mahâyâna;* though they also correspond to *Vaipulya* or *Mahâvaipulya*, which Burnouf renders "developpé;" and "Great Development" is the expression often used as the English equivalent for these two characters. *Miao-fa-lien-hua* corresponds to *Saddharma pundarîka*, which Burnouf translates, as has been seen, "Le Lotus de la bonne Loi." As he shows, however, the former of these two words is susceptible of other renderings. The word *dharma* certainly means "the Law," that is, "Buddhism," but it also means a great many other things. Some idea of its wide and vague application will be obtained, by consulting such works as Burnouf's Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism, and Childers' Pâli Dictionary.* The Chinese character *fa* (法) also has many and different meanings, and its use in Buddhist literature is to a certain extent peculiar. The *lien-hua* is the *pundarîka* or "white lotus," a plant much used in the figurative teaching of Buddhism. To the whole expression *Miao* (or *Chêng* 正 which is also used)-*fa-lien-hua* various interpretations may be given. The two former words may denote "the excellent religion," that is, "Buddhism." In this case the lotus will be used figuratively to denote the processes of unfolding, blooming, decaying, and being renewed, through which the religion passes. As the lotus buds, blooms, dies, and comes forth again after the dark winter is over to bud and bloom again, so is it with Buddhism. Ever when the world deems it dead and lost, it is only waiting its due time when it will burst into life again and flourish with all its wonted beauty and richness. Or *fa* may represent "the sacred canon" or "revealed scriptures," and the *lien-hua* or "lotus" may denote "the flower or chief," and the whole expression will then signify "the flower of the excellent scriptures." This interpretation is sanctioned by many passages in the work itself, where such terms as King of the Law, Most excellent of Sûtras, &c., are applied to the *Fa-hua-ching;* though it must be remembered that similar terms are applied to other sacred books, as, for example, to the

* *Introduction à l'histoire &c.* p. 42. *Pali Dictionary*, s. v. Dhammo.

*Lalita-vistara*. Mr. Beal has a different explanation; for according to him *fa* (or *dharma*) here means "matter itself." He says:—"The expression 'Fa-kai' is a well-known one to signify the limits or elements of Dharma (dharma dhatu), where Dharma is the same as Prakriti, or Matter itself. Much confusion would have been avoided if this sense of Dharma, when used by writers of the Swâbhâvika school, had been properly observed. As an instance of this, we may remark that the title of the work translated by Burnouf, *The Lotus of the Good Law*, has no reference whatever to the moral law, or any law considered as a code of instruction. The object of the Sûtra is to exhibit the infinite extent of the Lotus creation, in every part of which innumerable Buddhas reside, attended by their retinue of Bôdhisatwas; and the appearance of these Buddhas and Bôdhisatwas in the world or system over which Sakya Tathâgata is supposed to preside, is designed to signify the vast honour paid to our Buddha by the countless others who are manifested throughout the field of space."* This interpretation of *dharma*, however, is not well supported. No doubt in a philosophical and transcendental sense it stands for "matter" with the writers of the Swâbhâvika school, as Mr. Hodgson has stated, but the *Fa-hua-ching* is a narrative, not a philosophical treatise. It no doubt contains metaphysical teachings, sometimes even of a very abstruse and dogmatic nature; but these appear only occasionally, its moral and other lessons being usually taught by story or parable. And in his criticism of M. Saint-Hilaire's observation,—"Voilà déjà bien des détails extravagants et tout à fait inutiles, puisque l'exposition de la Loi promise par le Lotus n'est pas donnée,"—Mr. Beal apparently forgets that the Sûtra is represented not only as having been expounded long ago, but also as still to be expounded. The writers of the T'ien-t'ai sect sometimes explain the title in a manner resembling that adopted by Mr. Beal. They take *fa* to denote the spiritual system of Buddhism; and this regarded in its eternal unchanging essence is the lotus, while the flower represents the ever-changing accidents. The *miao-fa* is the incomprehensible universe of self and space, and the *lien-hua* figures this as budding into life, blooming and decaying. But Mr. Edkins gives the following as Chih-k'ai's own explanation of the name:—"As the lotus grows out of mire and yet preserves its freshness and purity, so the doctrines of this

* *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, p. 12.

book, the good law, assist men to retain their original nature unsullied and undisturbed amidst the misery and corruption around them."* The title of the book after all seems to me to have little to do with the contents, and it may have been arbitrarily imposed or adopted from an earlier Sûtra. In any case Burnouf's rendering of it may at least for the present be retained.

From the consideration of the name, we now proceed to the make up of our book. It consists of seven *chüan* (or "volumes" originally), and is divided into twenty-eight chapters. This division does not correspond exactly with that of the Sanskrit text, from which the French version was made. The eleventh chapter in the latter forms two in the Chinese, making this have one chapter more than the French; and the order of succession is also different in the two versions. It is of much more importance, however, to note that the chapter headed "Le Dépôt," which is last in the French, is only the twenty-second in the Chinese edition. It was probably with this chapter that the earlier forms of the *Fa-hua-ching* concluded; the amplifiers and developers who added to the original work afterwards transposing and inserting occasional passages in it, in order to give the appearance of a connected whole to the book as it left their hands. The chapters concerning the Medicine P'usas, Kwan-yin P'usa, P'u-hsien P'usa, and the Magic formulæ seem to me in the main later additions; they having little relation either to each other or to the former portion of the book. The Chinese text also differs frequently from the Sanskrit, in being rather an epitome or abstract of the latter, than an actual and literal translation. Vain repititions are omitted, long wearisome sentences are condensed into a few words, and the style is generally much less diffuse and extravagant. Sometimes indeed whole sentences and passages are left out, and these not always unimportant. Take as an example, the fifth chapter of Burnouf's version. Here the portion from the paragraph beginning,—"Encore un autre développement, ô Kâcyapa,"—at page 81, down to the end of the chapter, is wanting in all my copies of the Chinese text. In this passage Sakyamuni expounds the doctrine of the one Vehicle and the one Nirvâna, using the remarkable illustration of the man born blind, to whom sight is afterwards

* See the Meanings of Words at the end of vol. i of the *Fa-hua-ching*. *T'ien-t'ai-ssŭ-hsiao-yi-chi-chu* (天台四教儀集註), vol. i, &c. *Shanghai Almanac*, 1856.

given. Buddha is the good and skilful physician, who leads ultimately to one and the same Nirvâna those who have been trying to reach that by good works, by aiming at self-perfection, or by doing both of these and also seeking to save others. It seems strange that this interesting section should have been left out from the Chinese translation; and from a passage in the Notes to Remusat's *Foě-kouě-ki* we may infer, that it either exists in some copies or did exist formerly.* Remusat gives an extract from this chapter closely resembling a sentence in the above-mentioned section, but not to be found in the present Chinese version.

But here the questions naturally arise,—when, where, and by whom was the *Saddharma pundarîka* itself composed? To none of these has a satisfactory and complete answer hitherto been given, nor can such be expected at least from the material now at our disposal. All that I propose to do on the present occasion, is to bring a few stray gleams of light chiefly from Chinese sources, to bear on the subjects of these questions. As to the date, the work itself presents abundant evidence to convince us that this must be placed long after Sakyamuni's death. Accordingly the Chinese theory which represents it as the *chung-ching* (終經) or "last Sûtra" which he delivered, must be abandoned. It refers to discussions among the believers themselves, to their persecutions at the hands of others, to the divisions into sects and schools, and to other matters which we know to be of late origin. It had plainly a pacifying and harmonizing mission among the contending parties of the faithful. It was an *Eirenikon* attempting to bring together a disruptured church. Further, Manjusri, Kwan-yin, and other P'usas who play an important part in our Sûtra are either quite unknown to early Buddhism or at least are in it very subordinate characters. Burnouf's opinion is probably the correct one, viz:—that it was imposed on the church in something like its present form, at the council held under the King Kanishka about the beginning of our era. He also regards the poetical portions as of later origin than the prose, though, I think, not always with good reason. Tao-hsüan (道宣), a Buddhist monk, writing in the early part of the T'ang dynasty or the beginning of the seventh century of our era, makes it to have been published about a thousand years before his time, or about the third century B.C. and to have reached China about three hundred years before

* *Foě-kouě-ki*, p. 166.

his time, or towards the beginning of the fourth century A.D. An earlier writer Sêng-jui (僧叡), also a Buddhist monk, a contemporary and fellow-labourer with Kumarajiva states that at his time, —about A.D. 380, it had been in China nearly a hundred years, but he gives us no hint about the date of its composition.*

As we have no certainty respecting the date, so also we have none respecting the place at which the *Fa-hua-ching's* original first appeared. There is a certain amount of evidence, however, in favour of referring it either to the extreme north of India or to a country not far beyond that region. We may almost decide with certainty that its author or authors were not natives of Rajagriha or its neighbourhood; but that as they lived far from the Buddha's time, so also they lived at a great distance from the scene of his labours. Burnouf and others regard it as having been produced in Kashmir, and they are perhaps correct. Tao-hsüan, the Buddhist writer quoted above, refers to it as having been compiled or brought together and arranged in *Ta-hsia* or Bactria in the south-east of Turkestan. The expression which he uses is *yun-chie-ta-hsia* (蘊結大夏), and I take the characters *yun-chie* to mean "to compile and arrange," though they may also mean "to exist in a crude and confused condition." The author, however, regards Ta-hsia as the country from which the work came to China; and the writer of the imperial preface to the Yung-lo edition, also refers it to the north-west of India (Chu-chien 竺乾).

Still greater uncertainty prevails as to the authorship of the work. Sometimes all the treatises of the Great Vehicle school, including our Sûtra, are loosely ascribed to Nâgârjuna or Nagasena, in Chinese *Lung-shu* (龍樹) or "Dragon-tree." This man, who was the fourteenth of the original Buddhist patriarchs, was a native of northern India and lived in the first century B.C. In early life he had been a diligent student of the Four Vedas, but he afterwards became an enthusiastic Buddhist. Several Shastras or metaphysico-religious works, are ascribed to him, and his name is inseparably associated with the Great Vehicle school, of which he was perhaps the founder.† It is not impossible that he had some share in the composition of the *Saddharma pundarîka;* but it seems

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* *Introduction à l'histoire &c.* p. 574 &c. Preface to *Fa-hua-ching.* Vol. iii of the Yung-lo edition of the *Fa-hua-ching.*

† *Chih-yue-lu* (指月錄) ch. 3. Edkins in *Shanghai Almanac and Miscellany,* 1855 and 1856. Eitel's *Hand-book of Chinese Buddhism,* p. 79.

as we have it now to bear marks of having been the work of several authors. One part of it occasionally forgets another, as when Manjusri, who at the beginning is present on the mountain before Sakyamuni's discourse commences, is elsewhere represented as coming from the realms of the Sea-god. So also in reference to Nirvâna and other subjects, considerable disparity is to be found in the statements occurring at different places, as will be seen below. Thus to the three questions, when, where, and by whom was this Sûtra first composed? the only answer is, that the evidence accessible tends in favour of the conclusion that it was written about the end of the first century B.C. or the beginning of our era, in a country to the north-west of India proper, and by various authors, but edited by one man of the Great Vehicle school. On account of the scanty mention made of it in other books, and for several other reasons, I think it not unlikely that this Sûtra may have remained for some time almost unknown to the general Buddhist world.

Coming now to the Chinese translations, we find respecting them information of a more precise and satisfactory nature, though not quite such as we desire. For this information we are indebted chiefly to the Buddhist writer Tao-hsüan of the T'ang dynasty referred to above. He enumerates three translations which had been made before his time, and I do not know of any others that had then appeared.* The first was made by the Tun-hwang P'usa Chu-fa-hu (燉煌菩薩竺法護), who is said to have been a native of Yue-chih (月支) in Tartary. Chu-fa-hu, or Defender of the Law (that is, religion) of India, was perhaps only a title of this man who may be the "Chî-kung-ming" of whom Mr. Edkins writes,—"About A.D. 300 Chî-kung-ming a foreign priest translated the *Wei-ma* 維摩 and Fa-hwa (Lotus of the Good law) Sutras." He travelled over a large portion of India, and afterwards came to China, bringing with him a collection of Sanskrit Buddhist works. His chief and last place of residence was Ch'ang-an, the modern Si-an-fu in Shen-si, and here in the year A.D. 300 he completed his translation, giving it the title *Cheng* (正)-*fa-hua-ching*.† This is said to have been inaccurate

* Preface to *Fa-hua-ching*. See also note by M. Julien in Burnouf's *Introduction &c.* p. 8.

† His native name was Dharmaraksha of which *Fa-hu* is a translation. See the *T'ung-wên-yun-t'ung* (同文韻統), ch. 5. This work speaks very highly of him and fixes his final residence on the right side of the Yellow River, in Honan apparently.

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and in general badly executed, the author not being well skilled in Chinese. Accordingly, some time after its publication, Tao-an (道安), a native monk, applied himself to the task of revising and correcting it, and spent ten years in this labour. We read also of a high official under the Ch'in (秦) dynasty, named Yao Sung (姚嵩), who lived in the second half of the fourth century of our era, devoting himself with great zeal to the study of the same treatise. He had the advantage of receiving oral instruction from Kumarajiva, and was thus enabled to render the work tolerably faithful and accurate. The next translation was made by the man last named with the help of native monks. Kumarajiva (鳩摩羅什 or Ku-ma-la-shih) was of Indian parentage by the father's side, although born in Ku-tsŭ (龜茲) near Tibet. He travelled through Kashmir and perhaps North India, and was brought to China in the last part of the fourth century. Here his chief place of residence was Chang-an, and he had as disciples and fellow-labourers eight hundred of the very flower of genius and learning from all parts of the land. With their help he translated about three hundred volumes, including the present work, to which he gave the title *Miao-fa-lien-hua-ching*. As to his translations, he confessed that while the sense of the original was usually given, all the grace and beauty of style were lost. Kumarajiva was a man of great parts, a zealous apostle, and an enthusiastic student. It was for his translation I believe, that his disciple Jui (叡) wrote the preface which is now to be found in the Yung-lo edition, and which gives an interesting spiritual interpretation of several miracles and parables occurring in the Sûtra. The third and last translation mentioned by Tao-hsüan, was that made by a monk of North India named Janakût? (闍那笈多), about A.D. 602, and to which also the name *Miao-fa-lien-hua-ching* was given. These three are said to be much the same in style and matter; but they must differ in some not quite unimportant respects, for I have often seen phrases and sentences purporting to come from the *Fa-hua-ching*, and which do not occur in any of my copies of Kumarajiva's version. The only translation made since Tao-hsüan's time, so far as I know, is that by Yuen-chwang or Hiouen-thsang (元奘), which also bore the title *Miao-fa &c.* This great and pious scholar had studied the book in his childhood; in after years he visited the very hill on which, as he believed, Ju-lai had expounded it, and when he returned to his native place he translated it anew. I have not seen this work, but from the references to it

which are to be found, it is plain that Yuen-chuang had a peculiar arrangement of the chapters, and an original different from that of the others.* His transliterations of the Sanskrit words also are often very unlike those adopted by his predecessors. In the course of time these various editions became corrupted through misprints and other faults, and great uncertainty and confusion existed as to the proper readings. With a view of correcting these abuses the Emperor during the Yung-lo period had the translations all compared, and a new edition produced based on Kumârajîva's version, but tolerably free from errors. This was honoured with an imperial preface, and it was reprinted in 1735 by order of the Yung-chêng Emperor of the present dynasty.

Using the text of this last-mentioned edition, I shall now give a short and rough outline of the course of action in the *Fa-hua-ching*. An analysis of Burnouf's translation from the Sanskrit will be found in M. B. Saint-Hilaire's work, *Le Bouddha et sa Religion;* but it cannot be recommended to any one desirous of knowing the contents of the Sûtra thoroughly. It is impossible, indeed, to give a brief and at the same time useful summary of these, and all that is now attempted is to sketch in as few words as practicable, the principal topics of which the work treats. The scene, then, opens near Râjagrîha, on the Vulture-peak hill. Sakyamuni is seated on his sacred throne, surrounded by disciples male and female, P'usas and supernatural beings of all manners in numbers numberless, waiting and watching with profound reverence. For the P'usas, beings of high spititual attainments and next below the Buddha himself, he expounds a Sûtra of the Great Vehicle and then goes into an ecstatic meditation. Divine flowers are rained on him; the worlds suffer earthquake, and all the assembly experience unwonted delight. From between his eyebrows a stream of brilliant light shoots through the air, away into the farthest regions of space, and renders plainly visible all their undreamt of occupants. "What means this wondrous omen?" asks Maitrêya of Manjusri, and the latter answers that it indicates an approaching exposition of the *Fa-hua-ching* by Sakyamuni. This last now emerges from his reverie, and proceeds to address Sâriputra on the extraordinary powers of the Buddhas, and on what he had himself done in former kalpas and other worlds. Sâ-

* See e. g. the *Yi-chie-ching-yin-yi* (一切經音義), ch. 6. I do not find any mention of this translation in Julien's *Hiouen-thsang.*

riputra and his companions pray for an exposition of the Law, and when they have repeated the request a third time Sakyamuni yields. Just then, however, five thousand male and female hearers get up and leave the assembly, and Sakyamuni praising the audience which remains, proceeds to expound the "Law of One Vehicle" or means of attaining Nirvâna. After this he prophecies to Sâriputra the attainment of Buddhaship, at a future period extremely remote,—for as M. St.-Hilaire says rather ungraciously, "Ces prédictions ne sont pas compromettantes,"—and proceeds to relate the parable of the father, who induces his wayward children to flee from the burning house, by the promise of three splendid cars; but who when the children have escaped, gives them only one of great splendour. So the Buddha brings creatures out of the burning house of the world, by holding forth to them the three Vehicles of Sravaka, Pratyeka-Buddha, and P'usa; but the last, which is the Buddha Vehicle, is the only real one for the attainment of Nirvâna. Kasyapa, on behalf of himself and several other arhats, now illustrates the way in which the Buddha had acted towards them, by the parable of the unfortunate son who lived as his father's slave without knowing the relationship which existed between them, and who was at last unexpectedly received as son and made his fathers heir. In the next chapter we have another parable by Sakyamuni, that of the rain falling equally on the forest, while the various trees, shrubs, and plants partake of it each according to its abilities. So he preaches one doctrine, but the men and women of the world receive it in different degrees according to their individual qualities. To these arhats the Buddhaship is now prophecied in terms similar to those used respecting Sâriputra. Then we have an account of the preaching of a Buddha long ages ago, who, when a king, had sixteen sons, each of whom also became a Buddha; among them being Amita in the West and Sakyamuni in our world. In the same chapter we have the parable of the miraculously-produced city, to illustrate the truth about Nirvâna, and the actual teaching of the present Buddha on that subject. To this succeeds the prophecy of future Buddhaship to Pûrna, first among the disciples, and to five hundred other arhats; also the parable of the poor man who when drunk has a precious gem secreted in his clothes by a compassionate rich man. As the poor man goes about begging, and taking contentedly what miserable food and clothing he can get, while all the time he has in his possession what would make him rich and

happy, so was it with the arhats. They had been satisfied with the degree of saintliness to which they had attained, and knew not that the Buddha had long ago wrought their conversion. Ananda, always the keeper of the Sacred Canon, and Rahula, always the Buddha's son, have similar prophecies of future Buddhaship made to them. Sakyamuni next declares to Yo-wang (the medicine king) P'usa the wondrous blessings which will follow him who hears and reverences the *Fa-hua-ching*, and the heavy guilt of such as revile even those who read or recite it, enlarging at the same time on its extraordinary excellences. Before the ravished eyes of the countless multitude, there now appears suspended in the air a magnificent pagoda. Sakyamuni with his index finger opens it, and all see the perfect form of Prabhûtaratna Buddha, who had countless kalpas since passed into complete Nirvâna. Not only do the spectators present gaze with admiration, but countless beings miraculously created by Sakyamuni himself come from all quarters to behold this rare spectacle. Then comes the story of the previous existence of Dêvadatta and Sakyamuni, when the former had been the good teacher of the latter; as also the advent of the Sea-king's young daughter, destined to become a Buddha. A similar destiny after the lapse of countless ages is predicted to the foster-mother, and wife of Sakyamuni, and to other females, and then the qualifications are enumerated which are necessary for those who are to possess and expound the *Fa-hua-ching* after the Nirvâna of Sakyamuni, and in the degenerate days of the closing kalpa. In order to show that this Sûtra can never want beings to make it known in the world, another miracle is wrought. The world splits and numberless P'usas, and their attendants come bubbling up, and proceed to pay adoration to the pagoda and the Buddhas, all these creatures being ready to defend and expound the Sûtra. From the various quarters of the universe also, come forth countless Buddhas all miraculously created from himself by Sakyamuni; and when asked how he could possibly have made and converted these within the forty years since he attained Buddhaship at Gaya, he answers that it is kalpas on kalpas of ages since he attained this. The sole aim of all that the Buddha does is to teach and save miserable sinners. He says he enters into Nirvâna, like the kind and wise father who causes his naughty children to be told that he is dead, and thus brings them to take the medicine necessary for curing their distempered minds. As the father returns to his home when the

children are saved, so the father of the world reappears from time to time on the earth, after having apparently gone into Nirvâna. Then we have an account of all the benefits which accrue from the hearing and believing the above account of the duration of Sakyamuni's existence. To this succeeds a tedious statement of the extraordinary merit attached to the act of delighting in this Sûtra, and of all the bodily and intellectual perfections to which believers in it will attain. After this comes an account of a previous existence of Sakyamuni, in which he was a saint bearing the nickname "Never-despising," given to him on account of his saying to every one he met, "I dare not despise you. Hereafter you will become a Buddha." As an exhibition of their supernatural power, Sakyamuni and Prabhûtaratna now put out their tongues as they smile;—and such tongues! They go on curling and twisting through space, until they reach the highest heaven, all the time emitting from every pore a bright and glowing light. The example is catching, and all the Buddhas on their seats beneath the trees do likewise. This unseemly procedure is kept up for a hundred thousand years, and then they shut up their tongues with an explosion. Here the Sûtra should end. Sakyamuni strokes the heads of his P'usas and other hearers, and gives them his parting injunction, which is principally to teach the Law to all creatures in wisdom and charity. The recital of the history and merits of the Medicine P'usas, of Miao-yin and Kwan-yin P'usas, and of Miao-chang-yen-wang occupies four chapters. The twenty-sixth consists of magic formulæ of great efficacy, contributed by various beings, but all in Sanskrit. Chapter twenty-eight closes the book with the promise of the P'u-hsien P'usa, to protect through all time those who read and reverence the *Fa-hua-ching*, and Sakyamuni's renewed declaration of the blessings for all who treat it well, and the misfortunes for all who treat it badly. Then the P'usas, disciples, Devas, Nâgas, and all the rest of the audience go away delighted.

Now even from this scanty outline it may be seen, that the parts of the *Fa-hua-ching* do not cohere to any great extent; and, as has been already observed, the arrangement of the chapters in the French version is different from that in the Chinese. As we have it now, it seems to be the result of a welding together of several Sûtras. Thus in the early part, we may have chiefly the original *Fa-hua-ching;* the first chapter being of course excepted as of late origin; then another part may have been a Sûtra of

predictions; another, and this almost certainly, an account of Sakyamuni's existence, while each of the chapters towards the end of the book was perhaps originally distinct and independent, though afterwards all became modified for admission into our *Fa-hua-ching*. Some portions, as we know, are still frequently printed as separate works; such as the chapter on the Medicine P'usa, and that on Kwan-yin. But, whether the book as we have it now is or is not a compound, I think we can to a certain extent adopt M. Saint-Hilaire's words,—"*Le Lotus de la bonne Loi*, qui, sans aucune trace d'histoire, n'est qu'une légende fabuleuse, est moins intéressant que le Lalita-vistâra; selon toute apparence, il lui est un peu postérieur."* The Sûtra is indeed a religious novel or drama, invented for the purpose of teaching certain opinions and inculcating certain moral lessons. Judged of even as an artistic work it will not bear criticism, for in improbability, incongruity of plan, and slovenliness of execution it offends seriously. But to the spiritual mind of the believer it has a deep and eternal meaning. Not by the eye of flesh were its persons and scenes perceived, nor by the human ear were its parables and discourses heard. It is a "dark conceit," often shadowing forth religious teachings and putting into parable the deep mysteries of the Law. Thus the anecdotes about Sakyamuni's manifestations in previous existences, and Prabhûtaratna's reappearance, betoken the eternity of the former. His incorporeality is denoted by the miraculous creation of Buddhas from himself, and so with other seeming myths.† Even in the body of the book, we find some of the acts of the drama represented as extending through enormous periods; and though the lapse of time, we are told, was not observed then, yet by us now it must be noticed. There are also to be found euhemeristic interpreters, who try to explain away the mythical fancies, and make the Buddha in the Pagoda, for example, an old corpse whose soul had not been dissolved into its kindred air. No doubt many regard the Sûtra as giving a record of actual occurrences, and believe all its miracles and strange legends. Others think that never indeed on the Vulture-peak hill did these marvellous things take place, but that they befall the pure believer from time to time through all ages; that the Saviour of the world or a

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* *Le Bouddha &c.* p. 65.

† See *Jui's* Preface in the Yung-lo edition, vol. iii; and Tao-hsüan's Preface in the common editions.

guardian P'usa appears visibly to the saintly hermit in his cell on the lonely hill side, or to the pious monk in his cloister absorbed in meditation.* For these, accordingly, all the strange manifestations and wonderful narratives represent at least possibilities. Why, however, do the Buddhas resort to the expedient of putting out their tongues to such an enormous length in order to show their miraculous power? Saint-Hilaire says the account of this "dépasse en sottise et en grossière stupidité tout ce qu'on peut trouver dans les soûtras bouddhiques,"† and I am afraid we must bow to the judgment. Possibly it has some figurative meaning, but the action certainly seems to our ideas an absurd and rather undignified procedure. Just fancy even the Upper House of Convocation sitting gravely each member with his tongue out at full length! But perhaps it is wrong to make light of the story, which may have some deep meaning, and accordingly we go on to Sanskrit words and other subjects.

It has been already stated that the Chinese differs considerably from the French version, in being briefer and more condensed than the latter. But there are also other points in which the two texts disagree, and sometimes to an important extent; one of these being the interpretation given to certain Sanskrit words. A detailed account of the variations of interpretation would be very interesting, but would occupy too much space; and in the present notes I confine myself chiefly to a few of the cases,—mostly proper names,—in which the translation into Chinese does not reproduce the original. Even the most superficial examination of the subject will show, that the Chinese text is very frequently not a transcript of the Sanskrit, with respect to the rendering of technical terms and names of persons and places. On some occasions this discrepancy is seen to result from the use of a wrong character by the former; at other times it follows from an improper dismembering of a long Sanskrit compound; and not unfrequently it follows from this, that the Chinese gives us the purely Buddhist meaning of a word, and not the signification which it has in ordinary Sanskrit literature. An instance of the wrong use of a character occurs at the beginning of the seventh chapter. Here the name of the country in which Buddha Ta-t'ung-chih-shêng (大通智勝) appeared, is in Burnouf's version

* This opinion finds support in several passages of the *Fa-hua-ching* itself, and many examples are given of these manifestations.

† *Le Bouddha &c.* p. 71.

Sambhava;* and this word denotes "production or completion." The Chinese text however, has *hao-ch'êng* (好城) or "good city;" the latter character being wrongly used for *ch'êng* (成), which means "to make or complete." That there is a mistake, is plain from the translations of the word Sambhava in other places; thus Mahâsambhava is rendered by *ta-ch'êng* (大成), and Ratnasambhava by *pao-shêng* (寶生) or "the production of jewels." Again we read in the French version, that Subhûti is to reappear in the world as the Buddha *Cacikêtu*, which means "moon-appearance." The corresponding Chinese text has *Ming-hsiang* (名相) or "name-appearance," where this *ming* is apparently used by mistake for the *ming* (明) which denotes "clearness or brightness."† As an instance of the faulty division of a Sanskrit word, I may mention the well-known case of *Avalôkitêsvara*, which in Chinese becomes *Kwan-shih-yin*, or simply *Kwan-yin*. The error, however, has been commented on by others;‡ and I do not think there are many cases of this kind in the *Fa-hua-ching*. Much more numerous are those in which the new Buddhist meaning of a word, and that alone, is expressed in Chinese. It is only natural that such should be the fact, as all the translators were thorough Buddhists, and many probably knew little more than the literature of their own religion. Passing over *dharma*, *bôdhi*, and other similar words, the meanings of which in Buddhism are well known, I take one or two names. *Avabhâsa*, the kingdom in which Kasyapa is to appear hereafter as a Buddha, denotes originally "brilliance;" but in Chinese it is rendered by *kwang-tê* (光德), that is, "brightness and virtue" or "bright virtue." I think, however, that in this and many other cases of a similar nature throughout the Sûtra, the character *tê* is not used in the sense of "virtue," but merely as a suffix indicating that the character which it follows is to be taken as a noun; and so *kwang-tê* would simply mean "brilliance" as in the original. A better instance of the peculiar kind of interpretation under notice is the word *Srîgarbha*, the name of a P'usa. This term means "the holder of good luck" or "that which conceals good luck as in embryo," but the Chinese rendering is *tê-ts'ang* (德藏) or "store of virtue."§ The Maruts or Storm-spirits are here simply Devas,—

* *Le Lotus &c.* p. 96.
† *Le Lotus &c.* p. 91. *Fa-hua-ching*, ch. 6.
‡ See e. g. Eitel's *Hand-book*, p. 18.
§ *Le Lotus &c.* p. 14. *Fa-hua-ching*, ch. 1.

