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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY CHINA
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THE SALT ADMINISTRATION OF SSŬCH'UAN.

By ARTHUR VON ROSTHORN.

A great deal has been written on the subject of Salt in China, and in this part of the Empire more especially travellers have not tired of studying and describing the manner of boring the salt-wells, of evaporating the brine, etc. etc., so that little that is new could now be added to our knowledge.

The system of distribution, on the other hand, and the administration of the gabelle, are not so well understood, and where figures have been given, these seem to have been little more than guesses. It is therefore with a view to supplying more accurate information on these points that the following pages are submitted. They are based almost exclusively on the Ssŭch'uan *Yen-fa-chih* (四川鹽法志), a voluminous government publication, compiled under the auspices of that distinguished Viceroy Ting Pao-chên (丁寶楨), which received the Imperial imprimatur in 1882. I know of no statistical work in this country so handsomely got up, so well illustrated, and at the same time so exhaustive, and it affords me pleasure to transmit a copy of it for the library of the Society. It will furnish abundant material to anyone wishing to go more fully into the subject, and will also, I hope, do away with the necessity of entering into many details in the present sketch.

History.

In a paper on the Early History of the Salt Monopoly of China, contributed to this Journal in 1887, Dr. Hirth has collected the earlier references to our subject, and shown that, in other parts of the Empire, the taxation of salt commenced as early as the 7th century B.C. It was different in Ssŭch'uan. This country continued in primitive savagery until long afterwards. It was covered with forest and jungle, haunted by the bear and the tiger, the wild ox and the rhinoceros, and inhabited by savage tribes which were then, as many of their descendants are even now, ignorant of the luxury of a salted meal. And it was not until the Ch'un-ch'iu period, when the rising state of Ch'in (秦) had annexed Pa (巴) and Shu (蜀)—embracing the Northern half of our province—that the territory was gradually peopled by Chinese settlers who brought with them their civilising influence. The first mention of salt as an indigenous product, contained in the *Hua-yang-kuo-chih* (華陽國志), refers to the reign of Hsiao Wên-wang (孝文王, B.C. 249), and ascribes the opening of a salt-well in the Kuang-tu (廣都, South of the present Ch'êng-tu) district to Li Ping (李冰), governor of Shu, who seems to have done more than anyone else to develop the resources of the province, and is to this day worshipped as its special patron saint (川主).

During the Han dynasty the industry made rapid progress, and we read of an early law forbidding the clandestine manufacture of salt under the penalty of confiscating the implements, besides cutting off the left big toe of every offender. It appears that the government made a monopoly of the evaporating pans and ovens, and the people who made use of these

paid in return a certain proportion of the yield. This is the origin and earliest form of the well-tax.

During the reign of Wu-ti (武帝, B.C. 140 to 86) a fierce war took place in council over the taxation of salt, in which the famous Kung-sun Hung (公孫宏, MAYERS, 287) took a leading part. The party advocating continued taxation finally carried the day, but the collection of the tax during that and the following dynasties remained irregular and spasmodic.

In the T'ang dynasty the monopoly of pans and ovens was given up,—manufacturers provided these for themselves; but a well-tax (井課) was levied instead, which was regulated by the annual output. The wells numbered 641, and the manufactured article was allowed free circulation. The revenue was under the control of the three *hsün-yuan-kuan* (巡院官)—corresponding to the present *fên-hsün-tao* (分巡道)—who were responsible for it to the Tu-chih-shih (度支使) or minister of finance.

Early in the Sung dynasty a special high officer styled *Ch'a-yen chih-chih shih* (茶鹽制置使) was created for the administration of the tea and salt trades, and in 1001 the province was first divided into the four circuits (路) of I-chou (益州, Ch'êng-tu), Sz'ŭ-chou (梓州, T'ung-ch'uan), Li-chou (利州, Pao-ning) and K'ui-chou (夔州)—each under a *Chuan-yün-shih* (轉運使) or superintendent of trade—which, being collectively known as the *Ssŭ-ch'uan-lu* (四川路), gave the province its present name.