*tien* (天), or sometimes *shên* (神), and *nâraka* or "hell" becomes not only this, but all the three lowest grades of existence, the *San-$^{ng}$ê-tao* (三惡道), viz:—"beings in hell, hungry ghosts, and animals." Sometimes we have to take our choice, between ascribing certain translations to ignorance on the part of the translator or to a difference in the original texts. Thus Sakyamuni tells of a former birth, in which he was the P'usa Sadâparibhûta; and relates that this nickname was given to him because he was always telling people he did not despise them. But the Sanskrit word means "always-despised," while the Chinese translation is *ch'ang-pu-ch'ing* (常不輕) or "always not despising," which, though not rendering the above Sanskrit term, yet, no less than that, agrees with the context.* Again Gadgadasvara, the name of a P'usa, means "stammering" or "stuttering," but in Chinese it becomes *miao-yin* (妙音) or "excellent-voiced;" though *gadgada*, it should be added, has also the signification of "speaking in a pretty mincing manner."† But although there are these and very many more, and more important discrepancies, yet it must be acknowledged that the Chinese version has much more frequently a striking literality of interpretation, and this is after all what we should expect. The rendering of the Sanskrit names, however, is only a small portion of the general subject of translation, which is much too extensive for the present notes. The original existed, as we know, in several manuscripts, all differing in many respects, and Kumârajiva seems to have translated from one which departed considerably from all the texts at Burnouf's disposal. It is impossible, accordingly, to say now how far existing discrepancies are to be ascribed to causes in the translators, and how far to causes in the texts. Leaving then this subject thus barely referred to, I now go on to one or two matters which from some points of view at least are of greater interest.

Of these the first to which I advert, is the view of Buddhahood as set forth and illustrated in our Sûtra. It is not to be supposed that this differs altogether from that given in other works, though it certainly does differ to some extent. The *Fa-hua-ching*, however, even when agreeing with other Sûtras on this subject frequently imparts to it a new colouring. It embodies its speculative opinions in tales, gives local habitations and names to fictions of

* *Le Lotus &c.* p. 229. *Fa-hua-ching*, ch. 20.
† *Le Lotus &c.* p. 253. *Fa-hua-ching*, ch. 24.

the brain, and brings them before us with all the appearance of reality. The human founder of Buddhism is in it scarcely more an historical personage, than the improvised beings who come from the corners of space. He is no longer alone,—the only Ju-lai present in our universe, and the only one in actual existence. Indeed so numerous and so different are the Buddhas that have been, that are, and that are to be in this and other worlds, that we can arrange them to a certain extent in classes or groups. There is first this historical one, Sakyamuni, who from one point of view must be kept distinct and form a class of himself. He it was who first turned the Wheel of the Law and caused the word Nirvâna to be heard in our world. He has had a continuous existence from an incalculable period, that is, from all eternity; but appearing in the world only at rare intervals and in various forms. It was not when on this earth last, forty years after leaving his father's palace and near the city Gaya,—as all Devas, men, and Asuras said,—that he attained Bôdhi or supreme wisdom. This he acquired, becoming Buddha, ages before, at a past time of inconceivable remoteness; because, as he said, he had always been zealous in self-advancement, or as the French version has it,—"j'étais appliqué au developpement de l'énergie." Ever since that event he has continued in this universe teaching, and converting, and working great miracles. So also after he leaves this world of ours, he exists elsewhere. His work of salvation is not yet ended, and he has to go on perfecting himself by saving others. The Buddhaship, though reached only after long and painful efforts, renewed from birth to birth during uncounted kalpas, is not the end. He disappears from this earth, it is true, but it is only a removal to "another kingdom." Thence he still comes from time to time, and appears to the faithful disciple who continues to believe in the Good Law and study or teach it, whether among the assemblies of men or in the loneliness of the mountain caverns. This Sakyamuni is the highest and most honored of all beings, self-existent, supreme in power and knowledge, and all-compassionate. The most exalted gods of the heavens reverence him; the terrible demons of hell fear him; and all the creatures of the universe bow down and worship him. Even the elemental powers and all inanimate nature pay him homage, and witness with a mighty voice to his all-pervading supremacy. The wildest and most extravagant expressions are used about him,—

> "Three piled hyperboles, spruce affectation,
> Figures pedantical."

Yet his most conspicuous attribute is compassion. It will fare ill indeed with the man who reviles or blasphemes him or his law or his followers. Such a one must suffer long and terrible punishment, but this is not inflicted by the Buddha; it is simply the harvest which the sinner had sown,—the fruit of the tree which he had himself planted. Unmoved by all the homage and adoration paid to him, and all the evil sayings and doings of unbelievers, Sakyamuni keeps ever before him the one grand aim, to save all sentient creatures.

But in keeping this aim before him he is following the former Buddhas,—those who in previous kalpas and separated from each other by enormous intervals, appeared and taught in this and other worlds. These have already entered Nirvâna, and they form a class by themselves under the designation Buddhas of the Past. The doctrine of these belongs to the earliest period of this religion, and is found in most of the works on the subject. Here we have it stated and illustrated in a manner quite peculiar. The Past Buddhas in this Sûtra as in other works, are represented as exceedingly numerous, the imagination here again revelling in the wildness of number. These multitudinous Buddhas have a distinct mention apart from the seven who immediately preceded Sakyamuni. They are not referred to in the scriptures of the Southern schools in the same manner as here, and they seem to a large extent to be purely fictions of the author. The existence and Nirvâna of all these Buddhas of the past can be learned only through the teachings and discussions of Sakyamuni, but the Chinese version does not go so far as Burnouf's. The latter has this remarkable statement purporting to be made by Sakyamuni:—"Depuis le moment où j'ai commencé, ô fils de famille, à enseigner la loi aux créatures dans cet univers Saha, et dans d'autres centaines de milles de myriades de kôtis d'univers, les Tathâgatas vénérables, etc., tels que le Tathâgata Dipamkara et d'autres, dont j'ai parlé depuis cette époque, ô fils de famille, pour [faire connaître] leur entrée dans le Nirvâna complet, ces Tathâgatas, ô fils de famille, ont été miraculeusement produits par moi dans l'exposition et l'enseignement de la loi, par l'effet de l'habileté dans l'emploi des moyens dont je dispose."*

Somewhat similar to the Buddhas of the past are those of the future, that is, the individuals of whom it is prophecied that they

* *Le Lotus &c.* p. 192. *Fa-hua-ching*, ch. 16.

will hereafter become Buddhas. These have already in several stages of existence done the works of the righteous, and so have in some degree prepared the way for the attainment of this far-off preeminence. They have still, however, to pass through many "varieties of untried being," and after countless acts of worship and service they will finally attain supreme intelligence.

Another class of Buddhas may be described as geographical. It comprises the sixteen who preside over the eight divisions of the universe,—two in the East, two in the South-east, etc. Amitabha, or Omito Fo, who becomes so celebrated in subsequent Buddhism, is here simply mentioned as one of the two presiding over the West. Sakyamuni himself is represented as one of these sixteen and as administering our world.* But there are also numberless other Buddhas coexisting with him, and by his miraculous power they can be made visible to men, and the discourses which they deliver to their disciples can be heard.

There is still another class, for the Sakyamuni miraculously creates from his own body countless Buddhas, who come with their attendants to hear him expound the *Fa-hua-ching* and to adore the wonderful Pagoda. They are rendered visible by the ray of light which he emits from between his eyebrows; but, as being apparently created for the occasion, they are not supposed to have a permanent existence, and are to be distinguished from those of the previous class. This Sûtra indeed seems to regard all space and time as containing Buddhas, and we may perhaps adopt Wassiljew's short statement of what it teaches us on this subject, viz.—that all become Buddhas. They are like the sands of the Ganges in number; they teach the Law to conduct other beings to Nirvâna; and they pass an existence chiefly made up of negations.

The only other subject connected with the *Fa-hua-ching* on which I make any observations at present, is its representation of Nirvâna. As is well known, this word has given rise to much controversy, not only among Buddhists themselves, but also among their western critics and expounders. Has it a spiritual or a material reference?—does it denote total or only partial extinction? To these and similar questions respecting it, the most varied and contradictory answers have been given. Nor is this very strange, when we consider that the word is used in different senses by one

* *Le Lotus &c.* p. 113. *Fa-hua-ching*, ch. 7.

and the same author and in the same book. Often indeed the writer or speaker has no fixed and precise meaning attached to it, but applies it in a vague and misty manner. So when we study his words and think to find a fact, we merely fare like Ixion. In the present Sûtra we sometimes find the term thus loosely employed, and one cannot read the work without remarking, how very frequently Nirvâna or the corresponding Chinese expression occurs, and at the same time how different are its applications. The subject is beset with doubts and difficulties, and it is almost certain that even the meagre outline here given is not quite correct.

Firstly, the term is used to denote that degree of comparative moral perfection, to which an arhat attains while still living in this world, when he has gained complete control over his bodily powers and passions, and acquired a knowledge of the Law. Thus, for example, Ajnâtakaundinya and other disciples are represented as saying to themselves, that they had already arrived at Nirvâna,* and Sakyamuni also speaks of disciples whom he had caused to attain to this.

Secondly, it is sometimes used as a synonym for death. Thus Sakyamuni relates how the Buddha *Jih-yue-ch'ing-ming-tê* (日月淨明德), or "Sun-and-moon's-pure-brightness'-virtue," when a P'usa asked him about his continuance in the world, replied that his time for Nirvâna had come,—his time for extinction had arrived. He then ordered his couch to be prepared, gave his final commands, and late in the night he entered Nirvâna, that is, died. The context shows clearly that such is the meaning, and a funeral pyre is subsequently erected on which his body is burnt. Burnouf's version is here very explicit and makes the Buddha say,—"Le temps où je dois entrer dans le Nirvâna complet est arrivé, ô fils de famille; le temps de la fin de ma vie est arrivé."† So also Sakyamuni's death is on several occasions spoken of as his Nirvâna, as well by himself as by others.

Thirdly, it denotes, and this is the common acceptation of the term, the extinction of birth, death, and all the miseries of mortal existence,—the annihilation of all troubles. This, however, like the first, is distinctly said not to be the true Nirvâna, but only a temporary relief or resting-place. It is the magic city produced

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* *Le Lotus &c.* p. 22. *Fa-hua-ching*, ch. 2; and *Le Lotus &c.* pp. 39, 40. *Fa-hua-ching*, ch. 3.

† *Le Lotus &c.* p. 245. *Fa-hua-ching*, ch. 23.

by the great guide of mortals, in order to win them from despair in the long journey to the real Nirvâna, through the dreary waste of renewed existence. It is the reward given to the saints who have battled with and overcome Mara, the great tempter, and all his forces.

A fourth form of Nirvâna is one somewhat remarkable, viz:—that illustrated by the Buddha Prabhûtaratna, who appears at the assembly in his wonderful Pagoda. In this state the being who has passed away retains for ever, apparently, the outward form of a human creature, and the power of speech and motion. He is a sort of mummy, but retaining some kind of latent life which can be brought out at the proper opportunity. Thus Prabhûtaratna retained his body complete, smiled, spoke, and even put out his tongue some billions of miles, and yet he had gone into the perfect Nirvâna many kalpas before. To the beholders he simply appeared as if absorbed in ecstatic meditation. So also other past Buddhas already entered into Nirvâna, are miraculously revealed by the power of Sakyamuni, as for instance, on the Vulture-peak hill by his ray of light.*

Again Nirvâna is represented as a kind of pleasure or delight to be realized in a future state. After the power of the senses and emotions has been destroyed, and all attachment to existence loosened, death introduces the emancipated being into a condition of calm happiness. This is sometimes spoken of as *Nie-pan-lo* (涅槃樂), or "Nirvâna joy," and Sakyamuni says that he causes mortals to obtain the delights of quiet repose, of this world, and of Nirvâna.†

A sixth sense in which the term is used in our Sûtra, is that of complete extinction and absolute annihilation. Thus a former Buddha is said to have gone into remainderless Nirvâna, and this is also expressed as passing away like firewood exhausted and fire extinguished. Elsewhere this complete extinction is compared to smoke vanished and a lamp quenched.‡ At other times the expression remainderless or perfect Nirvâna cannot be so interpreted, but seems to be rather a figurative expression. It indicates in these cases the destruction of all roots of sin,—the quenching of the fire of passion and desire, and whatever else belongs to this passing life.

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* *Le Lotus &c.* p. 151 and p. 4. *Fa-hua-ching*, chs. 11 and 1.

† *Fa-hua-ching*, ch. 5. The French version is different here.

‡ See *Le Lotus &c.* p. 179. *Fa-hua-ching*, ch. 14.

Lastly the word is used in the *Fa-hua-ching* to denote that absolute spiritual perfection to which only a Buddha can attain. Thus Sâriputra is made to say to Sakyamuni,—"At that time I said to myself that I had arrived at extinction, but now I feel that it was not the true extinction. When one becomes Buddha,—with all the thirty-two signs, reverenced by Devas, men, Yakshas, Nâgas, and Maruts,—then one can say that he is for ever finished,—extinguished without remainder."* The passage in the French version corresponding to this has simply Nirvâna where the Chinese has extinction. This is reached only by slow and painful steps, after many re-births into this and other worlds. The two thousand Sravakas to whom the Buddhaship is predicted in a distant future, are told that afterwards they will gradually enter Nirvâna, and, as has been seen, Sakyamuni himself has not yet attained to this. Yet it is the acquisition of his supreme wisdom which constitutes the true Nirvâna. The low form preached on earth suffices until this can be acquired, the former being but as it were a part of the latter. This is not simply to have done for ever with coming into and going out of life, nor only the extinction of all passion and desire; but it is besides these the attainment of supreme wisdom moral perfection, and eternal rest.† The Buddha gone into Nirvâna does not cease to be, but his is a mode of being distinct from and unlike all other modes.

The ways in which Nirvâna is here represented as being understood may probably appear too numerous, but any one who reads the *Lêng-chia-ching*, or Burnouf's translation of an interesting passage in the Sanskrit version on this subject,‡ will, I think, not be surprised at the variety of applications which the term receives in the *Fa-hua-ching*. Some, however, would perhaps be inclined to put two or three of the above under one heading, and in any case if we give a spiritual interpretation, in those instances in which the word seems to have a material signification, the number of meanings will be somewhat lessened. There is indeed only the one real Nirvâna, and only the one means by which it is ultimately attained. Thus the various conflicting theories existing at the time of the compilation of this Sûtra, respecting the nature of

* See *Le Lotus &c.* p. 40. *Fa-hua-ching*, ch. 3. Also *Le Lotus &c.* p. 135. *Fa-hua-ching*, ch. 9, near the end.

† See *Le Lotus &c.* p. 58. *Fa-hua-ching*, ch. 3. *Le Lotus &c.* p. 130. *Fa-hua-ching*, ch. 8, near the end.

‡ *Introduction à l'histoire &c.* p. 516.

Nirvâna, may be regarded as receiving here a harmonious adjustment. It is death, and the extinction of all passion and desire, and emancipation from all the bonds of existence; but it is further eternal duration, perfect wisdom, and absolute quietude.

Here I bring these rambling notes to a close. They have only touched on a few of the more salient points connected with the *Fa-hua-ching*, and have not attempted to decide any vexed question. Some would perhaps be inclined to regard the time and labour employed on this subject as to a great extent misspent, but a more liberal view would show that such is not the case. Few of us in China care to know much about its religions and their literatures, but there is always a represented minority which does care for these things. To such I hope that these notes will not be quite devoid of interest.

## ARTICLE V.

## NARRATIVE OF RECENT EVENTS IN TONG-KING.*

By HENRI CORDIER.

### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

I PROPOSE to-night to give a history of the events, which led to the conclusion of a treaty between France and Annam in March of this year.

The acquaintance I made of Lieutenant Francis Garnier when he resided here, and the relation of his travels, induced me to seek some information about *Tong-king*, a country of which every one has heard, but concerning which only a few have taken the trouble of learning anything reliable. My studies helped me to comprehend better the events which took place subsequently in the northern part of Tu-duc's empire, and having had the good fortune to meet here, some of the more important actors in a drama which, had it taken place on a more conspicuous stage than the *terra incognita* of Annam, could not have failed to create a very great sensation, I asked for notes and verbal accounts, and was thus led to write, with the materials collected, a NARRATIVE OF RECENT EVENTS IN TONG-KING.

Situation of Tong-king.

TONG-KING is the northern part of *Annam*, the empire occupying the eastern portion of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. It extends from 103° 50′ to 109° 36′ E. long. from Greenwich, and from 17° 34′ to 23° 15′ N. lat. It is bounded on the north by the Chinese provinces of Kwang-tung, Kwang-si, and Yun-nan; on the east by the China Sea, which there receives the name of *Gulf of Tong-king;* on the south, by Annam proper; and on the west by the ancient kingdom of Laos now divided up between Cochin-china, Siam, and Burmah.

Name.

Under the emperors Yao and Shun, this country was called *Nan-kiao* and under the Tsin, *Siang-kun;* at the beginning of the Han dynasty, it was named *Nan-yuei;* Ou-ti of the Han gave it the name of *Kiao-tchi.*†

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* Read before the Society on December 14th, 1874.

† *Histoire générale de la Chine, ou Annales de cet Empire;* traduites du *Tong-kien-kang-mou,* par le feu P'ère Joseph-Anne-Marie de Moyriac de Mailla, Jésuite Français, Missionnaire à Pékin. Publiées par M. l'abbé Grosier, et dirigées par M. Leroux Deshautesrayes. Paris, 1777-1785, tom. x, p. 153.

In A.D. 679, under the reign of the Tang emperor Kao-tsong (*T'iao-loo*) the Chinese province composed of Tong-king and Cochin-china received the name of *Ngan-nan* 安南 (Peaceful south).*

Tong-king,† which means "Court of the East,"‡ in the same manner as Pe-king is the "Northern Court," and Nan-king the "Southern Court," is in contradistinction to Si-king,§ "Court of the West," the name of Cochin-china. Tong-king, in Annamite is called *Dàng-ngoài* (the road without), Cochin-china being *Dàng-trong* (the road within). The Annamites say that they are *going in* when they travel to the south, and *going out* when they march northwards.

Marco Polo. The celebrated traveller Marco Polo does not say much if anything about Tong-king; for it is doubtful whether the country called by Yule, *Anin*, by Ramusio and others *Amu*, and by Pauthier *Aniu* is really *Northern Annam*. The last-named *savant* thinks that *Aniu* and *Tong-king* are but one country.

"Anin is a province towards the east, the people of which are subject to the Great Kaan, and are Idolaters. They live by cattle and tillage, and have a peculiar language. The women wear on the legs and arms bracelets of gold and silver of great value, and the men wear such as are even yet more costly. They have plenty of horses which they sell in great numbers to the Indians, making a great profit thereby. And they have also vast herds of buffaloes and oxen, having excellent pastures for these. They have likewise all the necessaries of life in abundance.

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* *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des Missions étrangères*, nouvelle édition, à Paris, *Mérigot*, MDCCLXXXI, tom. xvi. Mémoires de la Chine. *Mémoire historique sur le Tong-king* (par le Père Gaubil) p. 271.

† Pronounced in Annamite *Dông-kinh*.

‡ Father Alexander de Rhodes explains the origin of the name in these words:—"Tunchinense regnum, vnam olim é maximis Cinensis imperii provinciis fuisse, argumento est, nomen ipsum quod adhuc retinet. Quippe sicut *Pechinum* Cinae, regiam dicunt septentrionalem, australem verò *Nanchinum*, sic *Tun-chin* Orientalis plagae regiam significat. Quod, *Tun*, Orientem, *Chin*, recepto idiomate regiam nominent. Tametsi enim versus Meridiem, magis, quam ad Orientem Cinensium terris Tunchin adjacet." *Tunchinensis Historiae*. Authore P. Alexandro de Rhodes.

§ I give the name of *Si-king*, on the authority of Mr. F. Porter Smith,—*A Vocabulary of Proper names, in Chinese and English, of Places, Tribes and Sects in China, Japan, Corea, Annam, Siam, Burmah, the Straits and adjacent countries*, Shanghai, 1870, p. 59. I have been unable to find it elsewhere.

"Now you must know that between Anin and Caugigu, which we have left behind us, there is a distance of [25] days' journey; and from Caugigu to Bangala, the third province in our rear, is 30 days' journey. We shall now leave Anin and proceed to another province which is some 8 days' journey further, always going eastward."*

Ancient geography of Tong-king.

Under the Han emperors Tong-king had been divided into three departments. When that kingdom became again a Chinese province (1408), after it had been conquered by the Chinese general Tchan-fou from the usurper Li Ki-mao, it was divided into seventeen *fou; Kiao-tcheou, Pe-kiang, Liang-kiang, San-kiang, Kien-ping, Sin-ngan, Kien-tchang, Fong-hoa, Tsing-hoa, Suen-hoa, Taï-yuen, Tchin-man, Liang-chan, Sin-ping, Y-ngan, Chun-hoa* and *Chin-hoa;*—fifty-seven *chow,* and one hundred and fifty-seven *hsien.*†

At the time of the travels of Father Alex. de Rhodes (17th century) we find that the capital of the kingdom of Tong-king,—*Kecio (Ke-cho)* occupied a district (like Washington in the district of Columbia) round which were situated the provinces *Ke‡-bac* (north), *Ke-dom* (east), *Ke-nam* (south) and *Ke-tay* (west); the other provinces being to the south of *Ke-nam,* along the sea-coast are *Thin-hoa, Nghê-an* and *Bô-chính* on the border of Cochinchina,§ altogether seven provinces.

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* *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East.* Newly translated and edited, with Notes. By Colonel Henry Yule, C.B., 1871, vol. ii, pp. 82, 83. We think Pauthier right in his surmise that *Aniu* and *Anyuë* are but corruptions of *Nan-yueï* 南越. We have also *Ngan-nan, Gan-nan, An-nan, An-nam.* See *Le Livre de Marco Polo, Citoyen de Venise,* par M. G. Pauthier, p. 427. I read that *Gia-long,* the conqueror of *Tong-king* (in 1802) gave to *Annan* the name of *Viet-nam* or *Nam-viet* 南越 the Chinese *Nam-yueï.* See *Mission de la Cochinchine et du Tonkin, avec gravure et carte géographique,* Paris, Charles Douniol, 1858, pp. lxi, 412. The natives call it also Dai-viet 大越.

† See *Histoire générale de la Chine,* tom. x, p. 164.

‡ *Ke* 几 is the latin *qui;* "north" is *bâc;* "east" is *dông,* the *dom* of Father de Rhodes, the Chinese *tong, toung;* "south" is *nam;* and "west" is *tây,* and better still *doâi.*

§ *Divers Voyages et Missions du P. Alexandre de Rhodes en la Chine, et autres Royaumes de l'Orient, avec son retour en Europe par la Perse et l'Armenie.* 1653, p. 61, Map.

When Mou-king (*Mou* or *Mạc* family), the descendant of the famous general Mou Ten-yong—who revolted against his lawful sovereign, and conquered the northern part of *Tong-king*,—was defeated in 1624 by Li-ouey Ki (Thang-To'ng, the great-grandson of the founder of the second Li dynasty), he retired to the mountains of Ké-băc and created there on the border of Kwang-si the small kingdom of Cao-băng (evidently the *Kao-ping* of Father Gaubil).*

In Bishop Taberd's Dictionary,† Tong-king is divided into thirteen prefectures or *Trấn* 鎮.

| | |
|---|---|
| 清內 Thanh-nôi. | 山西 So'n-tâi. |
| 清外 Thanh-ngoai. | 高平 Cao-băng. |
| 興化 Hu'ng-hóa. | 朗北 Lăng-băc or Lăng-so'n. |
| 南上 Nam-thu'o'ng. | 太元 Thai-nguyên. |
| 南下 Nam-ha. | 宣光 Tuyên-quăng. |
| 海東 Hai-dông. | 廣安 Quăng-yên. |
| 京北 Kinh-băc. | |

Quang-binh 廣平 and Nghê-an 爻安 are placed in northern Cochin-china.

Government of Tong-king. In the historical sketch given hereafter, I mention that this kingdom was formerly governed by two sovereigns, the *bua* (*vua* 𡈽, "king") and the *chúa* (*kēoua* 主 "lord"); I will not therefore say anything at present on this subject.

Since the conquest of Tong-king by Nguyên Ahn (Gia-long) in 1802, the country is divided into provinces of different classes.

The provinces of the first class *(Tinh-chinh)* are governed by Viceroys or *Tông-dôc;* they are Nghê-an, Thanh-hóa, Nam-dinh, Hai-du'o'ng, So'n-tây, Băc-ninh and Hà-nôi.‡

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* *Mémoire historique sur le Tong-king*, p. 333.

† *Dictionarium Anamitico Latinum*, editum a J. L. Taberd, 1838, p. 537.

‡ *Nghê-an*, "Peaceful art."
*Thanh-hóa*, "Pure genesis." *Hóa*, "formation."
*Nam-dinh*, "Southern settlement."
*Hai-du'o'ng*, "Maritime country."
*So'n-tây*, "Mountainous west."
*Băc-ninh*, "Peace of the north."
*Hà-nôi*, "Between rivers" (equivalent of the Greek μέσος and πόταμος =Mesopotamia).

The provinces of the second class (*Tinh-xep*, subsidiary province,) are governed by officers called *Tuan-phu*, who are under the jurisdiction of the *Tông-dôc*. They are:—under Hà-nôi,—Ninh-bình; under Nam-dinh,—Hu'ng-yên; under So'n-tây,—Hu'ng-hóa and Tuyên-quang; under Băc-ninh,—Lăng-so'n, Cao-băng and Thái-nguyên.* There is no second class province under Thanh-hóa.

There is but one third class province (*Dao*),—Ha-tinh, under Nghê-an. In this province there is no *Quan-bo* nor *Quan-an*. There are two sub-governors, the *Dao of the right*, Quan-hu'u Dao, and the *Dao of the left*, Quan-ta Dao. Ha-tinh is a narrow strip of land surrounded by Nghê-an, except on one side, where it is limited by the sea.

The southernmost part of Tong-king is called Bo-chinh-ngoài (Bo-chinh without=Tong-king), and Bo-chinh-trong (Bo-chinh within=Cochin-china). These form the province,—half Tong-kingese, half Cochin-chinese—of Quang-binh. Bo-chinh-ngoài was used formerly as a place of exile, and is separated from Bo-chinh-trong by a river called the Sông-kianh.

The wall, in olden times, the boundary of the two countries is built further south in Quang-binh, at a day's walk from the Sông-kianh. It is called *Luy-sây*, "Wall of Reeds," and is built of bricks; it runs to the city of Quang-binh, forms a part of the rampart of this capital, continues beyond it and finishes near the sea as a mud embankment; the boundary being completed by marshes.

Every province has a capital bearing the same name.

It will be easy to recognize in Băc-ninh, So'n-tây, Hai-du'o'ng, Nam-dinh, Thanh-hóa, the old names Ké-băc, Ké-tay, Ké-dom, Ke-nam and Thin-hoa.

Thus there are altogether seventeen provinces.†

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* *Ninh-bình*, (these two syllables both meaning "peace," I would translate the name of this city by "Perfect peace").
*Hu'ng-yên*, "Pacific formation" (*yên*="peace").
*Quang-yên*, "Universal peace" (*quang*="vast").
*Hu'ng-hóa*, "Rising formation."
*Tuyên-quang*, "Perfectly brilliant" (it would mean a "shining mass").
*Lăng-so'n*, "Silent mountains."
*Cao-băng*, "High peace" (*cao*="high").
*Thái-nguyên*, "Flourishing source" (*nguyên*="source").

† I am aware that *Les Missions Catholiques* gives a list of fifteen provinces only, but as I obtained my information from a missionary who resided long in Tong-king, and lately passed through Shanghai *en route* to Se-tchouan, I think that that generally well-informed periodical is here in error.

The provinces are subdivided into *phu (fou* 府) and *huyen (hsien* 縣). The equivalent for the Chinese *chow* 州 does not exist, except in the part of *Hu'ng-hóa* occupied by wild tribes (known under the general name of *Mu'-o'ng*) called *Thâp-luc-châu*, the "Sixteen chows."

The finances in each province are managed by a *Quan-bo* who ranks higher than a *Tuan-phu*. The *Quan-bo* has sometimes to act as a *Tuan-phu*. In every province there is also a head police magistrate called the *Quan-an*.

The savages of Annam. These *Mu'-o'ng* (savages) live not only in the territory of the "sixteen chows," but also in the range of mountains which extends from the north of Tong-king to the south of Cochin-china.

The lamented *Mouhot* says regarding them: "These [the savages near *Louang-Prabang*, called the *Fie*] are no other than the tribes called Penons by the Cambodians, Khu by the Siamese, and Moi [evidently *Mu'-o'ng*] by the Annamites: names having no other signification than that of savages. The whole chain of mountains which extends from the north of Tonquin to the south of Cochin China, 100 miles to the mouth of Saigon, is inhabited by this primitive people, quite in a savage state, divided into tribes speaking different dialects, but whose manners and customs are the same. Their habitations are in the thickest parts of the forests, where they only could make a passage, and where they do not allow any path to be observed; their cultivated ground is to be seen on the sides and on the summits of the mountain: in a word, they employ the same means as animals to escape from their enemies and to preserve their liberty and independence, which they consider their supreme good."*

The Annamite language. I shall not launch into a dissertation on this language, which I can but consider as a dialect of the Chinese. The written characters are everywhere the same,—with, occasionally slight modifications, introduced to represent words borrowed from surrounding countries, and especially from the Mu'-o'ng;—but the pronunciation is different.

Hà-nôi. Hà-nôi, the chief city of the province, and the capital of Tong-king, is built on the right bank of the *Song-koi*. We have seen that Hà-nôi means "Between rivers." This city is also

* Mouhot's "Notes on Cambodia," in *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xxxii (1862), p. 162.

called Ke-cho' (*Ke*=Latin *qui; cho*="market"). Ke-cho' means "*the* Mart" of Tong-king. Other cities may be also important marts (ke-cho'), but Hà-nôi is emphatically the *ke-cho'*, "the mart" of Tong-king,—what the French would call *le Marché par excellence;* in the same sense as Rome was "*the* city" of the Roman empire *(Urbs).*

When Tong-king* was an independent kingdom, Hà-nôi was the residence of the sovereign, and was very thickly populated. Its population may now be estimated at 150,000 inhabitants, 2,000 of which are Chinese. The streets are wide and many of them are closed with gates. A large citadel, which we shall describe hereafter, built by the French engineers of Gia-long protects the city.

I gather the following particulars from a very interesting diary Mr. Millot has been kind enough to communicate to me. It is very cheap living at Hà-nôi;—rice costs from $1. 00 to $1. 50 per picul; the same sum will pay for a dozen chickens; a goose varies in price from 20 to 30 cents; bananas, pine-apples, oranges, lemons and pomeloes are also to be had. Sugar-cane, Indian-corn, rice, and mulbery trees are cultivated in the country, which is very fertile. The price of a bullock would be about $10. 00; of a calf or a goat, $2. 00 to $3. 00; of a pig $7. 00 to $8. 00. Fish is very abundant in the river.

Trade. There was formerly a very extensive trade carried on by European nations with Tong-king through the Dutch and British East-India Companies. The silk and the musk of Annam were exchanged for the manufactured goods of England and Holland. The trade is now in the hands of the Chinese merchants, who supply not only Tong-king with European and American goods, but also the southern provinces of the Flowery kingdom.

However it is less on account of its trade, than as an easy way of gaining access to the provinces of Yun-nan and Kwei-chow, that Tong-king has acquired so much importance; its river, the *Hoong-kiang* or *Song-koï*, affording a good medium of communication between the sea and these distant parts of the Chinese Empire.

The plateau of Thibet To discover what is that small area of land called the plateau of Thibet, situated in the heart of Asia whence flow the

* I have been unable to obtain any reliable information as to the population of the whole of Tong-king. It is generally estimated at 18,000,000 of inhabitants. During the 15th century the population of Ngan-nan was 32,100,000 of inhabitants, plus 2,087,500 mountaineers.

great rivers which water eastern and south-eastern Asia is one of the greatest geographical problems of the day;—a problem which has and will cost the lives of many bold explorers before it is solved.

There it is that the *Brahmapoutra*, the "Son of Brahma," the *Irrawaddy* which leads to Bhâmo, the *Salwen*, a part of the boundary between Burmah and Siam, and the *Meikong* now celebrated on account of the expedition of Captain Doudart de Lagrée, begin their courses; to end,—the first three in the Indian Ocean (Gulfs of Bengal and Martaban), the last one in the China sea.

There it is also that the *Ta-kiang*, the "Great River," known to us as the stately *Yang-tze*, starts on that long career which finishes only near Woo-sung,—crossing the whole of the Chinese empire.

These are the longest streams which run from Thibet, but thence also flow three smaller but hardly less interesting rivers: the Canton river, the *Mei-nam* which runs into the Gulf of Siam near Bangkok, and last, the most important to us to-day, the river of Tong-king, the *Ho-ti kiang*, better known here since last year under the name of *Song-koï*.

The Ho-ti kiang.

If you cast your eyes on an old map of Tong-king, you will notice a large river named the *Foo-liang kiang*, which runs into the sea through numerous branches. The *Foo-liang kiang* as it nears the Chinese empire changes its name, and we find it called in turn *Li-hoa kiang*, *Lien-hoa tang* and *Ho-ti kiang*. The *Foo-liang kiang* receives several rivers, some of them large;—the *Ly-sien kiang* (on the right near Hung-hoa), which changes its name (*He-ho*, or *Hac-ho*, the "Black River") before reaching the main stream; and the *Tsin-ho* ("Clear River") on the left, which passes through Ko-yang, the city inhabited by the *Yellow-flag rebels*.

The river of Tong-king is now known under the Chinese name of *Hoong kiang*, the "Red River," on account of the colour of its water, especially during the high tide; and the Annamite name of *Song-koï*, *Song-ka*. In Yun-nan the name of Ho-ti kiang is still retained.

Captain Doudart de Lagrée reached Yuen-kiang on the Ho-ti kiang on the 20th of November 1867. His lieutenant Francis Garnier wrote: "The *Ho-ti kiang* is,—near Yuen-kiang,*—one hundred and fifty to two hundred metres wide; its water is calm and shallow. We descended the river in boats on the 26th of November.

* Lat. 23° 17′ 54″ N; Long. 99° 10′ E. Paris.

"From Pou-pio, the expedition resumed the land road to reach Che-pin and Lin-ngnan; I continued alone to descend the Ho-ti kiang in a boat. Mr. de Lagrée did not fix any limit to my exploration; he only gave me Lin-ngnan as a rendez-vous, where the first man that arrived was to wait for the other."*

The rapids however compelled Garnier to give up the exploration and to go to Lin-ngnan.

Mr. Dupuis. The problem he was vainly studying was solved by Mr. Dupuis, a French merchant who resided a long time at Hankow, where he was selling arms and ammunition to the Chinese then fighting the Mohammedan rebels in Yun-nan. The long distance to be uselessly traversed, and the difficulty of conveying merchandize to such a remote province, gave him the idea (1864) of seeking a shorter and easier route than the one used hitherto from Hankow.

The necessity of discovering a new route to the southern provinces of China and to Thibet, had before been felt by the two great European powers which occupy south-eastern Asia, the English in India, the French in Cochin-china; and we need only recall the more important expeditions sent by the governments of Great Britain and France;—Major Sladen's up the Irrawaddy, and Captain Doudart de Lagrée's up the Meikong, neither of which yielded any practical results.

Mr. Dupuis made the acquaintance of the explorers of the Meikong at Hankow, and in 1868, he started himself for Yun-nan; but Yun-nan fu being besieged by the rebels he could not proceed on his journey as far as Tong-king.

In 1870-71 he was more successful, as he descended the Ho-ti kiang, I think as far as So'n-tây. He saw that the river was navigable from Mang-hao, the last city in Yun-nan, at a distance of four hundred and fourteen miles from the sea. Mang-hao is the entrepôt where goods are shipped to and from Annam, the great mart being a more northern city Mong-tse. Garnier had written in 1867:—"It is to be regretted that the state of the country did not allow us to push on our exploration eastward; we had been told of Mong-tse, a town situated at three days' walk from Mang-hao, a great business place on the banks of the Ho-ti kiang, and where this river, according to the information I received during my exploration, *begins to be navigable*. Below Mang-hao on the

* *Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine effectué pendant les années* 1866, 1867 *et* 1868.

banks of the river, in Annamite territory, is situated the town of Lao-kay, at two days' journey from the capital of Tong-king. Numerous mines of gold, silver and copper are to be found in the Chinese department of Kai-choa, which is crossed by the Nan-si ho, which falls into the Song-koï, or river of Tong-king."*

I think it will be interesting to recall the opinion of some of our antecessors on the trade of Tong-king:—"If the French would resolve to establish themselves far away in Tong-king, I do not see, —Siam excepted,—any place with which they could communicate more easily, profitably and conveniently.....† It is evident that the French could do in Tong-king, the trade which the companies of Holland and England do.....‡

*Audite alteram partem.* Barrow writes:—

"Had this event not taken place (a quarrel between the Bishop of Adran and the French governor of Pondichéry in 1789), it is difficult to say what the consequences of such a treaty (between France and Cochin-china) might have been to our possessions in India, and to the trade of the East-India Company with China; but it is sufficiently evident that it had for its object the destruction of both."§

What do the traders of our day say?

The Hoong-kiang falls into the sea through a great many mouths, the three southernmost being called *Daï*, *Lak* and *Balat*.

The two southern branches of the Song-koï meet above Hà-nôi; on one of them is built Ninh-binh, on the other are Nam-dinh and Hung-yen; these two rivers communicate by canals, on one of which is situated Fou-li. Another branch of the Song-koï is the Thai-binh river, which passes by Hai-du'o'ng. Between it and the Hà-nôi branch of the Red River, runs the Song-chi canal. A third and very important branch, to the north of those already named is the river of Cam, which waters Hai-phang. The mouth of the Cam river is called Cua-cam (*Cua*, 閘, means "harbour, port,"—the "forbidden harbour"), or in Chinese Ninh-haï (the peaceful sea).

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* *Voyage d'exploration*, tom. i, p. 447. That small river, the *Nan-si ho*, is the limit between Annam and China; Lao-kay is situated at the place where it falls into the Song-koï. Though the town is supposed to be under the jurisdiction of the court of Huć, the authority of the Annamites over Lao-kay is merely nominal, as it has been occupied for several years by rebels.

† *Lettres édifiantes*, tom. xvi. Extrait d'un Mémoire sur les différents objets de commerce qui ont cours à la Cochin-chine et au Tong-king, p. 145.

‡ Idem, p. 147.

§ *Voyage to Cochin-china in the years* 1792 *and* 1793, by John Barrow, Esq., p. 267.

Mr. Dupuis reckons:—From the mouth of the Thai-binh river to Hà-nôi, geographical miles 110
From Hà-nôi to So'n-tây, ,, 32
From So'n-tây to the Annamite advanced posts, ,, 87
From the Annamite camp to Lao-kay, ,, 115
From Lao-kay to Mang-hao, ,, 70

From the Sea to Mang-hao, ,, 414

Capt. Senez of the *Bourayne.* Capt. Senez who came with the *Bourayne* in October 1872, to help Dupuis at the beginning of his third expedition, may be considered as the explorer of the Cam river. He took a great many soundings on his way to Hà-nôi and determined also the position of several cities:

| | *N. latitude.* | *E. longitude.* |
|---|---|---|
| Hà-nôi, | 21°? | 103° 31′ |
| Hai-du'o'ng, | 20° 55′ | 103° 59′ |
| Câm, | 20° 50′ | 104° 25′ |
| Quang-yên, | 20° 54′ 20″ | 104° 32′ 30″ |

When Mr. Dupuis returned to Yun-nan after his exploration, he obtained from the Chinese authorities large orders for arms which were to be brought by the Song-koï. How the contracts were carried out will be told in the second part of this paper.

I have now to say a few words about the religion and political history of Tong-king. They are necessary to complete the sketch I have attempted to draw, and will be useful for the better understanding of the subsequent events. But I will first give the designations of the officers in the army, and the degrees granted to successful scholars, as they are sometimes used in the narrative.

Annamite army officers. At the head of the Annamite troops, there is at present a *Tông-thông*, "field-marshal;" his name is Hoang Ke-vien; he resides at So'n-tây and is the man who caused Garnier's death. Below him is the *Tông-che*, "general commanding in chief." Then the *Dê-dôc* "lieutenant" or "major general." We shall see that the capture of the Dê-dôc led Ninh-binh to surrender to Mr. Hautefeuille. There are also the *Linh-binh*, "brigadier-general;" the *Pho Linh-binh*, a sort of "adjutant" to the Linh-binh; the *Chanh-vê* commands five thousand men; the *Pho-vê*; the *Quan-co'*, "colonel," has five hundred men under him; the *Pho Quan-co'*, "lieutenant colonel;" the *Hiêp-quan* who might rank with the "major;" and the *Dôi*, "captain," with fifty men. Platoons of ten men are headed by "sergeants," called *Cai*.

Literary degrees. In Tong-king we find the same honours bestowed upon scholars as in China.

The first degree, "Bachelor," is *Tú-tài*, the same as the Chinese *Siu-tsai*. The two graduates Cu'u and Mai, who were so eager against the Christians in 1868 and 1874, after Mr. Esmez's command, were *Tú-tài*.

The second degree, "Master, Licentiate," is *Cu-nhàn*, the Chinese *Keu-jin*.

The third degree, "Doctor," is *Tiên-sì*, the Chinese *Tsin-sze*. Hué, the capital of Tu-duc's dominions, is like Peking, the only city where the examinations for this third degree can be passed.

In other cities there are Examination Halls similar to those existing in China. At Hà-nôi the Examination Hall is outside of the citadel, and it was used by Garnier as his head-quarters before he captured the fortress.

There are other degrees higher than the *Tiên-sì*,—for instance the *Hoàng-giáp* and the *Trang-nguyên*, but they are of such rare occurrence that it is not worth mentioning them in these introductory remarks, as I do not aim at a complete description of Tong-king and its customs.

The mandarin from Tam-dang (Nam-dinh) who was helping Cu'u and Mai against the Christians, was a scholar of the high degree of *Hoàng-giáp*. This led some writers to consider the name of his degree and the name of his birthplace as one, and to call him the mandarin *Hoang Tam-dang!*

Religion in Tong-king. The perusal of the *Lettres édifiantes* had created in my mind grave doubts as to the religion of the Tong-kingese.

I read* that the Tong-kingese worship three chief idols: one called the "Kitchen God" (Idole de la Cuisine); the second, the "Master of Arts" (le Maitre-ès-Arts); and the third, the "Lord of the Domicile" (le Seigneur du lieu où l'on demeure).

* "L'Idole de *la Cuisine* tire son origine d'une histoire qu'on raconte ainsi: une femme s'étant séparée de son mari pour quelques mécontentements, passa à de secondes nôces, ce qui causa tant de douleur à son premier époux, que cet infortuné se jetta dans un brasier ardent pour y terminer ses jours. Le bruit ne s'en fut pas plutôt répandu, que l'épouse infidèle, touchée de repentir, alla mourir dans le feu qui avait consumé son mari. Son second époux en ayant été informé, y courut aussitôt: mais ayant trouvé sa femme réduite en cendres, il en fut si pénétré de douleur qu'il se précipita dans le même brasier, où il fut brûlé à l'instant. Telle est l'origine de l'Idôle de la Cuisine. L'esprit de cette Divinité anime trois pierres dont les *Tong-kinois* se servent pour faire leur cuisine, et ce sont ces pierres qu'ils adorent le premier jour de l'an.

I saw also that the Tong-kingese divided the world into six equal parts,—the sixth one supposed to be in the middle of the others;—and that they dressed in differently-coloured garments according to the part towards which they were to worship: to the north, *black;* to the south, *red;* to the east, *green;* to the west, *white;* to the centre, *yellow.*

Father de Rhodes in his History of Tong-king* gives also some very interesting particulars about the Jewish impostor Xaca, Xechia or Thicca.

Further inquiries showed me that these superstitions are shared only by the lower classes of the population, and that most of the natives are Buddhist; Buddha being called by them *Phât.*† The *literati,* in Tong-king as in China, follow the principles of Confucius.

Christians are pretty numerous. The first missionary to Tong-king was the Italian Jesuit, Julian Baldinotti who arrived in 1626. He was followed in 1627 by Alexandre de Rhodes *(French)* and Antonio Marquez *(Portuguese).*‡ These were expelled in May

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"L'Idole *Maître-ès-Arts,* est l'imagé d'un Chinois que les Idolâtres du pays croyent avoir été le plus ingénieux, le plus sage et le plus sçavant des hommes. Les marchands l'invoquent avant de vendre & d'acheter; les pêcheurs, avant de jetter leurs filets dans la mer; les courtisans, avant d'aller faire leur cour au Prince; les artisans, avant de commencer leur ouvrage, etc.

"L'Idole *le Seigneur du lieu où l'on demeure,* n'est pas moins révéré que les deux autres. Voici la manière dont on lui rend hommage. Quand quelqu'un veut faire bâtir une maison, il commence par se bien persuader que le terrain n'appartient pas tellement au Roi, qu'il n'ait quelqu'autre maître, lequel, après sa mort, conserve le même droit dont il a joui pendant sa vie. Ensuite il fait venir un Magicien, qui, au bruit du tambour, invite l'âme du maître défunt à venir demeurer sous un petit toît qu'on lui prépare, & où on lui présente du papier doré, des odeurs & des petites tables couvertes de mets, le tout pour l'engager à souffrir le nouvel hôte dans son champ."—*Lettres édifiantes et curieuses,* tom. xvi, pp. 201-203. "Lettre d'un Missionnaire au Royaume de Tong-king au Réverend Père Cibot, Missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus à Pekin."

* *Tunchinensis Historiae,* lib. i, cap. xvii.

† The Chinese *Fo, Fät* 佛.

‡ "Relation de la persécution élevée dans le Royaume de Tong-king, & de la mort glorieuse de quatre Missionnaires Jésuites qui ont eu la tête tranchée en haine de la foi, le 12 Janvier de l'année 1737. Tirée de quelques Mémoires Portugais."—*Lettres édifiantes,* tom. xvi, p. 71. It is therefore by mistake that,—on page 3 of the same volume of these *Lettres,*—Father Le Royer says, that Alexandre de Rhodes and Antonio Marquez were the first missionaries to Tong-king. Fathers de Montézon and Estève name also Alexandre de Rhodes as having been the first to enter Tong-king.

1630, but they soon found numerous successors. Persecutions were as usual the reward of their labours, and we have here to record the names of the early martyrs.

Messari, died in prison on the 15th of June, 1723. Buccharelli, was beheaded with nine Tong-kingese, on the 11th of October, 1723. John Caspard Crats, born in Germany in 1698; Bartholomew Alvarez, born at Parameo in Portugal in 1706; Emmanuel de Abreu, born at Arouca in Portugal in 1706; and Vincent da Cunha, born at Lisbon in 1708;—these last four were beheaded on the 12th of January, 1737.*

After the dreadful persecution of 1737 there was a period of calm for the Christian Church. The king of Tong-king even sent to Macao for some mathematicians. On the 6th of March 1751, Father Simonelli, and four other Jesuits arrived from Macao; but the prince had already altered his mind and did not want them.

The Jesuits were replaced in their field of labour by the envoys of the *Missions étrangères* in 1659. In 1679 Tong-king was divided into two religious provinces,—*western* and *eastern*. The Spanish Dominicans took charge of *eastern* Tong-king in 1693. The two provinces were again subdivided, and the Roman Catholic Missions in Tong-king are at present:—

I.—Western Tong-king *(Missions étrangères)*; created in 1679. Mgr. Puginier, at So'-kiên (Hà-nôi).

II.—Eastern Tong-king *(Spanish Dominicans)*; created in 1679. Mgr. Colomer, at Ké-nê (Băc-ninh).

III.—Central Tong-king *(Spanish Dominicans)*; created in 1848. Mgr. Cezon, at Bui-chu (Nam-dinh). Mgr. Riaño, Coadjutor, at Ngoc-duong (Hun-yên).

IV.—Southern Tong-king *(Missions étrangères)*; created in 1846. Mgr. Gauthier, at Xa-doai. Mgr. Croc, Coadjutor, at Huong-phuong, (Bo-chinh).†

Christians were not ill-treated under the reign of Gia-long, who had come to power mainly through the exertions of the Bishop of Adran, but the successors of that prince resumed persecutions. However, as the history of the missions during the last forty years is closely linked with the political events which took place in Tong-king we shall not dwell upon it now.

* Not in 1736, as stated in one of the letters of Father de Mailla (vol. i of his translation of the *Tong-kien-kang-mou*).

† This list is made up from the particulars contained in *Les Missions catholiques*, No. 268, p. 367.

History of Tong-king. Considered merely from a European point of view, the early history of Tong-king may appear devoid of interest, and not worth the labour bestowed upon it. But, if a higher view of the subject be chosen, and if it be regarded as a part of the general history of the world we live in,—however insignificant it may look compared with the great questions which are supposed to occupy most of us,—the account of the events which took place in that small and remote country, will contribute its small share of the information, needful to discover the universal laws that are intended to govern the world.

Origin of the kingdom of Ngan-nan. The early history of Tong-king or rather Ngan-nan is indeed very confused. Formerly, merely a province of the Flowery kingdom, it bore several names which I have already indicated. When the celebrated dynasty of the Tang 唐 ended (907) with its twenty-third emperor,—the weak Tien-yeou 天祐, the Tong-kingese raised the standard of rebellion against China, and eventually obtained the independence they were fighting for. Who was the chief of the revolt is not exactly known, and three versions are given of the origin of the kingdom of Ngan-nan.

Father Tissanier,* who wrote in the middle of the 17th century says, without stating who his authority was, that the head of the first dynasty of Tong-kingese sovereigns was the chief of a gang of robbers, a man of a very low birth named Dinh.

According to the Tong-kingese historians accepted by Mgr. Reydelet, one of the apostolic vicars of the country, Bo-linh was a shepherd who, after expelling the Chinese Governor, took the title of *Tien-hoang* and declared himself independent; while Father Gaubil,†—who wrote from the Chinese Annals,—considers the founder of this kingdom as the chief of the important Ting family, who shook off the yoke of China after coming to power.

The Li or Le Dynasty till A. D. 1225. Not so with his son Ting-lien, who acknowledged himself a vassal of the Emperor of China, sent an embassy to him which was well received, and who may be considered as the first sovereign of Ngan-nan.

It was not, however, until 1164 (under the 11th emperor of the *Song* dynasty of China, Hiao-tsong 孝宗, 1163-1189) that the reigning prince of Tong-king, Li Tien-so, was officially recognized as king of Ngan-nan.

* *Vide* Father Tissanier's *Relation*, p. 97; in *Mission de la Cochinchine et du Tonkin*, (par les Pères F. M. de Montézon et Ed. Estève).

† *Mémoire historique sur le Tong-king*, p. 273.

I had at first purposed to write as complete a record of the early history of Tong-king as documents at hand would allow; but after laborious researches, I found that the Dissertation of Father Gaubil, and the passages scattered through the volumes of the translation of the *Tong-kien-kang-mou* by Father de Mailla, were about the only sources available here; and as my work would have been therefore but a mere compilation from these authors, I have preferred giving simply the landmarks of the history, and calling attention to the more important points.

Li Tien-so was replaced successively by his son Li Long-han, and grandson Li Hao-tsan, the latter was succeeded by his daughter Tchao-hing. Having married a lord named Tchin Pe-tchao, she handed over to him the government of the kingdom (1230?).

The Tchin or Tran Dynasty till A.D. 1409.

Tchin Pe-tchao, called also Tchin Ge-king, the founder of the Tchin dynasty, ascended the throne under the name of Tchin Ge-hoan. An ambitious man, he tried to become independent of China, and assumed the title of *Yuei hoang-ti*. His reign was spent in wars with the Mongols. The history of the princes of the dynasty of Tran is almost entirely a bare enumeration of massacres, treasons and bloody battles; and I hardly think it desirable to expose these dark sides of history, as no profitable lesson can be derived from them.

The last kings of this dynasty were massacred by a chief named Li Ki-mao, who expected to ascend the throne. His hopes were frustrated, for he was defeated in 1407 by the Chinese general Tchang-fou; the house of Tchin being extinct, Ngan-nan was then made a Chinese province.

The sons of Li Ki-mao, the eldest of whom, Li Tsang had borne the title of king of Ngan-nan, were released after a short captivity, but Li Ki-mao himself was sent to Kwang-se to serve as a soldier.

Ngan-nan a Chinese province.

Peace was far from being restored, and a rebellion quickly broke out. In 1409 a man called Kien-tung raised an army, conquered the Chinese general Mou-ching, the colleague of Tchang-fou, at Leng-kiuei kiang, and took the title of *Taï-chang hoang-ti* (1410, 5th Moon). Tchang-fou having been recalled from Peking, defeated the rebel chief, who was taken a prisoner and decapitated; but the revolt was not quelled till all the chiefs were captured (1415).

A new rising, headed by Li Ly a military mandarin of the district of Tchin-hoa, took place in 1420. Li Ly was entirely

defeated by the Chinese, but the emperor Yong-lo having died on the 12th of August, the clever usurper managed to gain to his side Wan Tong, a general sent against him, persuaded Yong-lo's successor that a certain Tchin Kao was the lawful heir to the Tchin family (1431), and had him recognized as king of Ngan-nan in 1432.

There is at this period of the history of Tong-king a great confusion of dates; Father Gaubil, the *Tong-kien-kang-mou*, and the Tong-kingese annalist seem to have agreed to disagree, leaving the poor compiler to his own judgment. According to the first, Li Ly died in 1432, and to the second in 1435. It is impossible to reconcile together all the various statements set forth, and we will follow closely Father Gaubil's version, which appears to be the best.

Second dynasty of Li or Le.

Li Ly,* as we said, died in 1432, and was succeeded by his son Li Ling (2), who was recognized as king of Ngan-nan in 1436 by the emperor Suen-tsong, and who died in 1442. Li Ling was replaced by his second son Li Sun (3), who declared war against the king of Cochin-china and made him a prisoner in a great battle. In 1459, Li Sun was murdered by his elder brother Li Tsong (4), who having ascended the throne was himself killed by the governor of Lao-kwa. The third and youngest son of Li Ling, named Li Hao (5), was the fifth sovereign of the second Li dynasty. Li Hao was a warlike prince and sought to increase the extent of his dominions. He conquered Tsiampa and Laos, but could not keep this last province. He died in 1497, and was replaced successively by his son Li Hoey (6) who died in 1504, and his grandsons Li King (7) who died in 1504, and Li Ly (8), who killed himself and was replaced by Li Tcheou (9), aided by a lord named Li Kwang. The bad government and the vices of Li Ly had displeased the upper classes, and an influential chief, Tchin Kao, caused king Ly Tcheou to be murdered. Another chief Mou Ten-yong, a rival of Tchin Kao, put on the throne Li Hoey (10), nephew of Li Tcheou, defeated and killed Tchin Kao (1521). Mou Ten-yong was as ambitious a man, as the founder of the second Li dynasty. In 1530 he killed Li Hoey, who was succeeded by Li Kwang (11), who was also murdered. Luckily for the dynasty of Li, Li Ning (12), son of Li Hoey had escaped (1530) to the

* It is this prince who called *Kiao-tchou*, the capital of the kingdom, *Tong-king*.

south with his mother; he proclaimed himself king of Ngan-nan, and marched against Mou Ten-yong, who was defeated, but with the help of allies soon regained all the advantages he had lost.

Henceforth we see Ngan-nan a prey to all the evils accompanying civil war; one sovereign Mou Fan-ing, son of Mou Ten-yong,—who had been entrusted with the government of the country by his father,—exercising his power on the provinces to the north of the Foo-liang kiang; another sovereign, Li Ning, the legitimate prince, unable to cope with the armies of his powerful rival, residing at Tsiang-hoa.

Li Ning resolved to appeal to the emperor for help, and in 1536 despatched to China by sea Tchin Ouei-liao, to ask for succour. The journey of this envoy lasted two years, and it was not until the 4th moon of the year 1538 *(Kia-tsin)*, that he reached Peking, whither Mou Fan-ing had also sent an ambassador. Both pretenders had influential friends at court, and both pleaded their causes equally well; the emperor sent high commissioners in 1540 to investigate the matter. The result of their mission was an arrangement *à la manière chinoise*, by which Mou Fan-ing and Li Ning should keep their respective possessions: the former, with the title of hereditary great general, was to pay a tribute to the emperor of China every three years; the latter was authorized to take the name of king of Ngan-nan (1541), recognized as the true heir to the Li family, and in consequence allowed to sacrifice in the ancestral hall of the family.

We then see for a time two families reigning over Tong-king; but while the successors of the usurper were yearly losing some of their influence, the princes of the house of Li were gaining the ascendency.

Mou Ten-yong, who had survived his son Mou Fan-ing, died in 1542, and was succeeded by his grandson Mou Fou-hai. The latter, unable to resist Li Ning's attacks, gradually gave up some of his territory to the invader. He was replaced successively by his son Mou Hong-ye, and his grandson Mou Meou-ho (1581).