We now meet for the first time with the term *yin* (引), meaning a permit or pass, so conspicuous in all subsequent codes of regulations. In 992 [Shun-hua, 3], the country being engaged in war on the Northern frontier, and money being scarce, supplies to the army were paid for by orders (*yin*) for surplus salt from the great salt districts in the Eastern provinces. This irregular procedure soon became the approved system of taxation, and as such it was introduced in

Ssŭch'uan in 1132 [Shao-hsing, 2]. On payment of the salt duty (鹽稅) merchants received permits for the quantities they required, and with these proceeded to the salt districts to make their purchases. The manufacture took place under the supervision of officers called *chien* (監), and a well-tax (井課) was levied as before. Here then we have two distinct taxes (課稅) on the same article, one collected from the producer, the other from the trade; but there was as yet no other restriction to the movements of the produce.

This system continued with but little alteration through the Yuan dynasty. In 1230 however the *yin* was fixed at 400 catties, and henceforward we have fairly accurate statistics. In 1285 the production is given at 10,451 *yin* or peculs 41,804; in 1380 it had increased to 28,910 *yin* or peculs 115,640.

During the Ming dynasty the control became much stricter, and a complicated official apparatus was created for the purpose. At first a *hsün-yen yü-shih* (巡鹽御史) was deputed to every salt-producing province, and in 1372 a superintendent-general of the tea and salt trades (茶鹽都轉運使) was appointed to Ssŭch'uan with head-quarters at Ch'êng-tu. During Hung-wu [1368 to 1399] permits were issued to the extent of peculs 101,274 per annum, while the well-tax was calculated on an outturn of peculs 160,599. During Hung-chih [1488 to 1506] the permits had increased to peculs 201,760. In 1558 finally, the well-tax was regulated according to the number of *yin* issued, and the figures of the two departments thus harmonised. The production for the same year was returned at 89,263 *yin* or peculs 357,052.

Since the accession of the Manchu dynasty [1644] the supreme control of the gabelle has been vested in the Governor-General. Until 1748, the provinces of Shânhsi and Ssŭch'uan had one Governor-General between them. In that year, however, a viceregal post was created in Ssŭch'uan, and with

it the office of Governor (巡撫), as well as the supreme control of the salt administration, were united (兼鹽政). In 1674 a Grain Intendent (督糧道) had been appointed to the province, who had charge of the Salt-tax Department under the Governor-General, but the post was again abolished in 1686, and has not been revived since. The duties connected with the salt administration were then transferred to the provincial Judge (臬司), who had also control of the government mail service; but he was again relieved of these extra functions by the creation in 1779 of an additional intendency (驛鹽道). In 1779 finally a special Commissioner for the tea and salt administration (鹽茶道) was appointed, the duties connected with the government mail service reverting to the Chief Judge, and this arrangement has continued ever since.

外交部藏書

The state of anarchy and rebellion into which the West of China was thrown towards the end of the last, and in the beginning of the present dynasty, the butcheries and devastation caused first by Chang Hsien-chung (張獻宗) and his army of freebooters, and subsequently by Wu San-kui (吳三桂) and his followers, and no less by the reconquest and merciless suppression at the hands of the Imperialist forces, had left this province in a state of utter exhaustion and ruin. The salt industry and trade had come to a complete standstill, and many years were required ere the country was repeopled by immigration from the East, industrial enterprises were revived and trade routes reopened. It was not until the reign of Yung-chêng that the attempt was made to resuscitate the salt revenue, and when it was made, it was met by a most determined opposition. The tax, though amounting to Taels 42,997 only, was repudiated on the plea that, owing to depopulation, there was no market for the produce, and the protest was supported by the body of officials who drew great profit from the unsettled state of

the administration. A new census was therefore ordered to be made, and it was proposed that the supply of salt should be calculated on the basis of a daily consumption of 5 mace weight per head. After much delay the local resistance was finally overcome by the threat of adopting the last census of the Ming dynasty, and by the year 1732 the government was at last enabled to introduce the new system, which has since been described as *Kuan-tu shang-hsiao* (官督商銷) and which is briefly as follows:—

Of the 135 districts into which the province was divided, 40 were salt producing, 99 consuming only. The salt-wells numbered 6,116, and the annual production was returned at peculs 922,778. The *yin* had been fixed in 1651 in such a manner that a distinction was made between River permits (水引) for salt shipped by river, and Land permits (陸引) for salt carried overland. The former covered 50 packages, the latter 4. The package was nominally 1 pecul net, but 15 per cent. were allowed for loss in transit. Deducting this allowance from the gross production, there remained a net supply of peculs 802,416, which was taxed at the rate of Taels 0.0681, per pecul, making the revenue thereon Taels 54,644. For this amount permits were henceforth issued by the Board of Revenue, and the Governor-General became personally responsible for its collection. The permits were distributed among the districts according to fixed allotment (額引) based on the census, and the magistrate of each district, while inviting merchants to undertake the conveyance and sale of the salt, was directly charged with the supervision of the trade and the collection of the salt-tax.