We now find recorded, a series of struggles between the sovereigns of the Li family and the degenerate successors of Mou.

In 1591 Li-ouey Tan won a great battle, which gave him back the capital of Tong-king. The Mou were obliged to fly for refuge to the north, where they created the small kingdom of *Kao-bang* (Kao-ping). After the death of Li-ouey Tan in 1597, the kings Li-ouey Sin, and especially Li-ouey Ki continued the war against

the Mou family; a decisive victory won over Mou King in 1624, destroyed what little power had been left to him by his ancestors; and towards the close of the seventeenth century the remaining members of that once powerful family retired to Peking. In 1683 Li-ouey Tching was officially recognized as king of Ngan-nan by the great emperor Kang-hi; since which time, Tong-king and its powerful neighbour,—the Middle kingdom,—have kept on good terms.

Thanks to the labours of Father Gaubil, and to some translations from Chinese histories, we have been able to follow the Chinese account of the kingdom of Tong-king, but the Annamite version which gives to countries and to persons very dissimilar names, adds to the obscurity and confusion already existing in the narrative of the vicissitudes of that often-disturbed part of Annam.

The founder of the second Li dynasty, Li Ki-mao or Li Ly is called *Thai-to*. The revolt of the Mou family (Mac) under Li Hoey *(Cung-hoang)* was crushed by the exertions of another general called by the Tong-kingese Nguyên Do, who began that strange mode of government thus described by Father Alexander de Rhodes:—

"This country is a real monarchy, and there are nevertheless two kings; but one who is called *Bua*, has only the title; the other called *Chua*, has all the authority and the entire management of the provinces, with the exception of the degree of Doctor, which the *Bua* grants at certain times, and of some apparent homage rendered to him at a ceremony which takes place at the beginning of the year; save that time he is not seen, and lives confined in an old palace, where he spends his life in idleness, while the *Chua* manages all business relating to war or finance."*

The similarity between the government of Tong-king and that of France during the seventh and the eighth centuries is striking. The weak successors of Li Ki-mao receive orders from the sons of Nguyên Do, in the same manner the incâpable descendants of Merowig are guided by those strong men, Pepin de Heristall, Karle Martel, etc. The *Chua*, like a *Maire du Palais*, is at the helm, piloting the state, while the *Bua*, a true *Roi fainéant*, remains locked in his palace, appearing in public only once a year.

Li-ouey Tan, who died in 1597, was succeeded by Li-ouey Sin, who is probably the same as Kin-tong, (1600-1609). The son of

* *Divers Voyages et Missions du P. Alexandre de Rhodes en la Chine, & autres Royaumes de l'Orient*, p. 83.

Kin-tong, Than-tong who abdicated in favour of his son Chan-tong in 1643, after a reign of twenty-four years is the Li-ouey Ki under whose reign was fought the battle (1624) against Mou King. After the death of Chan-tong (1649), Than-tong again occupied the throne, and was succeeded after his death (1663) by his three sons Huyen-tong (1663-1672), Gia-tong (1672-1675), and Hi-tong, a posthumous son (1675-1705).

When the first *Chua*, Nguyên Do died in 1545, Trinh Kiem who had married his daughter, usurped the title. The power of the *Chua* increased rapidly in the course of years, and reached its highest degree under Gia-tong in 1673. Indeed so powerful did the *Chua* become, that one of the *Bua*, Vinh Khanh, an adopted son of Du-tong, son and successor of Hi-tong (1705-1729), was put to death in 1732 by his order, on account of his disorderly behaviour.

The son of Du-tong (Thuan-tong) reigned from 1732 to 1735; and Vinh Huu who occupied the throne after him, resigned in 1740, in favour of Thuan-tong's son (Cau-hung, 1740-1786).

Cochin-china was then governed by Hiên Vu'o'ng, the eighth successor of the son of the first *Chua* (Nguyên Do), Nguyên Hoang, who being dispossessed by his brother-in-law, Trinh Kiem had become governor of Cochin-china in 1569, and king, under the name of *Tiên Vu'o'ng** in 1600.

Hiêu Vu'o'ng was one of the most wretched monarchs who governed Cochin-china. So weak was he, that the Tong-kingese conquered part of his dominions; so hateful was he to his subjects on account of his crimes, that the chiefs of an important family revolted (the Tây So'n) and killed him in 1777.

Barrow, who relates the reign of Nguyên Anh in his *Voyage to Cochin-china*, mixes the history of this country with that of Tong-king. The king of Cochin-china under whose reign the rebellion broke out was Hiêu Vu'o'ng,—not Caun-shung who was

* The sovereigns of the *Vu'o'ng* or *Nguyên* dynasty have been:—
1 Tiên Vu'o'ng (died 1614).
2 Sãi Vu'o'ng (1614-1635).
3 Thu'o'ng Vu'o'ng (1635-1649).
4 Hiên Vu'o'ng (1649-1668).
5 Ngãi Vu'o'ng (1668-1692).
6 Minh Vu'o'ng (1692-1724).
7 Ninh Vu'o'ng (1724-1737).
8 Võ Vu'o'ng (1737-1765).
9 Hiêu Vu'o'ng (1765-1777).

the sovereign of Tong-king. It was in the 34th year of Cau-hung, and the 11th of Hiêu Vu'o'ng that the Tây So'n revolted (1774). Three brothers were at the head of the rebels, and Barrow says: "The eldest, whose name was Yin-yac, was a wealthy merchant, who carried on an extensive commerce with China and Japan; the name of the second was Long-niang, a general officer of high rank and great command; and the third was a priest."*

We saw that Hiêu Vu'o'ng had been killed by the Tây So'n in 1777. His nephew, Nguyên Anh, the son of his eldest brother had fled to Saïgon in Lower Cochin-china.

Cochin-china was then divided into three parts: the north conquered by the Tong-kingese; Huć, occupied by the second brother Long-niang; and Lower Cochin-china, governed by Yin-yac; Nguyên Anh remaining at Saigon; while the third brother was the religious chief of the whole empire.

Nguyên Anh and the Bishop of Adran.

Nguyên Ahn or Nguyên Chung, the nephew of Hiêu Vu'o'ng, was a most remarkable man; young, endowed with the noblest qualities, brave and intelligent, he could not endure to see his kingdom in the hands of the Tây So'n, and devoted his life,—with what success will be hereafter seen,—to the destruction of the rebels.

It is now that the political career of a very extraordinary man begins; we refer to Mgr. Pigneaux de Behaine, who is called Adran by Barrow and other English historians, while Adran was merely the name of his see.

Pigneaux de Behaine, who was born in France, at a small place named Aurigny (near Laon), came to Tong-king as a Roman-catholic missionary, and was appointed Bishop *in partibus infidelium* of Adran, and coadjutor to Mgr. Piguel, the then apostolic Vicar of Cochin-china in 1770, whom he succeeded later on.

When Hiêu Vu'o'ng was killed, it was Pigneaux who saved Nguyên Anh and took him to Saigon. Henceforth he devoted the whole of his energy to replace the young prince on the throne of his forefathers.

Long-niang, the second of the rebel brothers, was a man of great ambition; not satisfied with his share of the spoils, he turned his arms against the Tong-kingese; and after expelling them from Cochin-china, entered their country, killed the *Chua* in 1786, and obliged the *Bua*, Chieu-tong, son of Cau-hung who died in 1786,

* *Voyage to Cochin-china*, p. 250.

to fly to China in 1788. The unfortunate monarch ended his life in exile at the court of Peking.

The Viceroy of Kwang-tung, Foo Chang-tong, was sent with an army against Long-niang, to avenge the king of Tong-king, a vassal of the Son of Heaven. The Chinese were defeated, and Long-niang proclaimed himself king of the United Kingdom of Tong-king and Cochin-china.*

In the mean time Nguyên Anh had assembled eight vessels, seven Portuguese, and one French, and a great number of junks, to make an attack on Yin-yac's fleet; he was repulsed, obliged to return to Pulo-wai, and thence to retire to the court of Siam.

Bishop Pigneaux de Behaine, taking with him the eldest son of Nguyên Anh, went to Europe to ask for some help from King Louis XVI of France; and on the 28th of November 1787, he signed a treaty of alliance with Count de Montmorin, the mutilated translation of which will be found in Barrow's work, pp. 261-264 and the whole of the text in *Les Missions Catholiques*, 1873, p. 575.

During the voyage back, a quarrel arose at Pondichéry between the worthy prelate and the governor, Earl of Conway, on account of the little respect shown by Mgr. de Behaine to the mistress of the high official; a delay was the consequence of the squabble, and the great French revolution having broken out soon after, the treaty came to nothing.

Nguyên Ahn rendered great service in war to the king of Siam, but having quarrelled with him on account of the jealousy of the courtiers and the unreciprocated love of the Siamese monarch for his sister, he repaired to Saigon and was joined there by Pigneaux.

Long-niang died at Hué in 1791, leaving a son but twelve years old. Nguyên Anh renewed his attack on Yin-yac's fleet, and with the help of some French officers,—particularly D'Ayot,—brought from Europe by Mgr. de Behaine, he defeated it in the spring of 1793.

"At that time," says Barrow (p. 270), "the whole of Donnaï was in the possession of the lawful sovereign. Chanh, the middle part of the country, was held by the usurper Yin-yac; and Hué, including the country and islands adjacent to Turon Bay, was governed by the son of Quan-tung (Long-niang)."

During the same year, Yin-yac died of a disease of the brain, and was succeeded by his son. Nguyên Anh defeated the latter

* *Barrow*, p. 253.

in 1796, and soon conquered what had remained under the government of the son of Long-niang.

The task being now completed, the Bishop of Adran returned to Saigon, where he died on the 9th of October, 1799 (not 1800 as Barrow says), and was buried with imposing ceremonies.

Nguyên Anh's ambition was not yet satisfied. The conquest of Cochin-china being finished in 1801, he turned his arms against the king of Tong-king, Canh-thinh, son of Quang-trung (1802), defeated him, and being then the sole sovereign of Annam, assumed the title of *Hoang-ti* and took the surname *(nien-hao)* of Gia-long (better *Gia-laong*), under which he is well known.

The successors of Gia-long.

Since Gia-long's conquest in 1802, Tong-king is a mere province of the Annamite empire, but a province which does not accept readily the yoke imposed upon it by the victor. The successors of Gia-long, far from trying to gain their unwilling subjects, have alienated them by their injudicious behaviour and the promulgation of sumptuary and antinational laws. The Cochin-chinese monarchs Minh-mang (1820-1841), Thiêu-tri (1841-1847) and Tu-duc have all been unpopular with their Tong-kingese subjects.

They have also persecuted Christians; and the successors of the Bishop of Adran,—the very man to whom they owe their throne,—have been tortured and sometimes put to death. Thanks to the exertions of French navy officers, such as Capt. Lévêque, of the *Héroïne* (12th March 1843), of Admirals Cécille (1844), and Rigault de Genouilly (1847), missionaries have been occasionally protected. But Father Fernandez was decapitated on the 24th July, as was Bishop Henarès on the 25th June, and Bishop Delgado died in prison on July 12th, 1838. Finally, in consequence of the execution of Bishop Jose-Maria Diaz on July 20th, 1857, and of various other outrages, a war broke out between Annam, Spain and France.

The victories of Admirals Rigault de Genouilly,—at Turon on 1st September, 1858, and Saigon on 17th February, 1859,—Charner, at Ki-hoa on February 25th, 1861,—Page, at My-tho on April 12th, 1861,—and Bonard at Bien-hoa on December 9th, 1861, led to the conclusion of the treaty signed at Saigon on the 5th of June, 1862.

The glorious realm once governed by the powerful hand of Gia-long, has become again one of the states tributary to the Celestial empire; and the weak successor of Pigneaux's pupil, is but one of the stars of lesser magnitude which gravitate around

the Son of Heaven. The Chinese decline to give him the titles he has a right to in official correspondence; his subjects dislike him as a despot; and his mandarins, who treat his orders with contempt (witness Nguyên Tri-phuong), plot daily against his life.

We have seen a fertile country, watered by a stream which affords an easy way of utilizing, not only its products, but also those of the neighbouring provinces of China; we have seen that Tong-king is a nation conquered by despots, who have tried and are trying to force upon its inhabitants unpopular and antinational habits and customs; we have seen that that portion of the native population so little mixed with popular risings, when itself is not interfered with,—the Christians and the ministers of their religion, —persecuted in a barbarous manner; we have seen in short a country oppressed, and ready to accept a new master who will free it from the tyranny of an old one.

How the third expedition of Mr. Dupuis was conducted; what share in it the French government had; how from a private enterprise, the Tong-king expedition rose to the importance of a national question; how the conquest of the country was undertaken, made and lost,—we have now to show; which is the object of the chief part of this paper.

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## NARRATIVE.

Admiral Dupré's negotiations.

In the Treaty signed at Saigon* on the 5th of June 1862, by the representatives of the French empire, Spain, and the king of Annam, it had been especially mentioned that three ports, Tourane, Balat and Quang-an were to be opened up to foreign trade, and that the Christian religion was to be tolerated throughout Tu-duc's empire. The intrigues and the bad faith of the Annamites led, in June 1867, Vice-Admiral De la Grandière to annex to the other French possessions in Lower Cochin-china† the three western provinces of Vinh-long, Chau-doc and Ha-tien.

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* The Treaty of Saigon was signed on behalf of France by Rear-Admiral Louis Adolphe Bonard, of Spain by Colonel Carlos Palanca Gutierrez, of Annam by Phan Tanh-gian, Vice-Great-Censor and President of the Board of Rites, and Lam Gien-thiep, President of the Board of War.

† The provinces of Gia-dinh (Saigon), Dinh-tuong (My-tho) and Bien-hoa, and the island Pulo-Condor.

Tu-duc had not profited in the least by this harsh lesson; intrigues continued, Christians were persecuted as heretofore, no ports were opened up, and the court of Hué, like the court of Peking, seemed to forget entirely the articles of a treaty exacted by the *ultima ratio regum*.

Early in 1872, Rear-Admiral Dupré,* the then governor of French Cochin-china, asked the Annamite authorities to send ambassadors to Saigon, to give explanations regarding the ill-treatment of Christians; and he threatened that, if refused he would himself enforce the execution of the treaty. He was told that two ambassadors would be soon appointed; but three months later, Tu-duc's ministers announced to the Admiral that the Superintendent of trade, one of the chosen envoys, was very ill, and that the embassy was postponed on account of this mishap. Pressed again by Admiral Dupré, the Annamite government finally replied that, it had selected as its representative to Saigon, a man who could not fail to be agreeable to the governor, as he was no other than the high royal commissioner Li of Quang-yen, who had already had relations with the French officials. As a matter of course the departure of Li was also delayed.

Mr. Dupuis in Paris.

We have seen that Dupuis had come back from his second journey to Yun-nan, as the agent of Ma,† the *titu* or "general commanding in chief" in the province, bringing with him large contracts for arms and an order to recruit drill instructors for the imperial troops.

In February, 1872, Dupuis' representative Mr. E. Millot (of the firm of Millot & Co., Shanghai) had an opportunity of explaining his plans to Rear-Admiral Krantz,‡ *chef du cabinet* of the Navy department, who obtained for him an audience from the minister Vice-Admiral Pothuau. Dupuis asked that, as there was no regular communication with Annam, a passage should be granted to him on board a gun-boat, to go to Hué and obtain from the Annamite government, permission to cross Tong-king with the arms and ammunition that he had been instructed by the Chinese to purchase; Annam, a country tributary to the Middle kingdom, could not refuse the request.

* He was appointed governor on the 15th of January, 1871, and took charge on the 1st of April, 1871.

† Ma is a Mohammedan.

‡ At present acting as Governor of Cochin-china, *vice* Admiral Dupré, but officially commanding the China station.

Perceiving a favourable opportunity to increase French influence in Tong-king, but hampered by home affairs, and fearing that unexpected difficulties might create bad feelings between France and the court of Hué, the minister could not assist Dupuis to the extent he wished; however, under date of April 9th, 1872, the *Directeur des Colonies* wrote to the bold trader: "J'ai l'honneur de vous informer, que j'écris au gouverneur p. i. de la Cochin-chine Française, en l'invitant à vous prêter le concours que vous réclamez, s'il ne doit résulter aucun inconvénient pour les intérêts dont il a la sauvegarde."

Mr. Dupuis' third voyage to Yun-nan.

Messrs. Dupuis and Millot having returned to Saigon, it was arranged that the dispatch-boat (aviso à vapeur) *Bourayne*, Capt. Senez, should go to Tong-king to afford them protection in case of need. They however started alone from Hongkong, as it was thought that by going to Hué under the French flag, they might be considered less as representatives of the Chinese authorities than as French political agents.

The *Bourayne* left Saigon on the 5th of October, 1872.

Two British gun-boats, the *Firm* and the *Cockchafer* were purchased in Shanghai, and transferred to the French flag under the names of *Hoong-kiang* and *Lao-kay*.

After everything had been prepared, Dupuis left Hongkong on the 26th of October, 1872, at 6 o'clock a.m., his fleet being composed of,—the *Lao-kay*, Capt. D'Argence (formerly an officer in the service of the Messageries Maritimes Co.), towing a steam launch, and the *Hoong-kiang*, Capt. Vlavianos (formerly under Messrs. Giquel and D'Aiguebelle), towing a Chinese junk (400 tons) with coal and artillery. Including Messrs. Dupuis and Millot, the expedition numbered twenty-three Europeans and ninety-six Asiatics—Malays, Chinese and Japanese.

They called at several places, notably the island of San-cian the burial-place of St. Francis Xavier, and at Hai-nan. There they were very well received by the Chinese mandarins,—to whom they exhibited the official documents showing the object of their mission,—and were allowed to store their coal in the citadel at Hoi-chow.

After a pretty long trip, Dupuis reached the *Bourayne* at Cua-cam on the 9th of November. The *Bourayne* had arrived on the 30th of October, but Capt. Senez had gone to Hà-nôi to examine some of the branches through which the Song-koï falls into the

sea. We have elsewhere mentioned this exploring tour.* On the way from Saigon, the *Bourayne* had been attacked by pirates in the China sea; and from the 21st to the 28th of October took place the fights which resulted in the destruction of an immense number of piratical junks and the subsequent promotion of Capt. Senez to higher rank.†

When Capt. Senez came back to his vessel, he sent a message to Dupuis on November 16th, who had gone to the southernmost mouth of the Song-koï, inviting him to return as soon as possible, to be introduced to the high royal commissioner Li, who had the military command of the provinces of Quang-yen, Haï-dzong and Hung-yen.

Dupuis reached the *Bourayne* on the 18th. On the 19th Li came from Quang-yen, and the object of the expedition was explained to him; the official Chinese documents belonging to Dupuis were shown to him, but though he acknowledged that everything was in order, he said he preferred referring the matter to Hué for instructions.

On the 4th of December no answer had been received from Hué; in fact a delay of several months was hinted by Li as likely to occur before any reply would be sent. Dupuis then decided to continue his journey without waiting any longer. He therefore wrote to commissioner Li, that as the water at Cua-cam was very bad (saumâtre), he would go up the river.

After vainly attempting to discover a channel, the water being very low, Dupuis finally found the way to the Red river, which the expedition entered on the 18th of December at 11. 45 a.m., with a salute of five guns; and the boats stopped at Hung-yen at 1. 20. They left on the following day at 11 a.m., and finally arrived at Hà-nôi on the 22nd of December at 3. 30 p.m.

There the mandarins assured the travellers that they would do everything in their power to help them up the river; but underhand they were doing their utmost to prevent the hiring of the boats required.

There also the Bishop of Western Tong-king, Mgr. Puginier, proved very useful as an adviser to Dupuis.

On the 14th of January, 1873, Dupuis perceiving that through the bad faith of the mandarins, he was wasting a great deal of

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* See *Introductory Remarks*, supra.

† Capitaine de Vaisseau.

time; and that on account of their duplicity he would be unable to get small craft at Hà-nôi, made up his mind to continue the journey; but the water being very shallow he was obliged to put back. At last on the 15th he found the four boats he required, and started on the 18th taking three of them with him, the steam launch, and a Chinese interpreter picked up at Haï-dzong, leaving the remainder of the expedition at Hà-nôi under the command of Mr. Millot. Altogether Dupuis had with him twelve Europeans and twenty natives.

On the 20th of January Dupuis arrived at Son-tay; which is the military city of Tong-king, though its citadel is smaller than the one defending Hà-nôi. The "commander-in-chief," the *Tong-thong*, prince Hoang Ke-vien resides there now. There also, was living Nguyên Tri-phuong, some seventy-two or three years old, who formerly fought the French at Ki-hoa, surely the most influential man in Tong-king,—surely also the greatest enemy of foreigners.

Dupuis passed the last Annamite camp on the 1st of February, and entered a deserted and mountainous country; reaching the rebel head-quarters on the 10th of February. The rebels *(Yellow Flags)* commanded by a Kwang-se chief named Hoang Tsong-yn entertained Dupuis till he left their territory on the 14th. Beyond Hoang Tsong-yn's dominions are those of another chief, Luu Vinh-phuc *(Black Flags)*, who lives in the city of Lao-kai which was reached by Dupuis on the 20th of February. At 8 a.m., on the 25th, Dupuis departed from this city, the last in Tong-king.

The end of the Mohammedan rebellion.

Dupuis finally arrived at the great mart of Mang-hao on the 4th of March. Leaving behind him all his material, Dupuis started on the 6th of March for the capital, and he was at Yun-nan fou on the 16th. But there he learned bad news for his expedition: his arms had arrived rather late, for the great Mohammedan stronghold, Ta-li, had surrendered on January 8th, 1873! The capture of the salt-pits, the main source of the revenue of the rebels, had disheartened them, and was certainly the chief cause of the fall of the city. Seeing that further resistance was hopeless, thinking that by his death he would save his subjects from the horrors of a massacre, the sultan Too Wen-sïo died nobly, poisoning himself and his wives. The gates were then opened to the Chinese general Yang Hu-kai, and in spite of the pledge given to the dead sovereign, a dreadful massacre of the inhabitants took place on the 12th of January. Of their former

possessions, the Mohammedans retained but three cities on the Burmese frontier, Yun *chow*, Shuen-ning *fou* and Ten-yue *chow* (cf. with Major Sladen's expedition), which have since also fallen into the hands of the Chinese.

Return of Dupuis. Ma, the *titu* received Dupuis well and gave him an escort of fifty-five men to accompany him back. He did not however get all the tin he expected in exchange for his arms, and his expedition was on that account far from being so great a success as he had reckoned upon. On the 29th of March Dupuis left Yun-nan *fou* with his escort and a hundred and twenty boatmen; on the 15th of April he reached Mang-hao. He started on his way back on the 21st of April and arrived at Lao-kai during the evening of the 26th. The rebel chiefs received him well when he once more crossed their territory; and at last he was back again at Hà-nôi on the 30th of April.

Dupuis at Hà-nôi. During the absence of Dupuis, Mr. Millot had a great deal of trouble with the mandarins, who repeatedly tried but in vain, to frighten him away. Mr. Millot left for Hongkong, where he arrived on the 26th of June, 1873, with the *Lao-kay* and a junk laden with rice.

The old marshal Nguyên Tri-phuong, who had left Son-tay to reside at Hà-nôi, as soon as he heard that Frenchmen were in Tong-king, thought the time had come to attack Dupuis. To prevent Dupuis from running away, and to stop any succour that might come to him, Nguyên Tri-phuong closed the two branches of the Red river which lead to the sea, and had the river barricaded above Hà-nôi. Considering his prey secured, he threatened to burn Dupuis' boats. He had however made the mistake of leaving open the Song-chi channel,—thinking it too shallow for boats,—which begins a little above Hà-nôi and runs into the Thaï-binh river. Neither did he know that on that Thaï-binh river, at Taï-nguyen, Dupuis had a hundred Chinese soldiers, whom he had enlisted when they were thrown out of employment and were about to return to peasant life. Called by their master, these soldiers soon descended the Thaï-binh river, crossed the Song-chi channel and joined Dupuis' boatmen* and escort; the whole of the troops of the daring merchant making so formidable an array, that the old warrior dared not attack them openly, though occasional skirmishes took place.

* A hundred and twenty from Yun-nan.

Admiral Dupré's negotiations with the Annamites and Dupuis.

At that time Tu-duc's ministers despairing of ever getting rid of Dupuis, wrote a letter about him to Admiral Dupré. The governor of Saigon then sent through the Annamite authorities, an order to Dupuis to leave Tong-king forthwith; telling him that his presence in the country was a great source of annoyance, and that if the command was not obeyed he would not consider himself responsible for the consequences. Dupuis however did not obey the order, and answered, that as he had neither coal not funds he could not possibly leave the country. Luckily for him Mr. Millot arrived at Saigon on the 13th of July, 1873. He called on the admiral with a relation of the *titu* of Yun-nan and a Chinese mandarin Li, who had accompanied Dupuis during his third journey. He was warmly received, and was able to produce such an impression by his arguments, that the governor suggested a delay of three months in the operations, and assisted Mr. Millot in obtaining a loan from a bank under the guarantee of the Colonial Secretary.

Mr. Millot returned to Hongkong and having there purchased of Messrs. Carlowitz & Co. a small paddle steamer, he named her the *Mang-hao*, and dispatched her to Tong-king together with the *Lao-kay*, a junk, and ten men from Hupeh on September 5th, 1873.

Soon after the departure of Millot from Saigon, Tu-duc sent two envoys to Admiral Dupré (August, 1873), to tell him that Dupuis had declined to obey his order. On the admiral telling them that they ought to have expelled him themselves, they answered that the Annamites were not powerful enough to fight Dupuis, and concluded by requesting the governor to send a man-of-war to Tong-king to assist them.

It is evident that then the first idea of the expedition directed afterwards to Tong-king was suggested to Admiral Dupré, and that he sent for Garnier. Whatever might have been then the real object of the governor of Cochin-china, the effect seems to have been that, by the Annamites the expedition contemplated by the Admiral might have been considered as sent at their request to expel Dupuis; by Dupuis, it might have been regarded as a tardy help to himself.

Lieutenant François Garnier.

We have elsewhere given a sketch of the career of this brilliant naval officer.* At the time he was telegraphed for

* In the *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, No. viii, p. 185-7. Marie Joseph François Garnier, alias Francis Garnier, was born at St. Etienne on the 25th of July, 1839.

by Admiral Dupré, he had just returned from the journey he had made to the interior of China to settle some commercial transactions formerly entered into, and to prepare himself for the exploration of the sources of the great rivers which flow from Thibet. He did not go any further than Chung-king in Sze-tchuan, where he arrived on the 30th of June, 1873, and was back again in Shanghai in August. The account of this journey will be found in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* of Paris (January, 1874). Garnier left Shanghai for Saigon on the 16th of August, and having concerted with Admiral Dupré as to the best way of carrying out the intended plans, he returned to Shanghai on September 15th to arrange his private affairs. He departed again by the Messageries steamer *Iraouaddy*, twelve days after on Saturday, September 27th, 1873. Little did I think when I gave him a parting grasp, that I was bidding him farewell for ever, and that four months later I should have to read an "In memoriam" notice of him.*

Departure of the *D'Estrées*.

The expedition was intended to *restore order* in Tong-king, but in what manner nobody knew. Was Dupuis to be expelled like a malefactor? Were the Annamites to be supported? Were they on the contrary to be dispossessed of part of their country? Nobody knew. Order was to be restored! On the 10th of October, the Annamite envoys were taken by Admiral Dupré on board of the *D'Estrées*, the man-of-war that was to carry the men sent to accomplish whatever was meant by that high-sounding but very vague sentence. It was certain that Garnier had not been selected for an ordinary work; evidently he was not being employed as a mere lieutenant in the navy: he was the chief of an army and a diplomatic agent, and called *Commandant en chef des forces de terre et de mer des côtes du Tong-king, Envoyé extraordinaire de la Cochin-chine.* This is the man who, when his lips are closed by death, is to be called an adventurer!

The *D'Estrées* left Saigon on the 11th of October, towing a small gun-vessel the *Arc*, with two or three small craft, and a steam launch. Garnier's small force was composed of thirty men belonging to the *Arc* under the command of an ensign Mr. Esmez, of thirty marines with Mr. De Trentinian as their officer, and of a medical officer Dr. Chedan. Three days after the departure of the *D'Estrées*, the sea being heavy, the *Arc* which was an old boat, sunk, fortunately without any loss of life on October 14th.

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* Read before this Society on the 13th of February, 1874.

From the Bay of Turon, Garnier having advised the court of Hué on October 15th, of his arrival, two mandarins were sent to accompany him, and introduce him to the Tong-kingese officials.

The weather being unfavourable, it was not till the 24th of October that the *D'Estrées* reached Cua-cam. A junk was purchased to replace the *Arc*, and on the 30th of October at 7. 15 a.m. Garnier left the *D'Estrées*, with two junks carrying his private secretary Mr. Lasserre, the two mandarins from Hué, an interpreter, the marines, a gun and provisions. An hour later, Mr. Esmez started off with Dr. Chedan, the sailors of the *Arc*, a gun and provisions.

Departure of the *Decrès*. A week before, on the 23rd of October, another man-of-war, the *Decrès* had been dispatched from Saigon; she was towing a gun-vessel the *Espingole*, originally intended for scientific explorations. The *Decrès* arrived near Cua-cam on the 7th of November; the *Espingole* left at once with a crew of about twenty-eight men, a medical attendant Dr. Harmand, and a hydrographer Mr. Bouillet, under command of an ensign Mr. Balny.

Mr. Garnier at Hà-nôi. Garnier had reached Hà-nôi on the 5th of November. Dupuis and his Chinese soldiers received Garnier with military honours when the landing took place: the merchant and the soldier met for the first time. Without wasting any time Garnier at once penetrated into the citadel through one of the gates, obliged the sentries to show him the house of Nguyên Tri-phuong, and announced himself to the old man as the *French* governor. Nguyên Tri-phuong concealed his anger, and offered Garnier quarters in the native city, which were declined. Garnier,—frustrated in his hope of being given a house in the citadel, accepted as a residence the building outside the city, near the south-eastern bastion, used as the Examination Hall, and known in French official documents as the *Camp des Lettrés*. As soon as Garnier left the citadel, the gates were closed and the officers who had allowed him to enter were severely punished.

Garnier at once began to negotiate; he had come at the request of Tu-duc's ministers; he had with him two mandarins sent by the court of Hué; he had even been told that he should meet at Hà-nôi a minister plenipotentiary with whom he could treat. The minister plenipotentiary had arrived, but the omnipotent Nguyên Tri-phuong had entirely ignored him. The old man said that Garnier had been sent, not to make a commercial treaty, but merely to expel Dupuis.

On the day of his arrival, Garnier issued his first proclamation:—He is, he says, sent by France—at the request of the Annamites, who have been asking at Saigon for help,—and his mission is to destroy the pirates who attack vessels on the coast, to facilitate commerce with Tong-king. The following is the translation:—

Garnier's first proclamation.

"Le représentant du noble royaume de France, Garnier, fait savoir à tous les habitants que, les mandarins du noble royaume Annamite étant venus à Saigon demander assistance, l'amiral nous a envoyés au Tong-king pour voir comment les choses s'y passaient. De plus ici, au Tong-king, les côtes sont désolées par de nombreux pirates qui font beaucoup de ravages; nous avons l'intention de pourchasser ces bandits, afin que tous les habitants de ces lieux puissent en paix vaquer à leurs affaires.

"Quant à nos soldats, si quelqu'un d'entre eux commet quelque acte répréhensible, que l'on vienne porter plainte, et nous ne manquerons pas de faire justice.

"Tout peuple se laisse facilement entraîner par les exemples de vertu; pour nous, en parlant au peuple, nous n'avons en vue que la vertu. Populations du Tong-king, il faut bien vous convaincre d'une chose, c'est que les mandarins et soldats Français sont unis avec les mandarins et soldats Annamites comme des frères entre eux. En conséquence, nous désirons procurer au Tong-king la facilité de faire le commerce, et par là lui apporter la richesse et la paix. Telles sont nos intentions; nous les faisons connaître à vous tous, mandarins, soldats et populations du Tong-king."

Departure of the *Scorpion*.

In the mean time, Admiral Dupré apprised of the loss of the *Arc*, sent the gun-boat *Scorpion* to replace her, commanded by lieutenant Pougin de Maisonneuve, who arrived at Cua-cam on the 8th of November.

Two days later (10th November) Mr. Dupuis' steamer *Mang-hao* brought a letter from Mr. Garnier to the Captain of the *Decrès*, Mr. Testard du Cosquer, in which reinforcements were asked.

On the following day (11th November) the *Scorpion*, followed some hours later by the *Mang-hao* went up the Cam river. The *Mang-hao* carried a medical man Dr. Dubut, sixty men commanded by an ensign Mr. Bain, and three midshipmen Messrs. Haute-feuille, Perrin and Bouxin. On the same day also the *D'Estrées* left for Hongkong.

The *Espingole* and *Mang-hao* reached Hà-nôi on the 12th of November, and the *Scorpion** on the following day. On the 14th

* She had run aground; hence the delay.

lieutenant Pougin de Maisonneuve, and his two officers Messrs. Payen and Ratomski,—their time of service having expired,—left for the *Decrès* in Dupuis' steam launch, the *Son-tay*, Messrs. Garnier, Esmez and Bouxin replacing them.

Garnier's army. Thus the whole of the forces of the French on the 14th of November, 1873, not including Dupuis' were:—the *Espingole*: MM. Balny, Harmand and Bouillet, with twenty-eight men; the *Scorpion*: MM. Garnier, Esmez and Bouxin, with fifty men; the detachment from the *Decrès*, MM. Bain, Hautefeuille, Perrin and Dubut, with sixty men; the thirty marines of Mr. De Trentinian; Dr. Chedan and Mr. Lasserre, private secretary to Garnier; altogether a hundred and eighty-one men to pacify Tong-king!

On the 19th of November, Garnier published a second proclamation, to make known the conditions of the intended treaty of commerce under French protection; the time he had given Nguyên Tri-phuong to communicate with the court of Hué had expired; he resolved upon attacking the citadel on the following day.

The citadel of Hà-nôi. It would require the knowledge of an engineer officer to describe accurately the citadel of Hà-nôi,—for it is the work of foreign engineers, the French officers brought by the Bishop of Adran to Cochin-china to help Gia-long,—and the skill of a colonel Hamley to render attractive the dry and technical terms used in fortification.

The part of Hà-nôi where the citadel is built is somewhat higher than the other quarters of the city, the ground rising gently from the bank of the Song-koï to a height of about a hundred and eighty feet above the level of the sea. A brick wall about three feet thick and twelve feet high, comprising twelve bastions connected by curtains, surround the citadel, which forms a perfect quadrilateral, of some three thousand six hundred feet on each side. This wall is supported by a *terre-plein*, which at places rises gradually from the interior of the citadel, while at others its inner side falls perpendicularly; the height of the *terre-plein* varies also a great deal, for in some places the besieged can be hidden entirely behind the upper part of the wall, while in others they are half seen from outside. Inside the citadel the houses of the governor, the *quan-bo*, the *quan-an* and other high officials have been built; there also are situated the Hall of Ceremonies, which Garnier used for his abode afterwards, the gaol and the powder-magazine; several extensive ponds are also seen.

The citadel is girt at a distance of about twenty-five feet (an unusually wide *berme*) with a deep ditch, containing water, of an average width of sixty feet. Five gates give access to the citadel, one in the middle of each side, with the exception of the south side, which has two openings cut through the walls near the corner bastions. We will call them respectively the south-eastern and south-western gates. The doorways are about fifteen feet wide, and are closed in with strong wooden gates, which have replaced the old ones existing at the time of the visit of Captain Senez of the *Bourayne*. Above every gate stands a small tower somewhat like a pagoda, which is used as a look-out. In front of each gate is built a *redan*, that is to say a work composed of two walls,—a little lower than the city rampart but of the same thickness,—called the *faces*, meeting at an angle turned towards the country; these redans are also encircled with ditches which run into the moat of the fortress. A gate connected by a bridge with the city or with the fields adjoining is cut through the right face of each redan. Inside the redans, small houses and barracks are inhabited by soldiers; and from the middle of the *gorge* of the redans, strong, three-arched bridges allow a passage across the city moat to reach the gates in the main rampart.

The capture of the citadel of Hà-nôi.

At daybreak on the 20th of November the attack was begun. A first column composed of thirty sailors with a gun, and headed by Mr. Bain de la Coquerie *(Decrès)* marched towards the south-western gate at six o'clock; a quarter of an hour later Garnier himself left the Examination Hall for the south-eastern gate, with three guns, forty sailors and thirty marines.

The Annamites taken unawares offered scarcely any resistance; their guns enclosed in small brick pavilions could fire but in one direction and were therefore easily avoided; the sailors skilfully scattered behind the houses of the redans, had orders to observe the top of the walls and to aim at any one making an appearance. So well was the order executed, that but one gun-shot was fired from the south-western gate, and three from the other one attacked by Garnier. The great difficulty in entering the citadel, was to break open the gates made of thick hard wood. In fact, it was necessary to bring the guns close to them and fire at a distance of a few feet.

While the southern gates were being stormed, the shells of the *Espingole* and of the *Scorpion* passing over the fortress, were falling near the western gate; and by frightening away the

defenders of the place, contributed to a great extent to the success of the day. Dupuis himself,—though Garnier had declined his offer of services,—was taking a share in the fight, and his soldiers having managed (with one killed) to scale the eastern gate, the nearest to the city, they entered the citadel first and dispersed for pillage. Garnier, however gave strict orders to stop all disorder, and by seven o'clock the citadel being entirely in his hands, he sent back all the troops to the *Camp des Lettrés* except the marines.

Some two hundred natives had been killed or wounded, while Garnier had not a single casualty to report. A great number of officials were made prisoners; including the envoy from the court of Hué, who had been overruled by the great marshal, the governor of Hà-nôi, the two sons of Phan Tanh-gian,* who had not followed the example of their father, a minister most friendly to France, and Nguyen Tri-phuong himself.

The great marshal was found, by Dr. Harmand it is said, concealed in a house where he had taken refuge after receiving a wound in the thigh while he was running to the defence of the south-eastern gate. The wound was not dangerous, but Nguyen Tri-phuong had lost his son during the attack, his old foes had once more vanquished him, and with hopes frustrated, disgusted with life, he declined to be attended to, lingered for a month, and finally died of starvation on the 20th of December, the day before his victor.

On the same day Garnier wrote to Saigon, to announce the capture of the citadel and to ask for reinforcements. In order to quiet the population, already surprised that no massacre had taken place after the fight, Garnier also issued the following proclamation:—

Garnier's proclamation.

"Le représentant du noble royaume de France, commandant l'expédition, le grand mandarin Garnier, fait savoir à tous les habitants que, envoyés au Tong-king par l'amiral, pour ouvrir une voie au commerce, dans l'intérêt et pour la richesse des habitants de ce pays, nous n'avions nullement l'intention de nous emparer du pays et de le soumettre à notre domination, ce qui ferait peser de graves soupçons sur nous. Mais les mandarins de Hà-nôi, sans nul souci de l'intérêt des populations, n'ayant cessé de nous tendre des embûches et des piéges, et ayant agi à notre égard avec déloyauté sur une foule de points, nous n'avons pu tolérer plus longtemps leur conduite. Après mûr examen, et après avoir épuisé

* He signed the treaty of 1862 on behalf of Annam.

tous les autres moyens, nous nous sommes donc emparés de la citadelle et en avons chassé tous ces mandarins qui n'ont aucun amour du peuple et n'ont d'autre souci que de s'emparer de ses biens en le saignant jusqu'à la moelle des os; le châtiment que nous leur avons infligé est encore bien au-dessous de leurs crimes. Nous sommes donc venus par ordre de l'amiral, pour vous tirer de l'état d'isolement où vous végétiez; nous n'avons pas l'intention de changer vos usages ou de nous emparer de vos biens, nous vous considérons comme des frères, et nous appliquerons toutes nos forces à faire votre bonheur.

"Pour ce qui concerne les commerçants, soit dans l'intérieur du royaume, soit à l'étranger, ils pourront être tranquilles et n'auront plus à craindre d'être molestés, car il y aura un traité de paix qui nous engagera réciproquement. En disposant les choses de la sorte nous avons en vue vos intérêts, car jusqu'ici vous étiez asservis sous un joug tyrannique, et nous vous en avons délivrés.

"Maintenant, que les gens capables de gouverner le peuple viennent nous offrir leurs services, et nous les accepterons et leur donnerons des postes à occuper. Pour la manière de gouverner, nous la règlerons de concert; de pareilles fonctions sont importantes, mais faciles á remplir, alors la paix la plus parfaite règnera parmi vous.

"Nous laisserons en place tous les mandarins des sous-préfecture (phu) et des bailliages (huyên) qui nous feront leur soumission. Pour ceux qui ne voudraient pas nous reconnaître et se retireraient, nous les remplacerons par des hommes prudents et sachant prendre les intérêts du peuple.

"Nous n'avons aucunement l'intention de nous emparer du Tong-king et de chasser les mandarins; nous choisirons seulement des hommes du pays pour mettre à la tête du peuple, puis nous recommanderons au roi et aux mandarins de traiter le peuple comme un père traite ses enfants. Nous récompenserons dignement tous ceux qui nous auront rendu quelque service. Tous les mandarins que nous aurons nommés seront maintenus en place et ne seront inquiétés en nulle façon.

"Que tous les sous-préfets et baillis veillent à ce que rien ne trouble la tranquillité publique. Quant aux villages qui seraient incendiés, ou auraient subi quelque dommage, qu'ils attendent l'arrivée des nouveaux mandarins, qui rendront les chefs de cantons responsables de ces désastres.

"Que les lettrés restent tranquilles chacun dans son village, et qu'ils ne s'avisent pas de se révolter. Que dans les marchés on continue à commercer comme auparavant et qu'il n'y ait de trouble nulle part.

"Après la publication de cet édit si quelque bande ose encore inquiéter et piller le peuple, nous en tirerons un châtiment exemplaire.

"Telle est notre volonté.

"Le deuxième jour du dixième mois de l'année *Qui-dau*."

Capture of Hai-drong. Many of the mandarins had declined Garnier's offer to keep them in office provided they would recognize his authority. As they might have created disturbances in the places where they were retiring, it was necessary to occupy the chief cities of the country.

The very day after the capture of Hà-nôi, the detachment of the *Decrès* occupied a small village situated at a distance of five miles westward, named Phu-hoai, which was garrisoned two days later with two hundred Annamites recruited by Garnier.

On the 23rd of November, Mr. Balny left with the *Espingole* and fifteen marines. He had to carry Garnier's instructions to the mandarins of Fou-li; these officers were to accept the new order of things and to protect commerce. At the request of Mgr. Puginier no mention was made of Christians. There were also rumours that Annamite troops were marching from the south and Balny was to occupy Fou-li.

As he went down the river, the mandarins of Hung-yen came to him to make their submission (25th November). After passing Fou-li, Balny went to Haï-dzong, a very important citadel on the Thai-binh river, which, with the help of his brave officers Mr. De Trentinian and Dr. Harmand, he carried by a bold *coup de main* on the 4th of December.

Capture of Ninh-binh. On the 1st of December, Garnier despatched a steam launch under command of Mr. Hautefeuille, with instruction to Mr. Balny, who had not been heard of for several days and was supposed to be at Fou-li, and to ask the submission of the governors of Nam-dinh and Ninh-binh.

Near Ninh-binh the boiler of the steam launch became unserviceable, and Hautefeuille was obliged to run the small craft ashore. Unable to come back, he made the *de-dôc* (general) a prisoner, attacked the citadel of Ninh-binh with his seven men, and,—incredible to say,—took the place on December 5th.

Capture of Nam-dinh. Garnier himself left Hà-nôi on the 4th of December on board the *Scorpion*, with Mr. Esmez and about seventy men in addition to the crew. At a distance of a few miles he took the ground in the river, and it was not till the 6th that he could resume his expedition. During the evening of the 8th he arrived at Ninh-binh, where having found Hautefeuille in possession of the citadel, he left on the 9th, and continued to descend the Song-koï towards Nam-dinh.

At about three miles from Nam-dinh the progress of his vessel was stopped by some mud forts. For several minutes Garnier stood on the bridge of the *Scorpion*, coolly waiting till the fire had abated, but soon seizing his opportunity he landed his men and shortly after the forts were in his power.

On the following day (10th of December), Garnier reached Nam-dinh. The governor, well aware of the fate of Hà-nôi and Haï-dzong, had walled the gates and placed guns on the ramparts. But the dashing ardour of men hitherto successful could not easily be checked, and Nam-dinh, attacked at 10 a.m. on three different sides, fell into the hands of Garnier, two of his men being slightly wounded during the fight.

After the taking of Nam-dinh, another proclamation was circulated by Garnier, and as the document throws some light on the events, I also reproduce it here:—

Proclamation of Garnier. "Le grand mandarin Français, envoyé plénipotentiaire, Garnier, fait savoir à tous ce qui suit:

"Il y a déjà longtemps que la France et l'Annam sont unis par un traité de paix, et que des relations commerciales existent entre les deux royaumes. Le mois dernier, je fus envoyé par l'amiral, ici au Tong-king, pour me concerter avec les mandarins, et ouvrir un débouché au commerce de ce pays; c'était d'ailleurs l'intention du roi lui-même. Notre unique but en nous rendant à Hà-nôi, était donc de nous entendre avec les mandarins et de prendre soin des intérêts du peuple. Mais le grand mandarin Nguyên Triphuong et les autres mandarins de la province firent traîner les choses en longueur, et nous tendirent toutes sortes d'embûches et de piéges pour amener notre ruine. Poussés à tout, nous fûmes obligés de nous emparer de la citadelle. Après que la tranquillité eut été rétablie, j'avais l'intention de me rendre ici, à Nam-dinh, pour voir les mandarins de la province et m'entendre avec eux au sujet de la liberté du commerce, et de l'extermination des pirates et bandits de toute sorte; alors les populations auraient pu jouïr

de la paix. Mais lorsque nous sommes passés devant les forts de Phu-sa, de Thuy et de Than-thuong, les soldats de ces forts ont, je ne sais pour quel motif, tenté de nous arrêter, ce qui nous a forcés à nous battre. Le désastre qui a suivi retombe donc tout entier sur les mandarins de Nam-dinh, qui ont été cause que nous nous sommes emparés de la citadelle. Nous vous l'expliquons pour vous tranquilliser.

"Nous ordonnons à tous les notables Annamites et commerçants Chinois qui sont dans la ville, d'avoir à se rendre à la citadelle aujourd'hui à midi, pour recevoir nos ordres: nous leur assurons qu'ils n'ont rien à craindre. Nous donnons trois jours à tous les sous-préfets (quan-phu) et baillis (quan-huyên) de la province pour faire leur soumission, ou pour donner leur démission par la livraison de leur sceau; sinon nous les considérerons comme ennemis et les traiterons comme tels. Les chefs et sous-chefs de canton (caï-tong, pho'-tong) et les maires (ly-truong) continueront à administrer en paix, jusqu'à ce que nous leur ayons distribué de nouveaux cachets (sceaux); mais, si quelqu'un d'entre eux se permet de vexer le peuple comme autrefois, nous le jugerons en conseil de guerre.

"Que chacun reste tranquille chez soi; s'il y a des rassemblements, si des malfaiteurs troublent la paix publique, soit sur terre soit sur eau, nous les ferons saisir et fusiller sur-le-champ.

"Nous donnons trois jours aux bandes armées pour venir livrer leurs armes; ceux qui ne l'auront pas fait passeront en conseil de guerre. Que chacun attache la plus grande importance à nos ordres et observe nos prescriptions; car nous punirons les coupables d'une manière exemplaire, et personne ne pourra se plaindre de n'avoir pas été averti.

"Telle est notre proclamation."

Troubles at Hà-nôi.

Hà-nôi, Hung-yen, Haï-dzong, Ninh-binh and Nam-dinh,—in short all the important cities which command the delta of the Song-koï had been captured within a month by some nine score men, and a country numbering millions of inhabitants was quietly submitting to a handful of plucky soldiers. Seldom has such a rapid conquest been made,—never has such a fine opportunity been wasted.

By occupying the fortresses situated on the delta of the Song-koï, Garnier had evidently in view to keep free communication with the sea-board; but during his absence, the storm that was to cut short his triumphant career was gathering. He had not

secured his rear by the capture of the military city of Son-tay, situated at about thirty miles to the westward of Hà-nôi, where was residing the *tong-thông* Hoang Ke-vien. The small body of troops left in charge of Mr. Bain had to repulse constant attacks which became daily more serious.

On the 5th of December, they had to retake the small fort of Ya-lan opposite to Hà-nôi, which had been abandoned by the Annamite garrison left in charge of it by Garnier. Two hundred native soldiers were again installed there. On the following day, of these two hundred Annamites, seventy only were living; the remainder had been massacred. Like Ya-lan, Phu-hoaï had been taken by the enemy; the place was again captured on the 10th of December.

Fortunately the *Scorpion* commanded by Mr. Esmez made its appearance on the 13th from Nam-dinh, where Garnier had remained pending the arrival from Haï-dzong of Dr. Harmand, who was to act as governor of the place. Instead of taking his fifteen men to Haï-dzong as he had been instructed to do by Mr. Garnier, Mr. Esmez perceiving the great danger run by the small garrison of Hà-nôi (thirty men), left there his small troop, and departed again with the *Scorpion* on the 14th of December to Nam-dinh and Cua-cam, to survey the river till the arrival of the *Decrès*.

On the 14th the garrison of Hà-nôi made a reconnoissance on the Phu-hoaï road, passed that village and advanced towards Son-tay at a distance of about nine miles from the citadel.

Mr. Garnier after leaving Dr. Harmand in charge of Nam-dinh, went to Haï-dzong, where he took Balny,—Trentinian remaining in command,—and arrived with the *Espingole* at Hà-nôi on the 18th of December (Thursday), at 7 p.m. Garnier had with him Mgr. Sohier, Bishop of Northern Cochin-china.

Diplomacy versus war. After being carried away by an account of the military events, it is well-nigh time that I should stop awhile, and retracing my steps, resume the narrative of the diplomatic course pursued by Tu-duc and his ministers.

We have seen that Mr. Balny had been sent to Fou-li, not only to carry Garnier's instructions, but also to occupy that place, and to arrest if necessary, the progress of troops supposed to be coming from the southern provinces. The rumour was not without foundation. After the taking of the citadel of Hà-nôi, Tu-duc incensed at this loss, gave orders to the viceroy of the province of Nghê-an to march his soldiers at once against the French, and he himself

at Hué sent onward the troops available. Indeed these orders were partly executed, for some bodies of soldiers went as far as the province of Thanh-hoa. Tu-duc's wrath was, however, soon succeeded by fear. He wrote to Saigon giving full powers to his ambassadors to sign a treaty of commerce; and to be safer still, he sent two envoys to Garnier, also invested with full powers, with Mgr. Sohier as an interpreter. The bishop had preceded the ambassador and having met Garnier arrived with him, as we have said in the *Espingole*.

Hoang Ke-vien (of *Son-tay*) always plotting against the French, had increased his army with troops recalled from the north where they were fighting with the rebels. At the same time an internecine war raging between the rebels, gave him also unexpected auxiliaries.

The rebels of northern Tong-king.

It will be remembered that when Dupuis went to Yun-nan, he crossed the territories occupied by two rebel chiefs, and it is important now that I should explain exactly who they were.

Some years ago, in 1864, one of the lieutenants of the celebrated chief of the Kwang-si rebellion, *Tien-te*, was driven from China to Tong-king by the imperial troops. His name was Ou Tsong; he pillaged the country and came down as far as Song-koï, stopping on the bank opposite to Hà-nôi.

He was pursued by the Chinese general Fung, obliged to beat a hasty retreat to the mountains near Yun-nan, and dying there, he left his troops under the command of Luu Vinh-phuc and Hoang Anh *(Hoang Tsong-yn)*. They attacked together Lao-kay, and took it after a siege that lasted two years.

Luu Vinh-phuc remained at Lao-kay, but having tried to appropriate to himself the whole of the revenue derived from the conquest, Hoang Tsong-yn established himself lower down on the Red river, fixing his head-quarters at Ko-yang in the north, on the watercourse called by Dupuis *Rivière claire*, to prevent his former friend, now his deadly enemy, from having any intercourse with Tong-king. His troops were known as the *Hoang-ky* (the Yellow Flags), in contradistinction to the followers of Luu Vinh-phuc, called the *Hac-ky* (*He-ky*, "Black flags)," though they included also soldiers carrying white banners.

It happened that while Garnier was conquering Tong-king the *Hoang-ky* inflicted a severe defeat upon their adversaries; and having surrounded their camps, obliged part of them to escape to Lao-kay, and others to descend the Song-koï and take refuge in

Tong-king. These runaway *Hac-ky* were those who were enlisted by Hoang Ke-vien to fight the French.

Plan of attack. On the 19th of December, the day after the arrival of Garnier from Nam-dinh, some three or four hundred *Hac-ky* had joined the Annamites, according to the information received by Mr. Dupuis, but there was a rumour among the inhabitants of Hà-nôi that the rebels numbered no less than nine hundred, and that two thousand scaling ladders had been prepared.

Garnier, having decided upon energetic action, immediately arranged for an attack on Hoang Ke-vien. Dupuis with the steamer *Mang-hao* was to go up the river to prevent the descent of any troops. The *Espingole* commanded by Balny was to go a little below Son-tay, to fire upon the Annamites if they retreated to that fortress, while Garnier himself was to attack the *Hac-ky* in front.

Mr. Balny being ill, the attack was postponed till Sunday the 21st, but on the day before (20th), Tu-duc's two ambassadors arrived.

They were received with great honour, and when they entered the citadel seven guns were fired. The guns frightened the Chinese in the city to such an extent, that the street gates were closed! The ambassadors had full powers; they were willing to grant all they were asked; a treaty would soon be signed; war was consequently over; a rapid success had crowned the expedition.

Poor Garnier was being lulled into security; if we are to believe the report, the ambassadors had remained several days in the neighbourhood of Hà-nôi and had several times seen prince Hoang Ke-vien. Prudence was to be set entirely aside, and courage which at other times had proved the way to success, was to verge on rashness and lead to ruin, for the fated day had come.

The environs of Hà-nôi. Some knowledge of the country around the citadel is necessary, to comprehend the operations which had been decided upon before the ambassadors reached Hà-nôi, and those which actually took place on the day after their arrival.

Glancing to the north from one of the small towers which surmount the gates, several lakes are seen, one of them rather large; to the eastward, the houses of the city spread down to the Hoong-kiang, which there follows a north-easterly course; to the south, are small villages or rather hamlets, hidden from the gaze of the passer-by by clusters of bamboos, and rice fields stretch far away from the citadel; to the westward, the landscape is the same but

some six or seven hundred feet from the fortress is seen a narrow path, higher than the adjoining fields, known as the city enceinte; into this path, almost opposite the west gate, but more to the south runs a small road which leads to Phu-hoaï, and at a distance of about eighteen hundred feet from its beginning crosses a thicket, the importance of which will be known better hereafter. About three miles further another road traverses the Phu-hoaï road; it is also an offshoot of the city path and might be considered the arc of a circle; the Phu-hoaï road being the chord limiting the segment. On this road or path, which for the better understanding of the narrative, I will henceforth call the circular road, there is also a grove of bamboos enclosing some cottages; and this was the spot attacked by Garnier himself,—the very spot where the unfortunate commander fell to rise no more. In the absence of pencil or chalk, it is difficult to bring forcibly before one's listeners the topography of a country, but I hope that the main features of the environs of the citadel of Hà-nôi will have been indicated clearly enough by the description I have attempted to give, for the comprehension of the eventful 21st of December.

The 21st of December, 1873.

The day which was to mark the beginning of a new period in the history of the occupation of Tong-king,—a period of decline after one of success,—a period of humiliation after one of glory,—the day during which the chief of the expedition was to fall a victim to treason and to his own temerity, was Sunday, the 21st of December, 1873, the most memorable date in the short space of time,—so crowded with events,—which extends from October, 1873 to January, 1874.

After hearing divine service at 8 o'clock, the officers were talking of the cessation of arms and of the early settlement of affairs, and Mr. Garnier had gone to see the ambassador, when at 10 o'clock, the interpreters came in great haste to announce that Hoang Kevien's troops (*Annamites* and *Hac-ky*) were attacking the citadel. While Mr. Garnier was being informed of the attack, Mr. Perrin repaired with two men to the western bastions, whence he saw numerous bodies of Chinese and Annamites, who under the shelter of houses and bamboo groves, were firing at the gate from a distance of about six hundred feet. Mr. Garnier, who,—thinking that the attack was from several sides,—had in the mean time ordered Mr. Bain to go with some men to the north, arrived some time after with a dozen men at the same spot, and sent Mr. Perrin for a gun. Ten minutes after the gun was placed on the south-

western gate, and Mr. Perrin, left in charge of it, received orders to fire on the enemy, while Garnier himself went to prepare a sortie.

The commander of the *Espingole*, ensign Balny, who at the time of the alarm was in the citadel with his brother officers, had rushed to his vessel to obtain reinforcements, and soon after he was seen with his small troop of twelve men following the southern wall and passing the ditch of the fortress.

Before the well-directed fire from the south-western gate, the Annamites had gradually fallen back to the high path which serves as the boundary of the city to the westward, and there dividing themselves in two lines, some continued to fire in retreating on the Phu-hoaï road, while others turning to the right took the city road.

Balny began at once to pursue the enemy, while the shells of the fortress passing over his troop, were scattering the Annamites with great havoc. During the same time Garnier had organized his party, and sallied out from the south-eastern gate with eighteen men and a gun.

Balny pursued the enemy to a small grove on the Phu-hoaï road, some two thousand five hundred feet from the citadel, and was there lost sight of, on account of a depression of the road; the fire of the south-western gun was then directed to the first wood, situated on the road which leads from the city path to the Phu-hoaï road, after describing a sort of semicircle.

Towards that spot Garnier was bending his course; he was marching at the head of his men, in a careless and excited manner; before reaching the city path he left behind him the gun with two men and the master-at-arms of the *Decrès*,—a great mistake, since the gun was rendered useless while Garnier's men were in front of it.

The gun of the south-western gate was firing all the time on the wood of the circular road, and had Garnier used his own gun, the place would have been entirely cleared of the enemy; but his march onward again prevented the citadel gun from continuing to fire. It was also unfortunate, that the men were allowed to stray among the bushes and behind the houses in search of the Annamites. As the event proved, this mistake was fatal to the commander himself. Garnier could be seen leading the skirmish with his men armed with bayonets. Luckily and contrary to Garnier's supposition the citadel had been attacked only on one side,

and Mr. Bain after waiting awhile on the northern rampart, joined his men to Mr. Perrin at the south-western gate.

During Garnier's absence, Balny had come back to Hà-nôi. His ammunition was exhausted, he had lost one of his men, Bonifay, who had disappeared near the Phu-hoaï road wood already mentioned, and in an excited manner, he called for more men and cartridges. With the help of a rope four men and Dr. Chedan descended the wall of the fortress with the required ammunition, and with this Balny resumed the chase, being soon out of sight.

When Garnier neared the wood he divided his troop into two bands; one headed by himself, the other under the command of a sergeant of marines; each column was to follow one side of the wood, and both were to meet again at the end of it.

The sergeant of marines kept his men closely together; they were walking slowly and carefully, and when they arrived at the limit of the wood, only one of them had been wounded; but Garnier was not there! the sergeant then came back by the way his chief was to have followed, and at a short distance he found two headless corpses; one of them was the remains of the unfortunate leader of the expedition. It appears that Garnier's foot having caught in a hole, the poor man had fallen to the ground; before his men could join him, he was surrounded by the Chinese from behind the trees, and pierced with spears; his head severed from the body served to the enemy as a trophy of victory. Sergeant Dagorne shot near Garnier was mutilated in the same manner, and had one hand cut off. Two other men, though wounded, managed to effect their retreat with the four or five surviving soldiers to the gun that had been left behind.

A sad spectacle it was to observe from the top of the south-western gate the small troop coming back, carrying the lifeless bodies of the chief and of poor Dagorne. Though his remains were covered with mats, Garnier's fate was at once known.

That irresistible power,—called by some fatality, by others Providence,—which presides over the destiny of human beings, seems to have prompted all the acts of Garnier, to the very time he disappeared for ever from the gaze of his fellow-creatures. The mind of the unfortunate officer had been full of gloomy forebodings ever since he left Shanghai; on board the Messageries Maritimes Co.'s steamer, on board the *D'Estrées*, when others did not anticipate any difficulty in the work he had to carry out, he felt the responsibility of the undertaking, and that if glory and perhaps fortune

might be his reward, marching by their side was danger,—and that danger might assume in this case the awful form of death. On the day before he sallied forth to meet his fate, when he heard of the death of the great marshal, he ordered that the body of that official be put into a coffin, and that the imposing ceremonies,—the inseparable accompaniment of the funeral of a high Asiatic official,—be postponed till the negotiations had been finished and tranquillity restored, adding mournfully: "Wait to see if I am not the one who is to be buried first." The south-eastern gate through which Garnier entered triumphantly, hardly a month before, was also the gate he passed to encounter death,—was also the gate through which his headless body was carried to its resting-place.

All was not lost yet for Balny was ahead,—Balny was evidently dispersing the enemy; vain hopes! Balny had been running after the Annamites on the Phu-hoaï road as far as a temple built at the junction of that path and of the circular road, about three miles from the citadel. When he reached the temple, the fate of the commander of the expedition was certainly known;* his head had perhaps already reached the adversaries of Balny; for when the young ensign, like Garnier, marching at the head of his troop, followed a long way off by the Annamite contingent, reached the temple, he met some thirty or forty Chinamen, who, far from retreating, came boldly to him. Balny was heard to fire the six shots of his revolver; he then drew his sword but at that time he was seen to fall backwards while a shot killed a quartermaster at his side named Sorre. The rest of the troop, took refuge behind the temple. The Chinese having retired, Dr. Chedan led his companions (two of them wounded) back to the citadel, picking up on the way, near the grove, the body of Bonifay also headless.

By two o'clock everybody had returned to the fortress, but the little army had been fearfully decimated: Garnier, Balny, Dagorne, Sorre and Bonifay had lost their lives; six others had been wounded, including the head gunner of the south-western battery, who received a shot but was not seriously injured.

The three bishops, Mgr. Puginier of Western Tong-king, Mgr. Sohier of Hué, and Mgr. Colomer (Spanish) of Eastern Tong-king, were present. The news of the death of Garnier was carefully concealed from the natives, and in anticipation of a new attack,

* It is probable that Garnier was killed between 11.30 a.m. and noon, Balny between noon and 12.50 p.m.

urgent measures were taken. Mgr. Sohier suggested that the ambassador might serve as a hostage; the advice was acted upon, and the ambassador, being made to understand that the place was not secure for him, was conveyed with Bishop Sohier under escort to the *Hoong-kiang*. Mr. Lasserre, Mr. Garnier's private secretary, took the papers of his chief to that small craft, and the men who were scattered all over the citadel were brought together to Garnier's dwelling-house, whither the ammunition had already been carried. The entrance to the house was also fortified.

Mr. Dupuis had been apprised of the attack, but as he was not allowed to fight with the regular troops, he went forward with his soldiers by the northern side of the fort without meeting any enemy. It was on his return that he learned the news of the dreadful catastrophe, which was to reduce to nought his great expectations. With great disinterestedness, he placed at the disposal of Mr. Bain twenty-five of his men to keep watch on the western rampart, and with the help of that feeble guard, and better still with their arms ready, hourly expecting a new attack, the remainder of the conquerors of Tong-king passed the night of the 21st and 22nd December. Shall we add, that during the evening a letter was received from Captain Testard du Cosquer, the commander of the *Decrès*, announcing the arrival of his ship at Cuacam on the 16th, with three officers, one hundred marines, and Mr. Motty, Inspecteur des affaires indigènes.

Mr. Bain in command.

After the death of Mr. Garnier, Mr. Bain was the senior officer present, but he did not properly belong to the expedition, as he had been merely detached from the *Decrès;* the command fell, therefore, to Mr. Esmez; but as this officer had been absent with the *Scorpion* since the 14th, Mr. Bain assumed temporarily the management of affairs.

The day after the death of Garnier, he requested the ambassadors to use their influence with Hoang Ke-vien to make him cease hostilities. The prince having answered that he wanted first to have the powers of the ambassadors submitted to him for examination, one of the envoys was sent to him on the 23rd; but though the documents were found in order, Hoang Ke-vien declined to withdraw his troops till he had heard from Hué.

It was also on this day (Tuesday, 23rd) that Garnier, Dagorne and Bonifay were buried with military honours, behind the Hall of Ceremonies, but it was not until the 4th of January that the bodies of Balny and of Sorre were sent by the Annamites, and the

6th of that month that the five heads, after being carried in triumph through all the cities of Tong-king, were restored.

The *Scorpion** finally arrived at noon on the 25th, with the troops brought to Cua-cam from Saigon by the *Decrès* (Captain Testard du Cosquer).

Mr. Esmez in command. On the day after his arrival Mr. Esmez set hard at work. He sent the *Espingole* to Nam-dinh to help Dr. Harmand in case of need, and began negotiating with the ambassadors. By his energy he had obtained very favourable terms, and the following convention was about to be signed, when on the 31st December the news came that Mr. Philastre, Inspecteur des affaires indigènes, and two Annamite envoys had arrived at Cua-cam from Saigon, with orders that all negotiations should be suspended, and that the cities of Nam-dinh and Ninh-binh were to be immediately evacuated. Mr. Esmez did not obey the last part of the order, rightly thinking that it was decidedly against the interest of the expedition. What had happened?

The following is the document referred to:—

Mr. Esmez' Convention. "Convention passée entre les ambassadeurs de la noble cour, Tran Dinh-tuc, Nguyên Trong-hiep;

"Et M. Esmez (Charles-Adalbert), enseigne de vaisseau, commandant politique au Tong-king:

"L'Amiral gouverneur, en nous envoyant au Tong-king, était animé des intentions les plus pacifiques. Il n'avait d'autre but que de conclure, à l'avantage des deux gouvernements, un traité de commerce devant ouvrir aux richesses des provinces Chinoises un débouché accessible à tous.

"La marche des évènements a pris malheureusement, sous l'inspiration de Nguyên Tri-phuong, dont les vieilles haines égarèrent la haute raison, une tournure telle qu'il est à craindre que les bonnes intentions du gouverneur vis-à-vis de la noble cour ne soient modifiées.

"Des troupes Chinoises, à la solde du corps expéditionnaire de Son-tây, sont venues nous attaquer dans la citadelle de Hà-nôi, et aujourd'hui nous apprenons que des troupes viennent d'arriver, ce qui semblerait indiquer que l'on veut encore combattre.

"La juste colère du gouverneur serait grande si, en apprenant ces choses, il n'apprenait en même temps que les envoyés ont secondé nos tentatives pour rétablir la tranquilité du pays un

* The *Scorpion* which left Hà-nôi on the 14th December, did not reach Cua-cam till the 20th, having taken ground several times.

instant troublée, et donner autant que possible satisfaction aux justes réclamations que nous élevions depuis si longtemps.

"Plus fortes que jamais, nous vous offrons encore aujourd'hui de tout traiter à l'amiable, comme il convient à deux gouvernements voisins qui s'estiment et veulent s'entr'aider. Mais il faut que tout se fasse sincèrement et le plus vite possible. Nos revendications sont dictées par la justice et la plus simple raison. Il ne peut y avoir là rien qui arrête un esprit droit et sûr.

"Nous demandons et, si l'on nous y force, nous exigerons:

"Article 1.—Le Tong-king est ouvert au commerce Français, Espagnol, Chinois et Annamite, comme il a déjà été dit dans les précedentes proclamations.

"Article 2.—Les bateaux circuleront tranquillement, sans avoir à redouter aucune entrave de la part des mandarins.

"Article 3.—Toute troupe, quelle qu'elle soit, se retirera de l'autre côté du Hat-giang.

"Article 4.—Toute troupe de la capitale sera retirée entre le Hat-giang et la mer, et il ne sera conservé que les milices indigènes nécessaires aux différents services administratifs.

"Article 5.—Les têtes et les corps des cinq Français morts lors de l'attaque de la citadelle de Hà-nôi, seront rapportées dans le plus bref délai.

"Article 6.—Un mandarin dûment accrédité sera envoyé dans chacune des citadelles occupées par les Français, auprès de l'officier commandant, qui lui rendra le service administratif.

"Article 7.—Il sera pourvu aussitôt par le mandarin aux vacances laissées parmi les fonctionnaires du pays, afin que la tranquillité lui soit immédiatement rendue.

"Article 8.—Aucun des fonctionnaires nommés depuis les derniers évènements, à cause de la fuite des anciens mandarins inutilement invités à rester, ne sera changé sans une enquête faite de concert avec les officiers Français et les mandarins de Hà-nôi.

"Article 9.—Les populations requises par les Français ne seront pour ce fait nullement inquiétées.

"Article 10.—Les garnisons Françaises seront maintenues dans les citadelles jusqu'à la ratification du traité définitif par la noble cour et l'amiral gouverneur.

"Les Français promettent en retour:—

"1° De secourir de leurs armes les provinces ravagées par les pirates et les rebelles, chaque fois que cela sera nécessaire à la sécurité du commerce.

"2° De garder le fleuve et d'en assurer pour toujours la paisible navigation.

"Si ces conditions sont acceptées volontiers et gardées avec fidelité, les relations entre les deux gouvernements pourront devenir faciles et amicales; mais la duplicité entraînerait certainement pour le noble pays les plus graves conséquences."

An embarrassing dilemma.

After the capture of Hà-nôi (20th November), Garnier had sent the *Decrès* to Saigon with the prisoners, and had asked as we said for reinforcements. Admiral Dupré embarrassed at the news, perhaps fearing that a conquest without an official declaration of war might lead to trouble, despatched (on the 7th of December) Mr. Philastre, *Senior Inspecteur des affaires indigènes*, with one of the two ambassadors then residing at Saigon, to Hué, to apologize for the capture of the citadel, and to obtain a treaty of commerce by taking advantage of the fear created at the court of Tu-duc by Garnier's success. At the same time, the *Decrès* was receiving the reinforcements asked for and was to proceed with them to Cua-cam. We saw that the news of her arrival reached Hà-nôi during the evening of the very day Garnier perished, and that the men were brought to the citadel by the *Scorpion*.

It will also be remembered that after the taking of Hà-nôi, Tu-duc recalled the troops ordered away against Garnier, and sent to him two envoys with Mgr. Sohier. The successive capture of Ninh-binh and Haï-dzong frightened still more the miserable monarch, who in great haste sent a letter to Saigon, saying that he was grateful to Garnier for having delivered him of that dangerous man, Nguyên Tri-phuong, doubtless the cause of all the trouble,—a man acting entirely against the interest of the country, —and that the two Saigon ambassadors were hereby empowered to treat on Garnier's terms.

The letter of the king reached Saigon on the 10th of December, three days after the departure of the *Decrès*.

The admiral still more perplexed and anxious not to lose a good opportunity, despatched the *D'Estrées** to catch Philastre, on the 12th of December. The *D'Estrées* reached Turon on the 16th, too late,—for at Hué, the Annamites probably informed by Mr. Philastre and his companions of the admiral's views, were showing themselves less submissive.

* The *D'Estrées* had arrived at Saigon from Hongkong on the 7th, passing the *Decrès* in the river of Saigon.

On the 22nd of December the *D'Estrées* left Turon with Mr. Philastre and the Saigon ambassador, and reached Cua-cam on the 23rd.

The action of the captain of the *Decrès*.

During the night of the 24th and 25th of December, the news of Garnier's death was received. The captains of the *Decrès*, Mr. Testard du Cosquer, of the *D'Estrées*, Mr. Didot, Mr. Philastre and the envoy at once held a council.

None of them had any authority to act. The captains were simply commanding vessels employed to carry troops to the expedition and had nothing whatever to do with Tong-king; Mr. Philastre was not sent to Tong-king to act with Garnier; Garnier being dead it was very natural and logical that the man second in command, Mr. Esmez, should replace him. Still the captain of the *Decrès*, as the senior officer on the station, took the responsibility of placing Mr. Philastre at the head of affairs.

The news received at Hà-nôi on the 31st of December was but too true; Mr. Philastre had at once ordered that negotiations should be suspended, and—considering the expedition of Garnier an unjustifiable one—that Nam-dinh and Ninh-binh should be restored at once to the Annamites.

Mr. Philastre at Hà-nôi.

On the 27th of December the *D'Estrées* ascended the Cam river as far as Hai-phang, a place ten miles from the sea; and thence Mr. Philastre, the new diplomatic agent, Mr. Balézeaux, the first officer of the *Decrès*, who was to act as military commander in the place of Esmez, and the Annamite ambassador proceeded up the river; at Haï-dzong on the 28th of December, they took with them the brave De Trentinian and his fifteen men, and surrendered the citadel to the native authorities. They arrived at Hà-nôi on the 23rd of January, 1874.

If we had not ourselves oftentimes seen in these countries the influence that the close contact with crafty natives, the combined action of climate and of mental torpor, and the lack of intercourse with foreigners, may have on the conduct and the judgment of high officials, we should find here a sad example of it.

As soon as he arrived at Hà-nôi, Mr. Philastre changed everything that had been done. Mr. Esmez' *Convention* was not respectful enough for the Annamites; Mr. Esmez' prudence in not recalling the garrisons of Ninh-binh and Nam-dinh was severely blamed; the whole of the French forces scattered over the delta were to be concentrated at Hà-nôi; and Garnier, who was considered almost like a demi-god by the natives—Garnier, who, like

Philastre, had been sent by admiral Dupré—was nothing, his successor said, but an adventurer.

Surrender of the conquered cities. On the 6th of January the *Scorpion* left Ke-cho, took on board Mr. Hautefeuille at Ninh-binh on the 8th and Dr. Harmand at Nam-dinh on the 10th. Thus the delta was entirely evacuated, and the *Espingole* was sent back to Hà-nôi* with the remainder of the conquerors of Tong-king. Fourteen Christian villages (I have it from an eye-witness) were in flames during the night that followed the surrender of Nam-dinh, and the massacre spreading throughout the country, the victims soon amounted to several thousands.

Arrival of the *Sarthe*. At the news of the death of Garnier, admiral Dupré despatched the troop-ship *Sarthe* with two hundred and fifty men commanded by Mr. Dujardin. They arrived at Cua-cam on the 10th of January, and were conveyed to Hà-nôi by the *Scorpion*—which had descended the river after the surrender of Nam-dinh—the *Mang-hao* and the *Espingole*, which had been turned back after taking to the capital Messrs. De Trentinian and Harmand.

Convention of Mr. Philastre. The massacres continued; the missionaries were everywhere threatened; the French flag had been pulled down during the night of the 12th and 13th of January, from the citadel and torn to pieces; still Mr. Philastre continued his suicidal policy. On two or three occasions, feeble attempts were made to protect the Christians; on the 18th of January the *Mang-hao* was sent to Ke-cho, near Ninh-binh with twenty-five marines.

Now that all the troops had assembled at Hà-nôi they were to leave Tong-king. On the 20th of January, Mgr. Sohier, Messrs. Dupuis, Motty, and the detachment of the *Decrès*, left Hà-nôi in the *Mang-hao*. On the 24th the *D'Estrées* carried Messrs. Dupuis and Motty to Saigon, and having again left this city on the 1st of February, anchored at Cua-cam on the 8th.

On the 6th of February Mr. Philastre signed that famous *convention* which was to replace the one made by Mr. Esmez, in which the terms were, so to speak, dictated to the victor by the vanquished:—

"Le grand mandarin du noble royaume d'Annam, assesseur du ministre des cultes, Nguyên Van-tuong, second ambassadeur plénipotentiaire, délégué spécialement pour terminer les affaires du Tong-king au nom de l'Annam, d'une part: et le grand mandarin

* Arrived on the 12th of January.

du noble royaume de France, Philastre, inspecteur des affaires indigènes en Cochin-chine Française, envoyé par le gouverneur, avec pleins pouvoir pour arranger les affaires au Tong-king au nom de son gouvernement, d'autre part:

"Après s'être communiqué leurs pouvoirs et en avoir constaté la valour, ont arrêté les articles suivants:—

"1° Il n'existe plus de sujet de discussion entre les deux royaumes, qui se sont réconciliés; c'est pourquoi les grands mandarins susnommés s'engagent à observer ce qui suit:—

"2° Les soldats Français évacueront la citadelle de Hà-nôi, la remettront au pouvoir des mandarins Annamites, et se retireront à Cua-cam, dans le fort de Haï-phong. Les mandarins Annamites prépareront donc de suite un local pour que la garnison Française puisse s'y établir provisoirement, jusqu'à ce que l'on ait signé le traité definitif. Les Français s'établissent à Haï-phong afin de protéger le royaume Annamite contre ceux qui voudraient pénétrer dans l'intérieur du pays contrairement aux lois du royaume, et pour forcer les navires du certain Dupuis à demeurer au port, jusqu'à la conclusion du traité, au cas qu'il y ait une stipulation autorisant les Européens à venir faire le commerce au Tong-king.

"3° Le jour où les soldats Français évacueront la citadelle, celle-ci sera livrée avec tous les effets et munitions qui s'y trouveront à cette époque; en outre, tout l'argent que l'on s'est procuré dans les provinces de Haï-dzong, Nam-dinh, Ninh-binh et Hà-nôi sera rendu aux mandarins Annamites, qui en donneront reçu.

"4° La garnison Française évacuera la citadelle et la remettra aux autorités Annamites, dès que le local de Haï-phong sera prêt. Lorsque les mandarins auront donné avis officiellement que tout est prêt, on ne pourra différer l'évacuation au-delà de six jours.

"5° Le 29 de la 11e lune (17 janvier), le noble souverain du royaume d'Annam à publié un édit accordant grâce à tous ceux qui ont pris le parti de la France. C'est pourquoi les mandarins ne devront pas poursuivre, mais les protéger contre ceux qui voudraient les nuire. Quant aux mandarins nommés par les Français, ils seront maintenus en place s'ils sont reconnus capables, sinon ils seront renvoyés chez eux; car s'ils remplissaient mal leur charge, ce serait au détriment du royaume; car les officiers Français ont plusieurs fois repété dans leurs proclamations, que s'ils administraient les provinces c'était seulement en l'absence des mandarins légitimes, et dans l'intérêt du gouvernement Annamite. Quand nous aurons fait savoir partout que les deux royaumes ont conclu

la paix et qu'il faut cesser toute hostilité, si quelqu'un ne se soumet pas, et commet des injustices, par exemple en incendiant de villages, le gouvernement Annamite devra réprimer et punir les coupables; de plus, ceux qui auront souffert des dommages pourront porter plainte, et s'ils ont des preuves, les mandarins devront leur faire rendre justice.

"6° En attendant que les ambassadeurs de la noble cour d'Annam et l'amiral gouverneur de la Cochin-chine se soient entendus ensembles pour la conclusion du traité, le gouvernement Annamite ne laissera dans la citadelle de Hà-nôi qu'une garnison suffisante pour la garde et le service militaire; il ne devra pas entasser des troupes dans le territoire limitrophe de la province de Son-tay. Au cas où il y aurait des rebelles, alors seulement on pourrait faire venir à Hà-nôi les troupes des provinces voisines.

"7° Le gouvernement Annamite doit laisser libres les fleuves et les rivières, surtout à leurs confluentes et à leurs embouchures, pour que les troupes Françaises qui sont temporairement au Tong-king puissent circuler sans difficulté.

"8° Personne ne violera la sépulture des Français et des volontaires Annamites mortes en combatant ou de maladie, et encore enterrés dans l'intérieur de la citadelle de Hà-nôi. Quand le résident Français à Hà-nôi voudra visiter ces sépultures, ou enverra quelqu'un à sa place, il devra en informer auparavant les mandarins, qui donneront l'autorisation. Ces mandarins laisseront les corps au même endroit jusqu'à ce qu'ils se soient entendus avec le résident pour trouver un autre lieu en dehors de la citadelle, ce qui aura lieu dans le courant d'un mois; ils permettront alors d'enlever les corps, et le résident, ou celui qu'il aura désigné, se rendra à la citadelle pour les faire exhumer et transporter au lieu convenu.

"9° Le gouvernement Annamite concédera un terrain, sur le bord du fleuve, pour construire une habitation au résident Français et aux soldats de son escorte; ce terrain sera près du lieu où, après la conclusion du traité, on permettra aux commerçants Français de s'établir. La désignation de ce terrain et la construction définitive de l'habitation du résident sont réservées à la décision du gouverneur de la Cochinchine, qui s'entendra par la suite à ce sujet avec les ambassadeurs Annamites.

"10° En attendant que l'on ait construit une maison pour le résident et son escorte en dehors de la citadelle, sur le bord du fleuve, et parcequ'il n'y a pas d'autre endroit, le gouvernement Annamite permettra au résident d'habiter temporairement avec une

escorte de quarante hommes dans le palais du grand mandarin de la justice. Quand le calme sera rétabli, si les maisons ne sont pas terminées, le résident quittera la citadelle avec son escorte et ira occuper la maison de Dupuis et toutes les maisons voisines que les Chinois lui avaient louées.

"11° Le gouvernement Annamite veillera à la sureté du résident et de son escorte, comme il convient à une grande nation; s'il y a lieu de craindre pour sa sécurité, les mandarins de Hà-nôi devront le prévenir et s'entendre avec lui pour conjurer le danger, soit en lui demandant des troupes de renfort, soit en lui donnant asile dans l'intérieur de la citadelle.

"12° Tous les articles que nous avons arrêtés de concert, lors de la reddition des provinces de Ninh-binh, Haï-dzong, Nam-dinh et Hà-nôi, et qui ne sont pas contraires aux dispositions de cette convention, seront observés.

"13° Le gouvernement Annamite a maintenant trois cents soldats campés en dehors de la ville de Hà-nôi; il devra se contenter de ce chiffre, sans l'augmenter. A la nouvelle que les Français évacuent la citadelle, les soldats Annamites, qui devront ensuite en former la garnison, s'approcheront de la citadelle à la distance de quatre heures de marche, et attendront là le moment d'entrer.

"14° Le certain Dupuis, ainsi que les Français et les Chinois qui l'accompagnent, quitteront la ville de Hà-nôi avant les troupes Françaises, et se rendront à Haï-phong, conduits par un officier Français; ils attendront que le fleuve soit ouvert au commerce. Le navire de Dupuis, appelé *Hoong-kiang*, et qui cale trop d'eau pour descendre le fleuve, demeurera provisoirement à Hà-nôi sous la garde du résident.

"Si Dupuis veut quitter Tong-king et se rendre au Yun-nan en remontant le fleuve par Hung-hoa, il priera le résident de demander pour lui l'autorisation aux mandarins de Hà-nôi, déclarant, au préalable le nombre de ses navires et des personnes qui les montent.

"Ces gens, tant Européens que Chinois, ne devront pas être plus de 65, sans compter les Annamites qui seraient employés à ramer; le nombre des bateaux ne pourra pas dépasser 10. Dans ces conditions, les mandarins de Hà-nôi délivreront un passeport pour le pays soumis à l'Annam; dans les lieux occupés par les rebelles où il n'y a pas de troupes Annamites, Dupuis se tirera d'affaire comme il pourra. Il n'aura de munitions de guerre que pour sa défense personnelle, et ne devra pas en vendre ou en donner à qui que ce soit sur le territoire Annamite. La quantité de ces munitions sera

fixée par le résident, de concert avec les mandarins de Hà-nôi. Une fois au Yun-nan, Dupuis ne reviendra plus au Tong-king avant l'ouverture du fleuve au commerce.

"Si au lieu d'aller au Yun-nan il se fixait en quelque endroit appartenant au royaume Annamite sans en avoir l'autorisation, les Français s'engagent à aller l'en chasser; et si c'est nécessaire, ils requerront le gouvernement Annamite, qui de son côté enverra aussi des soldats.

"26e année de Tu-duc, 21e jour de la 12e lune (6 février 1874)."

On the 21st of February Mr. Philastre was at Cua-cam; on the 22nd, the *D'Estrées* landed him at Turon, as the *convention* was to be signed at Hué.

Conclusion. Dupuis had been expelled, Hà-nôi was of course surrendered *(sic)*, and the only souvenir left of the labours of Garnier and Dupuis were burning villages, Christians tortured, and forty men, hardly safe from an attack, garrisoned at Haï-phong with Mr. Rheinart, the successor of Mr. Philastre.

The wholesale murders of Christians, which had subsided towards the end of January, had begun again under the leadership of two *tú-tài (Bachelors)* Cu'u aud Mai,* and a scholar of the high degree of *hoàng-giáp*, from the village of Tam-dang in the province of Nam-dinh, the author of a pamphlet somewhat in the style of the *Death-blow to Corrupt Doctrines*.

Every one knows the treaty concluded at Saigon this year, on the 15th of March, between the President of the French Republic and the King of Annam. The treaty seems fair and advantageous, and it is said that Admiral Duperré, the new Governor of Cochin-china, who left France on the 25th of October, has received instructions to have it strictly executed.

It is, however, unfortunate that the man who pointed out this new field for French enterprise, and who did so much to assist the expedition, should to-day be forgotten by his government, and be left at Canton neglected and impoverished.

Here my narrative must cease. I have related events; others will draw the conclusion. There are three kinds of historians; the *chronicler* who relates what he has seen or heard, making a more or less discriminate selection of facts; the true *historian* who

* They had been sentenced to death in 1868 for burning several Christian villages.

marshals these facts to present them to the public at large, and the *philosopher* whose noble duty it is to deduce from them the laws which govern, or ought to govern, the world.

Happy shall I be if I may be considered as one of the chroniclers of the *Conquest of Tong-king*.

## ARTICLE VI.

### NOTES ON CHINESE TOXICOLOGY.*

No. I.—Arsenic.

By D. J. MACGOWAN, M.D.

CHINESE TOXICOLOGY contributes little of value to our knowledge either of Sociology, *Materia Medica* or Forensic Medicine; nevertheless, it is not devoid of interest.† The annals of China afford no counterpart to those dark pages of European history which record the deeds of Tofana and Brinvilliers. No one in all her history is suspected even of the crime of secretly poisoning men of rank in the State. (The only instance in the long line of rulers, in which an Emperor was secretly made away with, was by the Siseran operation of driving a nail into his brain while he was asleep—*Wen-ti*, 617 A.D.)‡ This infrequency of poisoning is not due to ignorance of substances which have the power of impairing or destroying the functions necessary to life. At a remote period of their history, both Chinese and Japanese employed poisoned arrows in war and in the chase, and subsequently, before our era, the regard that they paid to alchemy made them acquainted with the poisonous character of certain

* Read before the Society 14th December, 1874.

† In the seventeenth and several preceding centuries extremely exaggerated notions prevailed in Europe with regard to the potency of poisons that were then believed to be in use; and we find that expectations were, that light on this subject might be derived from China. One of the earliest inquiries instituted by the Royal Society after its formation related to this subject. Among the series of questions that were drawn up by that learned body for the purpose of being sent to China and India was this:—"Whether the Chinese or the Indians can prepare that stupifying drug Datura, that they may make it lie several days, months or years, according as they will have it, in a man's body without doing him any harm, and at the end kill him without missing half an hour's time?" Beckman in his *History of Inventions* traces the idea of secret poisons back to two centuries before our era, when such agents were believed to be in use in Rome. Sismondi *(Fall of the Roman Empire)* says—"The terrible science of secret poisons is the first branch of Chemistry, which is successfully cultivated by savage nations;" a remark that does not apply to China, where that science was cultivated in its infancy for an opposite object—the prolongation of human life.

‡ A section in the Chinese work on Medical Jurisprudence is directed to the crime of killing by driving a nail into the back of the head.

minerals. It was indeed from these ancient searchers for an *elixir vitæ* and for a process of transmuting the lower minerals into gold that, as Mr. Edkins has shown, was derived the alchemy of the Arabs, which formed the basis of European chemistry. If, however, we consult the writings of popular novelists, we shall discover that plots often turn on the crime of poisoning. It is noteworthy that in every instance given, the poisoners are represented as discontented wives, and the victims of disagreeable husbands. Intelligent natives defend this representation of the novelists on the Confucian apophthegm that, while men's hearts are benevolent, women's hearts are poisonous; and they aver in confirmation of this ancient view of the better sex, that at the present time, in the cases of domestic strife that come before the yamens of Shanghai, hardly one per cent. of the complainants are husbands. Viewed from a philosophical standpoint, the state of things reflects most unfavourably on the masculine sex, indicating, as it certainly does, that the treatment to which the longsuffering and gentle sex is subjected, is absolutely insupportable. When the poison employed is named, it is always arsenic. In the attempt that was made some years ago to poison the entire foreign community of Hongkong, arsenic was the agent chosen for that object. It was mixed in the bread at the general bakery.§

The Penal Code makes it a criminal offence to sell arsenic, even when quite innocent of attempt to injure. Druggists generally require a security from purchasers for their own protection.

The following is the only case of arsenic poisoning which is contained in the Penal Code:—

"A case of poisoning, the victim being the mother of the prisoner's adopted mother."‖

"The prisoner Wang Chin had been adopted by his uncle, Wang Chao-sze (now deceased), and lived with the widow (his adopted mother) and her mother (name 苗趙氏). Wang Chin was a worthless fellow, who did nothing but spend money. Pro-

§ Two of the twelve volumes of the 倭袍 *Wo-pao* (Sung period) relate to a great poisoning case at Hangchow. A great personage was poisoned by his wife, who put arsenic in his bread. In the legend of the White Lady, *alias* White Snake, it is narrated that by her saliva she poisoned all the wells of Hangchow, causing head-ache to the entire population, and that she made money by selling an effective antidote—a powder composed of acorus calamus, artemisia moxa and onion.

‖ Translated by G. Jamieson, Esq., of H. B. M.'s Consular Service.

posals for a second marriage were made to the widow—a thing which would have suited Wang Chin exactly, as it would have left him in uncontrolled possession of the whole of the property—but her mother (the woman Miao) interposed a veto, and the marriage idea was abandoned. Wang Chin thereupon conceived a violent animosity against the old lady as standing between him and his wishes, and resolved to get her out of the way. Some two months afterwards it happened that his adopted mother was away in the fields, and the old woman, who was in bed sick, asked him to bring her some congee. Wang Chin thereupon seized the opportunity, when nobody was by, to fetch some arsenic which had been left over from manuring the fields, and mix it with the congee, which he thereupon gave to the invalid. She took it and began eating, but when she had got about half way through, she suddenly fell down on the bed and began vomiting. Seeing this, Wang Chin took fright and bolted. His adopted mother coming in soon after, found her mother in this state and learned from her the circumstances. She also saw on investigation that there was poison in the bowl. Thereupon she summoned the natural parents of the criminal, of whom no traces could be found anywhere, to see what had been done and apply remedies. But the poison had taken too deep a hold and the victim died the same evening. The parents tried to hush the matter up, and went so far as to use forcible means to prevent the deceased's daughter from laying an information, while they had the lady buried in the usual way. Grief and rage brought on an illness, and it was not till five months afterwards that she was able to go and lay a complaint before the magistrate. Ultimately, however, all the parties were arrested, and the above facts were all confessed to without reservation.

"The provincial courts assumed that there was no relationship within the degrees of mourning between the deceased and the criminal, and treated the case as one of ordinary homicide, sentencing him to decapitation after the usual period of imprisonment.

"The appeal turns on that point as to whether there was mourning relationship between the parties or not, and ultimately it was held that there was, and a general rule was laid down in all such cases that adoption should constitute a *bona fide* relationship, and that degrees of affinity should be calculated accordingly, while the relationship constituted by his natural born position should each be diminished one degree. It followed from this that the

prisoner was guilty of killing an elder relation within the degrees of mourning, and ought to be sentenced to instant decapitation.—Ordered accordingly.

"There being no means of ascertaining where the poison was procured, no proceedings can be taken against the man that sold it.

"Kien-lung, 42nd year, 8th moon, (1778)."

Medical Jurisprudence has long been an object of study in China. The standard, and the first work on that science was published about 1249 A. D., three centuries before the publication *De Relationibus Medicarum* at Palermo, by Fortunatus Fidelis, the earliest European writer on legal medicine. It is styled *Si-yuen luh*,¶ and is frequently republished for the use of coroners; but the additions of more than six centuries have been of little value, nor do the Chinese possess any other work on the subject. Although it partakes of the medical superstitions of the land, it is not without merit; it displays considerable research, and it compares not unfavorably with the early attempts of our own writers. Examination of the cadaver never having been allowed, the directions which are given touching inquiries respecting the extinction of human life are more curious than instructive.

In the section on poisons in the *Si yuen luh*, prominence is given to arsenic, from which and the Pharmacopœia *(Pun tsau)* I have drawn the following.

The symptoms of poisoning by arsenic are thus described:—Violent retching or vomiting of offensive matter, dysentry, black sanguineous stools, prolapsus ani, convulsive movements of the body and delirium. When death ensues, there is lividity of the face, a gaping mouth, eyes preternaturally open, lips everted, swollen, black and abraded, gums black, tongue swollen and retracted or clasped between the teeth, hands clenched, finger and toe nails black, extravasated blood from mouth, eyes, ears and nostrils, body dark and swollen or showing a miliary eruption, and hair dishevelled.

In the *Si yuen luh* a paragraph is devoted to homicide by forcing arsenic into the ears. There is not only swelling, bleeding and signs of disorganization of the ear into which the poison has been forced, but the appearances are observed at the opposite ear.

¶ 洗寃錄 Washing injury record.

Numerous antidotes are recommended, the *Pun tsau* attaching chief value to green beans pounded and mixed with cold water. The *Si yuen luh* first enjoins an emetic of three drachms of pounded alum beaten up with ten or twenty eggs. If emesis is produced, the medicine is to be again administered. But if some time has elapsed, allowing time for the poison to reach the bowels, and vomiting cannot be readily induced, recourse is then to be had to metallic zinc. A lump is to be rubbed in a little water, until the fluid becomes black; this is to be administered and continued until it acts as an emetic, which accomplished, the patient may recover.

Among the other articles enjoined for such cases is the warm blood of a duck, night soil, bean curd, liquorice and indigo, the water of the root or juice of the iris, bark or oil of dryandria, bark of arbutus, vinegar with powdered beans, and nitre.

In cases of suspected poisoning the coroner employs, in the presence of the District Magistrate, a long silver probe as a test. It is directed that the silver should be of absolute purity, stamped and kept under seal. Before using, it is washed in the seeds of the soap-berry, Greditschia Sinensis. It is thrust down the throat into the stomach of the corpse; the mouth is then closed and covered. After the silver has been exposed to the contents of the stomach for a couple of hours, it is removed and again washed in soap-berry seeds; if the stain that is found on it is erasible, the case is not one of poisoning: if the stain cannot be thus washed away, it is because the discoloration is due to the action of poison. It is directed that the silver should be washed several times to prevent uncertainty.

Another process directed to be pursued is to close the orifices of the dead body, with boiled rice, for several hours, and to note the change (if any) that is produced on it by the exhalations. A glutinous rice is employed for this purpose, boiled in a bag over ordinary rice. White of egg is added, and the bucal and anal apertures are filled with the mass. These and all other apertures are closed by several folds of paper. Over these are placed some folds of cotton-thread which have been boiled in vinegar. The body in the meantime is rubbed over with vinegar. If the body swells, if the rice is found to turn black and foul, and if the cotton-thread is fetid, then it is sufficiently evident that death was due to poisoning.

A simpler form of this test then follows. Place boiled rice in the throat of the deceased, the mouth being covered; remove after four hours' exposure and give the rice to a fowl; if it kills the fowl, then it is a case of poisoning.

When poison is taken on an empty stomach, there is merely a swelling of the abdomen, and no discoloration of lips or nails. If taken on a full stomach, there is no swelling of the abdomen, but there is lividity of the lips and nails.

When there is emaciation of the body, a smaller quantity of poison will prove fatal; in such cases too there is no discoloration of body and nails. In these cases employ the silver probe test. The silver probe test is to be employed also in cases when the poison has been taken gradually and accumulating in the system, causing death without the ordinary evidences of poisoning. At the same time the body is to be rubbed from above downwards with hot vinegar, when the poisonous vapor will discolor the body and afford evidence of poison in the excreta. This is a sample of the information that the perusal of Chinese medical works afford.

As a therapeutic agent arsenic came into use about the twelfth century. Long anterior to this, probably from the period when Alchemy took its rise, it was—next to cinnabar—the most important of the agents that were employed to transmute the baser metals into gold, and to discover a "longevity medicine." Its anti-periodic properties were discovered at an early day; subsequently its other qualities became gradually known.

A defective pharmaceutical knowledge has been a great obstacle to the employment of arsenic as a remedy. The mode of compounding the mineral, and the danger that attends its administration, has restricted its use. It is indeed seldom employed internally, although its value in the treatment of intermittent fever has been so long established.

It is recommended also in asthma, rheumatic and neuralgic head-aches, in bronchial affections and as an anthelmintic. As a remedy against worms it has fallen into disuse, but owing to its accidental employment by a tipsy doctor in Chang-chow recently, it has been restored into favor. The doctor discovered when fully sober that he had administered arsenic to a patient for whom he designed something very simple. The patient had complained of abdominal swelling and pain; the arsenic reduced the swelling and brought away an enormous quantity of worms. The bearers of

presents and thanks from the grateful patient to the doctor were at first regarded with great dismay, as that gentleman was in hourly expectation of being tried for murder, and supposed that they had come to arrest him.

Arsenic is, or at least once was, according to the books, believed to possess talismanic properties in preventing the approach of wild animals, and is borne as an amulet by hunters and woodmen. It keeps off snakes, and is carried where poisonous snakes abound as an application when bitten. It is recommended in the *Pun tsau* as a general insecticide, being particularly noxious to fleas.

Externally it is employed as a caustic, which is sometimes introduced into tumors. A powder is largely manufactured for this purpose, composed of about two drachms of the crude mineral, the same quantity of muscia seeds, croton bean and sal-ammoniac, each ten grains, with some muscia oil and bitumen. This compound is buried in the gound forty-nine days and then becomes fit for use.

Dentists employ arsenic in the extraction of teeth. It is inserted between the teeth and the gums, causing the latter to loosen in their socket. The *Pun tsau* recommends the employment of arsenic in this way to remove worms, which are supposed to be found between the gums and the teeth. Another instance of the low state of pharmacy is afforded by the mode in which arsenic is prepared for dental purposes. It is sowed up in the abdomen of a fish, which is suspended for twenty days in the air; it is then scraped out and fit for use.

Whenever a Chinaman is seen using a water-pipe or hookah—and this is to be seen in every house—one may be almost certain that he is smoking arsenical tobacco. (The hookah of the Chinese is a much more handy implement than that of India and Turkey.)

Arsenical tobacco is generally called green tobacco. Its commercial designation is *Lan* or *Lan-chau* tobacco, being so named from the prefecture in the province of Kansuh, where alone it is prepared. The inner and tender leaves of the plant are selected for this purpose. They are pressed and cut into shreds like ordinary tobacco, and then they are steeped and pounded in water. When they are thus reduced to a mass, arsenic is added, the quantity being something less than one fifth per cent.; that is to say, to one hundred catties of the plant are added three taels of the mineral. When the whole has been intimately mixed, the mass is placed on wooden trays over a slow charcoal fire. Before

drying, however, the mass is cut into oblong blocks of about three pounds weight. After being well dried, the blocks are packed in boxes for transmission to all parts of the empire.

Arsenical tobacco is smoked by those who desire something more pungent than the simple narcotic. When once the arsenico-tobacco habit is formed, the desire to partake of it at regular intervals becomes almost irresistible; there is a craving for the hookah to relieve an indescribable lassitude. It appears to possess a slightly stimulant property, so slight as to be scarcely appreciable. Its excessive use is said to be debilitating. I cannot discover that the specific action of the poison is ever manifested in those who smoke arsenious acid; there is not even the appearance of sleekness in them at any stage of its use, which is observed particularly in its administration to animals. Opium-smokers often resort to the use of arsenical tobacco after an indulgence in the more effective narcotic. Suicide is sometimes committed by swallowing the water of the hookah, through which the arsenic vapour has long passed. Dr. Tschudi's statements respecting the effect of arsenic eating in the Tyrol have been much questioned; to some extent, this discovery of arsenic smoking in China is corroborative of his views.

The well-known legend of the White Lady, *alias* White Snake, to which I referred above, takes its date from the period of Kublai, the founder of the Mongol dynasty, in the latter part of the thirteenth century. She was relegated to her former condition of a snake by the forcible administration of *hiung-hwang* (native red sulphuret of arsenic—realgar—arsenic ter-sulphide). That event is commemorated throughout the empire at noon on the fifth day of the fifth month (early in June) by smearing the faces of children with the pounded mineral, and by the drinking, on the part of adults, of about five grains of the powder mixed in distilled samshoo. At the same time, many spurt the mixture on all sides of the house, while (the doors and windows being closed) the house is filled with fumes from a mixture of burning artemisia and calamus. A portion of the ceremony consists in suspending over the doors some artemisia moxa, acorus calamus and onion, the materials used by the mythical lady in curing the poisoned denizens of Hangchow.

These ceremonies are designed to ward off evil influences in general, and to be prophylactic against infectious diseases particularly. Arsenical amulets were once in vogue in Europe; during the great plague in London, they were employed to avert conta-

gion. Dr. Porter Smith refers to the ceremonies, but erroneously states that cinnabar is the prophylactic employed, the mistake being due probably to the fact that formerly the Chinese confounded realgar and cinnabar.

The Japanese import the various arsenical minerals that are employed by the Chinese. They are used in medicine and the arts. But arsenious acid is not smoked by them; they do not even use the hookah. The employment of realgar on the fifth of the fifth month, as in China, is not unknown to the Buddhists of Japan. Criminal poisoning in that empire is as rare as in China. Arsenic is sometimes used for that purpose. Of their one hundred and thirty-one Imperial Rulers, not one was secretly made away with; two were publicly assassinated.

The economic uses of arsenic in China are noteworthy. A minute quantity of the sublimate is sometimes employed in the manufacture of fire-crackers to intensify their report.

Its fumes are employed by brewers and distillers to give a coating to jars, that liquor may keep better in them. The *Pun tsau* strongly condemns this practice, particularly as liquors are found to promote the poisonous action of arsenic.

In the foregoing extract from the Penal Code, reference is made to the employment of arsenic as a manure. In the Port Catalogue of the Chinese Collection for the Vienna Exhibition it is also stated that arsenic is employed for that purpose. Confirmatory statements are made by Mr. Macpherson, Commissioner of Customs at Hankow, by Mr. Dick, Commissioner at Shanghai, and by Mr. Brown, Commissioner at Canton. At Shanghai it is stated that "red arsenic is applied to the roots of mulberry trees as manure; rice when sown is often steeped in a solution of it to destroy insects:"—at Canton, that it is used "in rice cultivation and to destroy insects;"—and at Hankow, that it is "used for manure." Here we have Chinese Imperial authority corroborated by ripe Sinological scholarship in opposition to the teaching of toxicology. Dr. Jaeger's experiments of poisoning plants by arsenic are received as conclusive. In his hands a solution of the white oxide in water, in the proportion of one to sixteen acted as a general and quick poison for plants at every period of their life, with the exception perhaps of a few of the simplest forms of vegetable existence. Their various parts died in succession as the particles of the poison reached them. Perhaps an explanation of these discordant views may be found in the fact that, when arsenic is

employed by farmers, it is mixed with ashes or other fertilizers making a compost. the object of the arsenic being the destruction of insects. In drouth it is in great demand; the dryness of rice fields is fatal to frogs, and as these are the natural destroyers of insects (being for that reason under the special protection of magistrates), their absence requires other means of exterminating parasitic pests. It is not employed as a preventive, but is scattered over fields when insects make their appearance. About one pound of the native mineral, a red sulphuret (*Hung-sin* 紅信—*Hung-sin-shih* 紅信石) is used and found sufficient for an acre of ground,* a quantity too minute to injure the plant, but enough for insecticide purposes.

Aphides that infest mulberry trees are destroyed sometimes by scattering the powder on the leaves, at others by fumigation. Before concluding this series of papers on poisons, I may be able to procure further information on the agricultural uses of arsenic.†

* The *Pun tsau* describes the rich soil of the interior of the province of Kiangsu as teeming with insect life, and there particularly is arsenic in demand as an insecticide. Whether the amount scattered on the fields is sufficient to render the streams deleterious is a question which merits consideration, now that various schemes are proposed for supplying Shanghai with water. The proposed sources of supply are two—the waters of this plain and those of the Yangtsze. More than a thousand years ago the writer of the 煎茶水記 an essay on water for the infusion of tea (vide Wylie's *Notes*) accords to the waters of the Yangtsze superiority over a large number that he had tried, those of the Hwai being least fitted for that purpose. Professor Frankland found in water taken from a few miles above the city "numerous bacteria and vibrios, indicating previous contact with putrescent organic matter, probably of animal origin." Professor Frankland failed to detect organisms in water from the adjacent and inosculating creek, but from the nature of the country, it may be assumed that they exist abundantly in all its waters, hence the reluctance of natives to drink unboiled water. Examination of steam-boilers, the water of which comes from up-country, compared with those that are filled with the water which twice a day is rolled up from the Yangtsze, discloses the fact, that the former abounds in organic matter, as the latter does almost exclusively of mineral matter in suspension. Paradoxical as it may seem, our water when most muddy is, after filtering, most palatable; when the Wangpu runs clear, it is due to a reduced flow from the Yangtsze, and then it is less wholesome.

† It is stated that sulphur is employed as a fertilizer by the cultivators of a variety of ginseng. It is affirmed by native writers that a species of palm, sometimes called "iron tree," may be revived when decay commences, by the use of iron, which is administered in the form of nails driven into the trunk.

## ARTICLE VII.

### RETROSPECT OF EVENTS IN CHINA AND JAPAN FOR THE YEAR 1874.*

By Rev. JAMES THOMAS.

THE year has been fruitful in some important events for the Middle Kingdom; foremost of these we must place the quarrel between China and Japan. At the end of 1871 a Loochooan junk was wrecked on the eastern coast of Formosa, the crew of which was murdered by the aboriginal tribes of the island. The Loochoos being tributary to Japan, the Japanese Ambassador at Peking, in 1873, demanded that the culprits should be punished. It appears that the Chinese Government repudiated all responsibility for the acts of the Formosans, upon which the Japanese Ambassador stated that the Japanese would take the punishment of the savages into their own hands. Accordingly, for this purpose, an army of a thousand strong was landed on the island in May 1874. After chastising the native tribes for their brutal treatment of the shipwrecked Loochooans, the Japanese were apparently preparing to settle on the lands over which the Peking Government had disclaimed control. This excited the jealousy of the Chinese, who demanded the withdrawal of the troops. The reply of the Japanese was forcible and clear: "If you were sovereign of Formosa, you were responsible for the acts of your subjects; in denying responsibility you denied your territorial right, and therefore cannot object to the presence or proceedings of others." The Japanese, however, were willing to retire from the island, if the Chinese Government would pay them an indemnity of Tls. 5,000,000, and also acknowledge that they were justified in sending the expedition. This the Chinese were unwilling to do. Diplomatic negotiations were entered into and were continued for some time; at length it seemed that the peaceful relations of the two countries were about to terminate, and war be declared. The Chinese collected large forces at Taiwan and on the mainland, while the Japanese were prepared to send both reinforcements to Formosa and an invading army to China. Diplomacy having failed to bring about a settlement, the Japanese Minister was on the

* The file of the *North-China Herald* has been the chief source of the writer's reference, and the quotations made are from that Journal.

point of leaving the Chinese Capital,—his suite had actually left Peking,—when the British Minister intervened and succeeded in re-opening negotiations, which ended in a compromise. A Treaty embodying the terms of the settlement was signed, on the 31st of October, by the Japanese Ambassador and the Chiefs of the Tsung-li yamen. It virtually admitted that Japan was justified in sending the expedition to Formosa, and provided for the payment of Tls. 400,000 as indemnity for roads made and houses erected by the Japanese during their occupation of the island, and Tls. 100,000 as compensation to the families of the murdered Loochooans. These sums were to be paid on the 20th of December, the date appointed for the withdrawal of the troops by the Japanese. The Chinese Government also bound itself for the future to control the aborigines and to protect the Japanese from further wrong at their hands. The indemnity was to be paid out of the revenues of the Foochow and Tientsin Customs.

The year will happily be celebrated as that in which the disgraceful coolie trade of Macao was brought to an end. Early in January the Viscount de San Januario issued an order that in March all the so-called Chinese emigration should cease; and the order was rigidly enforced on the day appointed. Consequent on this a Treaty of Friendship and Commerce between China and Peru was arranged, and signed at Tientsin on the 26th of June by H. E. Li Hung-chang for the Government of China, and by H. E. Captain Garcia y Garcia, Plenipotentiary for Peru. The Convention attached to the Treaty, contained provision for the appointment of a commission by the Peking Government to investigate the condition of Chinese labourers in Peru; it also stipulated that those immigrants whose contracts provide for their return should be sent back at the expense of their employers, and that all with whom no such agreement was made should be sent back at the expense of the Peruvian Government, if the immigrants desired to return; and further, the subjects of the Chinese Government now in Peru, are to have the same rights, immunities and privileges as those accorded to other foreigners resident there; for the future also, in order to prevent abuses, the Chinese Government has the power to appoint Consuls or other officers as well as a resident Minister at Lima. The stipulations of the Treaty proper are such as are common to other instruments of a similar kind.

The Commission referred to above has returned, having completed the enquiry desired by the Chinese Government. It is

generally known that they bring the gravest charges against the Peruvian Government for the condition of the coolies on their soil.

In other respects the relations of China with foreign nations during the year have been uneventful. The hopes of progress, formed by the Representatives of the several Courts at Peking, as the results of direct audience with the Emperor have proved to have been most delusive. Mandarins of all grades were granted audience almost daily throughout the year, whereas the Ambassadors from foreign Courts have had to content themselves with their first and only audience, granted in 1873. Not even at the New Year were any congratulatory visits made by the foreign Ministers. Those who have newly arrived, have been granted their first audience, but the privilege or right has gone no further. If any business of importance arose with which native high officials had to deal, they were admitted to private audience, and each foreign Minister should have insisted on his right to be similarly received when matters of great interest were at stake. The only opinion held by all outside the diplomatic circle is that the audience ceremony was nothing but a farce.

In the month of December the Emperor was reported to be dangerously ill, suffering from small-pox. Great fears were entertained, towards the close of the year, lest the disease should prove fatal, and these fears were only too well founded, for His Imperial Majesty died on the 12th of January, 1875. He was born on the 27th of April, 1856, and was therefore eighteen years and nine months old at the time of his decease. As this event with the changes in the Government, etc. which it entailed belongs to the record of 1875, we do no more now than simply chronicle the fact.

The internal affairs of China proper being in a state of comparative peace, the attention of the Government has been in a measure devoted to the recovery of the Imperial sway over the outlying provinces which have been in revolt, and also Eastern Turkestan which has become an independent kingdom under the Atalik Ghazee. Early in the year a force of twenty thousand men was sent against that powerful champion of the faith of Islam. In addition to these troops, we learn that after suppressing the Mahommedan revolt in Shensi and Kansu, the vanguard of the army was marched across the desert of Gobi to Hami, intending to push on to occupy Urumtsi, and thus be able to operate against the Ameer's forces; but the cost of transporting provisions and supplies for the army is so great, and the foe against which they march is so powerful, that it is very doubtful whether the expedition will succeed.

The rebellions in Kweichow and Yunnan have been subdued, but both provinces are still uneasy, and large garrisons will be needed to maintain peace.

The annals of the year have recorded more than the usual number of riots, outbreaks of disaffected people, and outrages upon foreigners in various parts of the country.

"A serious riot occurred in the French concession at Shanghai on Sunday, May 3rd, through a dispute between the Ningpo Guild and the French Municipal Council. The latter wished to lay out and metal a road which had been traced on an old plan of the Settlement, and which they contended had therefore been virtually reserved as Municipal property. The Chinese urged that the road would run through an old grave yard and offered to give some adjacent land in lieu of it. The Council refused; much excitement arose; large crowds collected on the day mentioned, and a collision with the police precipitated the riot. The mob burnt and gutted a number of houses and maltreated several French residents, and were proceeding wildly with the work of destruction, when the Volunteers were called out, and sailors were landed from the various men-of-war. At their approach the rioters scattered." Fire-arms and swords were used freely by some of the rowdies and "lower orders" of French residents; eight Chinese were killed on the spot, three more died from wounds they received, while several others were badly injured. Severe injuries were also inflicted by the mob on several foreigners, but happily among them there was no loss of life. "A proclamation issued the following day by the French Consul-General, terminated the difficulty by yielding the point at issue. M. Godeaux's action was severely criticised, and time has not altered popular opinion. The great majority of foreign residents favoured the Chinese view of the question at issue between the guild and the Council, but every one condemned M. Godeaux's concession under mob pressure as politically bad, and a dangerous precedent." The matter has been referred to the French Minister at Peking, and the Council await his decision.

In May also, the details of an outrage against an American missionary,—the Rev. H. Corbett,—were brought to light by the trial of the culprits at Chefoo, before the United States' Consul and the Taotai. The offence was committed at Chimi, a district city of Shantung, where Mr. Corbett was stoned, his house plundered, and several of the native christians severely maltreated.

The usual charges of kidnapping were made by the people, when the local authorities were appealed to; whereupon the United States' Consul took the matter firmly in hand, and insisted on having the accused brought before the Taotai and himself at Chefoo. The rioters were identified and convicted, and sentenced to severe punishment. The people of the town were ordered to replace the property stolen or destroyed, or else to pay for its value in full: they were further ordered to enter into a bond for Mr. Corbett's personal safety while in that district, and this satisfactory settlement of the case was concluded by the issue of a suitable proclamation by the Taotai.

In July a riot, which resulted in the death of a Chinaman, occurred at the Lighthouse on the Shantung promontory. It arose in a dispute between the natives of the place and the Ningpo labourers employed upon the works; the former being unwilling to allow the latter to work in their neighbourhood. A foreigner in charge of the building, going out to enquire into the reason of the quarrel, was assaulted, and struck one of the assailants with the stock of his revolver, which, he stated, went off and killed a man behind him. The Chinese accused him of murder and he was brought for trial before the British Consul at Chefoo. As there was no evidence against him, he was acquitted, when the Taotai grew violent and declared that no one should leave the Court until the judgment was altered. The accused left Chefoo, but was re-arrested by the order of Sir Edmund Hornby and tried again, but was again acquitted.

In August a piratical attack was made on the S.S. *Spark* plying between Macao and Canton. A number of pirates went on board at Canton as passengers, but during the trip they suddenly rose and murdered all the foreigners save one, Mr. Mundy, who was so badly wounded that his recovery is surprising. A pirate-junk then came up and took off the murderers and a valuable portion of the cargo. The Chinese Engineers managed to get the steamer to Macao. Subsequently some of the criminals were discovered and punished by death, but the greater number have escaped.

In November an outrage was committed upon two missionaries at Hoo-chow, a city at the southern extremity of the Tai-hoo lake. They were attacked by a mob and forced to fly for their lives, while their property was either carried off or destroyed. The missionaries made their way to the Che-hsien's yamen, where they remained for the night. The next day they demanded that the

rioters should be punished and the property replaced, but the officials were only desirous of evading the whole matter. After four days of fruitless negotiations Messrs. Meadows and Douthwaite, the missionaries in question, left for Shanghai and laid their complaint before the British Consul, who succeeded in effecting a satisfactory settlement.

Very shortly after this there was a disturbance at Soochow, which grew into rather serious proportions, but was happily brought to an end by the vigorous action of one of the Mandarins.

At Foochow, riots have occurred in connection with the erection of a line of telegraph wires between that city and Amoy. When war was imminent between China and Japan, the officials were most desirous of being brought into immediate communication with Amoy, the nearest port to Formosa; they therefore sanctioned the erection of a telegraph line by the Great Northern Telegraph Company; but as soon as all danger of hostilities had passed, the Chinese authorities were desirous of doing away with the proposed line, and apparently provoked the opposition of the people to the scheme. "Mobs, in the presence of the yamen runners, attacked the workmen and destroyed the property of the Telegraph Company. The neighbouring villagers subsequently disclaimed, to the foreign superintendent, all personal hostility to the project. It remains to be seen what action the Danish Government will take."

About the end of the year, there was a very serious uprising of the people in the prefecture of T'ai-chow, in the province of Chehkiang. For some time past there have been troubles of a grave character, occasionally rising to the magnitude of insurrection on the part of the people, but these assumed most serious dimensions towards the close of the year. The taxes on land, which had been most oppressive before, were increased by the new Magistrate. The people and gentry remonstrated, but their remonstrance failed to effect a withdrawal of the exaction. They then memorialized the Prefect, but without avail; whereupon they rose *en masse*, armed themselves for vengeance, and forced their way into the yamen with a view to kill the Magistrate, but he escaped in disguise. Shortly afterwards a detachment of soldiers was sent to subdue the insurgents, but as these had become organized, and had increased in numbers to about ten thousand, the soldiers were afraid. On learning the vast dimensions of the insurrection the authorities were appalled, and signified their desire to accede to the wishes of the people. Such was the state of things in that district at the

end of 1874; and this is only one of the countless instances in which the people are oppressed by the excessive taxes levied on them by the inexorable and greedy Mandarins. Everywhere the country is groaning under the burden of taxation; industry is repressed by official exactions; the interchange of commodities is rendered impossible to any wide extent by reason of the multiplied levies made in transit; the natural growth of capital is arrested by official interference; and no native, be he ever so well behaved, is secure against extortion, so that it ceases to be a wonder that there should be great rebellions, the wonder, indeed, is, that the dynasty has not been long ago overthrown. The present condition of the country has been well depicted by Mr. G. F. Seward, United States' Consul-General at Shanghai, in a recent despatch to the Secretary of State at Washington. He thus writes:—"I know of no highway in the empire which is in tolerable order. I know of few canals which are not utterly abandoned for any purposes of conservation or improvement. I know of no mines, of all those immensely rich ones possessed by the empire that are worked to any appreciable extent. I know of no manufacturing establishments in which more than the members of a family are engaged. I see no disposition to introduce railroads and telegraphs. I find no adequate grappling with popular superstitions such as those that precipitated the Tientsin massacre, and from time to time threaten the safety of foreigners at that and other points. I find petty officials, here and there, allowed to impose all kinds of extortions on trade. I find the people debarred from opportunities for legitimate enterprise, and actively betaking themselves to opium as a means of dissipating the tedium of existence. I find the directions in which only progress has been made,—for instance, the establishment of arsenals and navy-yards, the employment of foreigners in the Customs, and the education of a few youths in western ways,—subject to the criticism that a lack of confidence in themselves and a fear of foreign arms have been the considerations which have led to these steps."

Turning to matters of a more general character, we have to record that the Chinese Government has contracted its first foreign loan, and thus added a national debt to the dignities of the country. The amount contracted for was only Tls. 2,000,000, which was negotiated by the Viceroy of Fuhkien through the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, and is secured by the hypothecation of portions of the revenues of the Maritime Customs. The loan was

placed on the market in the form of £100 bonds, issued at £95, at an exchange of 5s. 7d. per tael, bearing interest at 8 per cent. per annum. Immediately after it was issued it rose to a slight premium.

At Hongkong, there has been considerable agitation on the part of the merchants, because of a practical blockade of the port by the cruisers of the Hoppo of Canton. For some time past, Chinese gunboats have been cruising about the entrances to the harbour, and overhauling all native craft entering or leaving. At first this was done clandestinely, and repudiated by the authorities when complaint was made, but during the last two or three years it has grown into an organized system of blockade, a steam gunboat, officered by Europeans, being added to the fleet of native gunboats, so that without submitting to be overhauled and paying duties, Chinese traders could not enter or leave the harbour of Hongkong. A special meeting of the Chamber of Commerce was held on the 3rd of August, when it was decided to memorialize H. B. M.'s Government, praying that active measures may be taken to abolish the iniquity.

The year will be marked as the one in which the first railway in China was actively commenced. Sufficient land was bought by foreigners, on which to construct a line from Shanghai to Woosung, and the roadway has been prepared for the laying of the rails. It was hoped to have completed the project by the end of the year, but by some means delay has arisen. It is expected, however, that before the close of 1875, the first railway in this country will be in active operation.

Nothing has yet been done for the dredging of the Woosung Bar, and it has transpired that the Inspector-General of Customs has opposed the measure. In a memorandum to the Chinese Government on the subject, which has found its way into the hands of foreigners, he predicts the silting up of the river Hwang-poo, despite any measures which may be taken to prevent it; consequently the trade of Shanghai is doomed to extinction; Chinkiang is to be the port of distribution of imports; and therefore it would only be a waste of money to dredge the bar,—a hopeless conflict with the silting process going on in the southern outlet of the Yangtsze. Mr. Hart having confounded the names and positions of some of the channels and outlets of the Yangtsze, has fallen into the grievous blunder of supposing that a certain navigable channel is in one position which is really in another; and he

further imagines that the bed of the river between Woosung and the sea is rapidly rising; therefore he concludes that this part of the river is doomed, and accordingly he prophesies the closing of Shanghai. But as the channel, which he predicts will be the only available one for navigation in fifty years, has no existence; and as there is no evidence of the silting up of the river between Woosung and the sea, Mr. Hart's conclusions vanish with his premises. Yet the greatly needed work of dredging the Woosung bar has been further delayed by his most erroneous memorandum, which has unhappily been treated as official by the Foreign Ministers at Peking, and forwarded by them to their respective Governments, without affording the merchants and engineers of Shanghai an opportunity of discussing it, or of exposing the blunders and repelling the inferences it contains.

It is some satisfaction to note that the native press is beginning to make its power felt. Several intances of this have come to the knowledge of foreigners during the year;—notably the case of the Chinese merchants who printed in the *Shun-pao* a petition to the Taotai against the extravagant *lekin* tax. The merchants took this form of action expressly with a view of supporting their position by an appeal to public opinion, and it is worthy of mention as the beginning of a new era, by bringing the public press to oppose the exactions and tyranny of officials.

A Polytechnic Institution and Reading Room for the Chinese has been discussed in Shanghai for the past two or three years, but is now in a fair way of becoming an accomplished fact. Large sums of money have been subscribed, and a suitable site has been secured for the erection of such buildings as are required by the Institution, which aims not only to place a good library within the reach of all who would be glad to avail themselves of it, but also to exhibit such instruments and machinery as may serve to illustrate the sciences and arts of western lands. It is also contemplated to deliver lectures on scientific and other subjects, in the Institution, when arrangements are completed.

Our local branch of the Asiatic Society is able to report that its Museum has been started, and promises very speedily to become the repository of a most valuable collection of specimens of the Natural History of the North of China, and also of many objects illustrative of the arts, products and manufactures of the country; as well as of other objects of interest and worth.

The coasts of China were visited by severe storms during the year. A typhoon which passed over Canton, Hongkong and Macao, September 22nd-23rd, was specially disastrous, it being the most fatal to life and damaging to property which has been known in those districts. Canton suffered least of the three ports, although the force of the typhoon was severely felt there, sinking many of the junks and also the Chinese gunboat on the station. The scene at Hongkong and Macao was indescribable. The morning after the storm revealed sights of desolation unparalleled from such a cause; both towns presented the appearance of having been besieged. The harbours were strewn with wreck, and the bodies of the dead lined the shores. From the official Reports on the damage and loss of life we learn that at Hongkong, "eight hundred and thirteen deaths were registered as resulting from the typhoon. Of these seven hundred and ninety-six were Chinese, the remaining seventeen were Europeans;" but the Registrar-General estimates that "the actual loss of life was thrice the number recorded. Besides the stranding of a great many steamers and ships, two steamers were sunk, eight ships lost, two hundred and thirty-seven junks and sampans stranded,—the number sunk cannot be imagined,—besides great damage to telegraph posts, lamps, trees and personal property." The Surveyor-General's Report states, that "two hundred and seventy-three houses were totally destroyed, seven hundred and forty partially destroyed and requiring to be pulled down—total one thousand and thirteen. The number of houses unroofed or otherwise damaged, was not ascertained but it was roughly estimated that only four per cent. of the houses of Victoria escaped. In other words from four to six thousand dwellings may be said to have suffered more or less." The huge imposing gaol on Stonecutter's Island was a heap of ruins; all the stone jetties and wooden piers were destroyed; and the large wharves were so injured as in each case to require almost entire re-building. "That the Island was not many miles distant from the focus of the cyclone is proved, not only by the intensity of the wind, but by a feature known to exist only within such a focus, namely, the abrupt intervals of calm during the height of the gale. These lulls were instantaneous, often lasting as long as four or five minutes, and alternating with the most violent gusts, proportionately sudden; the conjoint action of the two became as it were that of a battering ram. The lowest point of the barometer was 28.70 at a few minutes after 2 a.m."

Appalling as was the loss of life and property at Hongkong, these were even greater at Macao. "At midnight the inner harbour began to be a scene of destruction, the junks losing their moorings, striking each other, and being smashed to pieces. A Chinese gunboat capsized on the occasion with three Englishmen on board. In the town the roofs of the houses began to move and tiles flew about like hail. Suddenly the wind veered to the East. Then the sea which had been rising gradually, increased to an enormous wave, overleaping its usual limits, and struck in a body with tremendous force the whole course of the Praia Grande. The water rushed into the houses, the quays were destroyed, the large granite stones hurled about, the guns of the batteries dismounted and borne like feathers on the infuriated waves, and junks were smashed against the buildings. In less than an hour the work of destruction was accomplished, every house was invaded by the water and battered down; the spray flew over Government house, and houses to the southern extremity of the Praia, which were reduced to a shapeless heap of stone and brick. The desolation of the town now reached its acmé. The crash of falling houses, the screaming of the victims, people running to and fro in the street pursued by the rushing water, the terrible roar of the wind and of the sea, all this was something awful to hear or see. Suddenly an ominous glare appeared in the heavens. Fires had broken out in different parts of the town and the flames rushed in horizontal streams over the largest squares, devouring the buildings that stood even at great distances in their direction. On this occasion the loss of life was fearful. People had only to choose their death by water, fire, or the shock of falling buildings, but death was everywhere. Many persons who were hidden in the furthest recesses of their houses found themselves suddenly involved by the flames and perished miserably. At last daylight dawned on this tremendous scene. Macao was not to be recognised; the waves sprung like infuriated lions on the smashed buildings and it seemed uncertain if the very ground had not gone down. The man-of-war *Principe Dom Carlos* was carried twelve (?) miles inland and stranded in a rice-field. The crew escaped by a miracle. The gunboat *Camoens* was also carried inland to a great distance and is believed to be a hopeless wreck. The new fort was washed over by the sea and the new guns of 120 lbs. were carried to a great distance. To give an idea of the extent of the loss in native shipping; in the Typa harbour in the beginning of the typhoon

there were six hundred junks, after it only fourteen were found. Corpses strewed the banks everywhere; wrecks were to be found in the most extraordinary locations. The native villages near Macao have been swept away. Typa and Colowan are no more. The official Reports of the Government of Macao put the loss of life in Heang-shan district alone at twenty thousand."

In addition to the great loss of shipping during this and other typhoons on the coasts of China and Japan, the year has been marked by the loss, in various ways, of many large steamers and vessels connected with the China trade. The following are the names of the principal steamers with the dates and locality of their loss. The P. M. S. S. *Relief* struck on a rock in the Obree channel, Inland Sea, Japan, January 19th; the *Wan-loong* overturned in Hongkong harbour, February 13th, when more than a hundred Chinese were drowned; the *Manchu*, laden with coals, from Nagasaki to Shanghai, foundered in a gale on the 17th March; fifty-four of the crew and passengers were drowned. On the 20th of the same month the magnificent steamer *Nil*, of the Messageries Maritimes S.S. Company's line of mail steamers, struck on a rock off Cape Idsu, Japan, and was lost, causing the death of one hundred and forty-two of the passengers and crew. In March also, the *Sunfoo*, of the New Australian Mail Line, struck on Gap Rock, thirty-five miles from Hongkong, and sank. In June the *Laptek* struck on a rock near Keelung, in Formosa, and became a total wreck. The *Canton*, 1215 tons burden, laden with tea, from Foochow to London, struck on the Min Reef, outside Foochow, July 7th, and could not be got off again. The *Singapore*, 1446 tons, belonging to the same Company as the *Canton*, went ashore on the coast of Cape Guardafui, on the 19th of July, when on a voyage from Shanghai to London with a cargo of tea; sixteen lives were lost with the ship. The *Chusan*, a new steamer for the Shanghai Steam Navigation Co. was wrecked at Ardrossan during a gale, on the 20th October; the Captain and seventeen of the crew were drowned. The P. M. S. S. *Japan*, 4351 tons, with mails, general cargo and $400,000 treasure, was burned off Breaker Point on the 17th December; the loss of life is estimated to have been four hundred. Two or three days later the *Mongol* of London, 1463 tons, struck on a rock near the Nine-pins, at the entrance to Hongkong harbour, and sank; seventeen of the crew were drowned.

Among the sailing ships lost during the year we find the names of the following:—The British schooner *City of Niagara*, which foundered near Nagasaki, March 20th; the German barque *Chance* from Newcastle, N.S.W., to Hongkong with coals, which struck on the Vele Rete rock, off Formosa; the British barque *Caroline Hutchings*, wrecked just outside of Takao, Formosa, August 1st; the British barque *Argonaut*, from Swansea to Yokohama with patent-fuel, abandoned on 1st October, 50 miles E. of the South end of Formosa; the Spanish ship *Reima de los Angelis* foundered between Singapore and Hongkong; the *St. François*, sunk in Shanghai harbour by the S. S. *Cawdor Castle;* the *Lucerne*, which struck on the Ariadne rock, at the mouth of the Yangtsze, was stranded on the 27th October, and had to be abandoned; the British barque *Jane*, capsized in a gale, November 13th, between the Pratas and the S.W. end of Formosa; the barque *George Washington* was burned in Shanghai harbour, November 20th; the Siamese barque *Contest* sank off the Shantung Promontory, November 23rd; and the *Horatio* was burned in Shanghai harbour on the 16th December.

The only undertaking of geographical interest during the year was the Burmo-Chinese exploring expedition, under the command of Col. Horace Brown, which left Rangoon December 12th for the purpose of exploring the Western Bhamo route to China. The expedition was accompanied by Mr. C. F. R. Allen and Mr. Ney Elias, the latter holds the gold medal of the Geographical Society for his explorations in China. In pursuance of the same object Mr. A. R. Margary, of the British Consular Service in China, left Shanghai at an earlier date, to join the expedition on the Burman frontier, travelling on the Yangtsze and across country to Momein, where he hoped to meet Col. Brown, and conduct the expedition to Shanghai. The Chinese Government has hitherto uniformly obstructed the admission of Europeans into the empire from the western frontier; and in this policy the king of Burmah has shared. Sladen's expedition in 1869 was completely frustrated by the combined efforts of these exclusive Governments. It remains to have to record the success or failure of this new endeavour to open up a trade route between India, Burmah and Western China.

The Transit of Venus across the Sun's disc on the 8th-9th of December was an event long looked forward to by Astronomers. Its great importance to the interests of science led the Russian Government and the several Governments of the West, to co-

operate in sending expeditions to all the most desirable places for observing the phenomenon. Japan, the North of China, and Siberia were among the favourable places for locating stations in the northern hemisphere; and expeditions were sent to these countries by the United States, Mexico, France, Germany and Russia. Three parties were stationed in Japan, viz:—one at Yokohama,—a Mexican; two at Nagasaki,—an American, under Professor Davidson, Superintendent of the Pacific section of the United States' Coast Survey,—and a French, under Professor Janssen, of the Paris Observatory. The French expedition in Japan had also a branch at Hiogo. In China, at Chefoo was a German party, under Dr. Adolf, and Dr. Valentiner of the Leyden Observatory, whose services were offered by the Dutch to the German Government; at Peking two parties were located,—a French under Mons. G. Fleuriais, Hydrographer to the French Navy,—and an American, under Professor James C. Watson, of the University of Michigan, U.S. To the latter party was attached Professor Charles A. Young, of Dartmouth College, U.S., the distinguished spectroscopist, well known for his discoveries in relation to the physical constitution of the sun. At Vladivostock there was an American party, under Professor Asaph Hall, of the Naval Observatory, Washington, —as well as a Russian party. The Russian Government had a series of stations stretching from Vladivostock right across Siberia.

It would have been very remarkable had the atmospheric conditions at all these stations been wholly favourable, yet the success has been fully as great as expected. At Yokohama the transit was observed under the best possible conditions, so that the Mexican expedition met with complete success. At Hiogo also the day was bright and the sky clear, so that the observations were successfully made at that station. At Nagasaki, the sky was overcast with clouds, but these happily broke, affording a slight interval of sunshine just at the time of the first and second contacts, which were observed with all the precision expected. Professor Davidson also was enabled to obtain excellent micrometric measurements of cusp and distances of limbs, etc. Nothwithstanding the general cloudiness of the day the intervals of brightness enabled the observers to take a number of very good photographs, and considering the unpropitious weather both expeditions were fairly successful. At Chefoo, the Astronomers were favoured with a beautiful day for their observations, so that they met with complete success. In connection with their observation of the transit, the party also

measured the difference of longitude between their station at Chefoo and the station of the American party at Nagasaki, by means of chronometric expeditions between the two places carried on by a German man-of-war commissioned for the purpose. At Peking, the observations were successfully made at the French and American observatories, although the sun was at intervals obscured. The four important periods of contact were accurately observed, and a great many photographs were taken, but the spectroscopic observations of Professor Young, from which much was hoped, were so far interfered with by the clouds as to be useless. While at Peking, Professor Watson discovered a new asteroid, making a total of twenty discovered by himself. At Vladivostock, the day was cloudy, but at the time of the first and second contacts the field was clear and the results perfectly satisfactory. At the time of the third contact a cloud intervened and the observation was lost. Very complete arrangements had been made at Shanghai by Dr. L. S. Little and E. C. Taintor, Esq. for observing the transit and securing photographs of it, but unhappily the sky was obscured by clouds which prevented the planet from being seen, except for a very few seconds two or three times near noon.

In the autumn of the year an Observatory was added to the Roman Catholic Institutions at Si-ka-wei, which promises to render important contributions to Meteorological, and very soon to Astronomical science.

Turning to Japan, we have to record, as the chief incident in Japanese relations with other countries, the Formosan trouble, which almost resulted in war with China. A sketch of this has already been given so we need not here recapitulate the circumstances. There is very little doubt that the internal affairs of Japan made it expedient for her to send an armed force to Formosa. The country in the early part of the year was in a condition of the greatest excitement. "When the great Daimios surrendered their feudal power into the hands of the Mikado and retired to the position of private nobles, the Government charged itself with annuities to them, and pensions to the Samourai, who had hitherto been depending on their lords. The estimated amount of these pensions for 1873 was $12,613,816, and the Government lately conceived a scheme for ridding the State of this enormous liability by capitalising the annuities and by paying them off with money raised by loan in Europe. The proposed terms were, that hereditary incomes should be extinguished by the payment of six years, and life incomes by the payment of four years, of their annual amount."

It is no wonder that such a proposal should have aroused the strongest feelings of antagonism to the Government, which found expression in a most formidable rising in the provinces of Hizen and Chikuzen. Besides, the people were enraged at the Government on account of the attitude it assumed towards Corea. Subsequent to the repulse of the French and Americans the Coreans refused to acknowledge their tributariship to Japan, and expressed their decision in insolent terms. This begat a strong desire for war with Corea. The inhabitants of Kiushiu were foremost in the desire to punish the Coreans for their insolence. Soyeshima, a Samourai of Hizen, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, resigned because the Government would not declare war. Other officers resigned important posts for the same reason. Added to these grievances was the irritation consequent upon the great changes which had everywhere been made, and the incessant interference with the habits and customs of the people, so that it was no wonder they rose in revolt. The insurrection was, however, very speedily subdued. The tidings being at once conveyed to Yeddo by telegraph, troops were immediately dispatched to the disaffected provinces, and soon succeeded in restoring quietness and peace. It is not surprising that the Government, knowing the warlike feeling which existed, should have given way to the desire to avenge the shipwrecked Loochooans, and entertained the project of colonising the eastern half of Formosa. This afforded an outlet for the general excitement; and the success which followed the firmness of spirit displayed towards China did very much to elevate the Government in the eyes of the people, and soften the feelings of dislike cherished by the Samourai. Now that quietness has been restored the Government is gaining strength and solidity. To conclude in the words of the *North-China Herald*:—"There seems no doubt that much of the disaffection which existed in the empire at the time of the Saga outbreak, has since disappeared, and it may be hoped that the existing uneasiness will gradually subside as things shake into their new places. The changes which have been effected in Japan in so short a time are sufficiently astounding. To expect that all these should happen without causing uneasiness and dissatisfaction would be to expect preternatural wisdom in the rulers and preternatural resignation in the governed. There is ample room for hope that with patience on both sides, existing evils will be remedied, and scope given to the new institutions which have been so suddenly adopted. That the changes have

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been too rapid few will question. That many of the changes have been unwise, savouring rather of imitation than emulation admits of equally little doubt. What has surprised foreigners is, that those changes have been so tacitly acquiesced in by the people. But this very acquiescence gives assurance that a nation which had worked out a high civilization of its own will eventually adapt itself intelligently to the new order which it is now endeavouring to copy. Progress has been made in the construction of railways and in extending the means of education. A desire for representative institutions seems to be gathering strength, and is likely soon to find expression. The attempts which have been previously made in this direction failed; and it was hardly likely that a Model Parliamentary Government could be suddenly established in the place of a strong feudal system. It took centuries in Europe to effect the change; that Japan should experience difficulty in trying to make the change in a decade is scarcely surprising."

Before concluding our review, it may not be out of place briefly to refer to the great changes which have been made in the kingdom of Corea. Sources of accurate information are very limited and such information as is accessible, is of a hearsay rather than documentary character. There is no doubt, however, that there has been a revolution in the country, begun in November 1873, which has resulted in the overthrow of the Regent, and the assumption of power by the King—a young man about eighteen or nineteen years of age, the son of a prince named Ni, and son only by adoption of the widowed Queen, who was left childless. The father of this young King elect, soon succeeded in wresting the Regency from the Queen whose right it was, and from 1864 has ruled over the country as he willed. His energy and tact in successfully resisting the efforts of the French and American expeditions only increased the fear with which the people regarded him, and gave him occasion to tyrannize over them, which he did, mainly by all kinds of oppressive taxation, the arbitrary appointment to office and dignity, and the arrogation to himself of the power of life and death. It was in the exercise of the last named that he caused the Christian converts to be ruthlessly massacred. After the oppression and tyranny of the Regent had become wholly unbearable a plan was devised, and successfully carried out, by which he was deposed and the young king enthroned. It is stated, however, that a relation of his wife and also a nephew of his mother have arrogated to themselves the Government; that they sell as

they please public offices and dignities; and distribute literary degrees as they think fit. All hopes of progress and of the opening up of the country, as the outcome of the revolution have proved futile, and the last state of the country is as bad as, if not worse than the first.

## ARTICLE VIII.

### A CLASSIFIED INDEX TO THE ARTICLES PRINTED IN THE JOURNAL OF THE NORTH-CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE SOCIETY TO THE 31ST OF DECEMBER, 1874.

### I.—JURISPRUDENCE.


i 1. On the Banishment of Criminals in China, by D. J. Macgowan, M.D. Read, September 21st, 1858. No. III, Art. III, p. 293.

ii 2. Traces of the *Judicium Dei*, or Ordeal in Chinese Law. Contributed by W. G. Stronach, Esq. N. S. No. II, December, 1865, p. 176.


### II.—ARTS AND SCIENCES.

#### *A*—PHYSICS.


iii 1. On Cyclones, or the Law of Storms. A Paper by Sir F. W. Nicolson, Bart., Capt. of H. M. S. *Pique*. Read, October 16th, 1857. No. I, Art. II, p. 17.

iv 2. Memorandum on the present state of some of the Magnetic Elements in China and places adjacent, by Capt. C. F. A. Shadwell, C.B., H. M. S. *Highflyer*. Read, January 18th, 1859. No. II, May, 1859, Art. VII, p. 222.

v 3. Supplemental Memorandum on the present state of the Magnetic Elements in China and places adjacent, being observations made during the year 1859, by Capt. Shadwell, R.N., C.B. late of H. M. S. *Highflyer*. Vol. II, No. I, September, 1860, Art. VII, p. 95.

vi 4. Thermometrical observations taken during a passage from Nagasaki to Shanghai, by Capt. J. Fedorovitch, of the Russian Steam-ship *Strelok*. No. II, May, 1859, Art. X, p. 247.

vii 5. Winds and Weather at Chefoo, during seven months of the year 1859, by Mr. J. H. Hendry, Chief officer of the *Swallow*. Vol. II, No. I, September, 1860, Art. IX, p. 97.

viii 6. On the Cosmical Phenomena observed in the neighbourhood of Shanghai, during the past thirteen centuries, by D. J. Macgowan, Esq., M.D. Read, December 23rd, 1858. Vol. II, No. I, September, 1860, Art. III, p 45.

ix 7. Notes on some of the physical causes which modify climate, by James Henderson, M.D. Read, May 21st, 1861. N. S. No. I, December, 1864, Art. II, p. 142.

x 8. Barometric and Thermometric Observations taken during the month of September 1864, with a view to determining the height of the Lew Shan, by Messrs. Hollingworth and Piry of H. I. M.'s Customs, Kiukiang. N. S. No. I, December, 1864, p. 143.

xi 9. Notes on the opinions of the Chinese with regard to eclipses, by A. Wylie. Read, October 13th, 1866. N. S. No. III, December, 1866, Art. IV*a*, p. 71.

xii 10. Eclipses recorded in Chinese works, by A. Wylie. N. S. No. IV, December, 1867, Art. VII, p. 87.

xiii 11. Meteorological Observations for 1872. N. S. No. VII, 1871 & 1872, p. 251.

### *B*—Natural History.

(*Vide also* Formosa *and* Japan.)

xiv 1. The small Chinese Lark, by Robert Swinhoe, Esq. Read, July 19th, 1859. No. III, December, 1859, Art. II, p. 287.

xv 2. On some wild Silkworms of China, by D. B. McCartee, A.M., M.D. Read, April 13th, 1866. N. S. No. III, December, 1866, Art. V, p. 75.

xvi 3. Entomology of Shanghai, by W. B. Pryer, Esq. N. S. No. IV, December, 1867, Art. V, p. 74.

xvii 4. Chinese notions about Pigeons and Doves, by T. Watters, Esq. N. S. No. IV, December, 1867, Art. XI, p. 225.

xviii 5. Quelques renseignements sur l'histoire naturelle de la Chine Septentrionale et Occidentale, par le Père Armand David, Missionnaire Lazariste. Lettre à M. —— à Shanghai. Pékin, 12 Août, 1872. N. S. No. VII, 1871 & 1872, Art. X, p. 205.

*C*—Botany.

xix 1. Cotton in China, by D. B. Robertson. Read, July 19th, 1859. No. III, Art. IV, p. 302.

xx 2. Sorgo, or Northern Chinese Sugar-Cane, by Varnum D. Collins. N. S. No. II, December, 1865, Art. V, p. 85.

xxi 3. Respecting China Grass, by Robert Jarvie, Esq. N. S. No. II, December, 1865, p. 171.

xxii 4. Carte Agricole générale de l'Empire Chinois.—Texte Préface, Légende et Répertoire, par Monsieur G. Eug. Simon, Consul de France à Ningpo. N. S. No. IV, December, 1867, Art. X, p. 209.

*D*—Geology.

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