Provision having been made for increasing the supply of any district when needed, the revenue improved considerably during the period of Ch'ien-lung, but received several checks during the present century. At first the system described worked fairly well, but its shortcomings were evolved in due

course of time (法久弊生). Heavy guarantees being taken from merchants engaging in the salt trade, and the price of salt being determined by official authority, substantial firms were not invariably found willing to deal with an article so closely controlled. In salt-producing districts more especially the trade was threatened with loss on account of the competition created by the private sale of so-called surplus salt (餘鹽), that is, salt produced in excess of the fixed supply, and which was therefore not covered by permit, but was allowed to be retailed in small quantities. In other places again, where the sale was more lucrative, there was indeed no lack of applicants, but the privilege, once obtained, was transmitted from generation to generation, the permits loaned to irresponsible speculators who, aided and abetted by corrupt officials, requisitioned the supplies from the cheapest sources and conveyed them to the best markets without discrimination or regard to their proper destinations. In other words, though the fiction of doling out in paternal fashion this necessary of life was kept up, the trade, like a river propelled by its own gravity, sought out its own natural channel. The result was in every case the same—an accumulation of unclaimed permits and a consequent deficit in the revenue. The territorial officials of the districts concerned, being held personally responsible for the amounts outstanding, had only one remedy to fall back upon. The salt-tax was added to, and collected simultaneously with, the poll-tax (歸丁), the permits being withheld, and the salt supply made dependent on the surplus production of the nearest salt districts. In 1850 the districts supplied in this manner numbered 31, and were subsequently added to to the number of 42.

We now come to the last important change in the salt administration of Ssŭch'uan. The system hitherto in force was completely disorganised when, during Hsien-fêng, Hupei and Hunan, ordinarily supplied with Huai salt, were cut off from

the maritime provinces by the "T'ai-p'ing" rebellion. Various proposals were made by the governments of Hu-kuang and Ssŭ-ch'uan for arranging a *modus operandi* for the temporary supply of the saltless provinces, but each scheme proposed fell through in turn. In the meantime salt had reached famine prices in Hu-kuang, and it became impossible to prevent an illegitimate trade springing up and rapidly assuming alarming dimensions. Salt works were pushed, manufacture was hastened, and the salt shipped down river as fast as it could be turned out. Rules and regulations were forgotten or ignored, and whole fleets of salt-junks dropped down the gorges, manned and armed as if for piratical expeditions or the encounter of an enemy. In 1854 therefore a likin office was established at Ich'ang, where a duty of 1½ *li* or 2½ cash was levied per catty. In the following year a second office, branch of the last, was opened at Sha-shih, where the salt was mostly disposed of, and a duty of 4½ cash per catty levied from the purchaser. 70,000 to 80,000 strings of cash were collected every month. In 1861 the duty at Sha-shih was increased by 2 cash, and at Ich'ang by 1 cash, but at the latter place, where payment was nominally in silver, 5 cash were actually charged instead of 3½ per catty. In 1864, river communication having been restored, the Huai provinces reasserted their right to the supply of Hu-kuang. With a view therefore to repressing the importation of salt from Ssŭch'uan, the salt-tax was further augmented by 3 cash at Sha-shih, and by 2 cash at Ich'ang, half the proceeds being surrendered to the Hupei treasury, half given up to the Chiang-nan government. 1 cash being also taken at Ich'ang, and ½ cash at Sha-shih for barrier expenses, the import duty amounted in all to 18 cash per catty. In spite of this heavy taxation the Ssŭch'uan produce could not for many years be driven out of the market, owing, it is said, to its very superior quality. When the duty had reached its highest level, it was found that Sha-shih

was largely evaded by consignments not actually destined for consumption there, and in 1867 the two offices were therefore amalgamated, duty being charged at Ich'ang at the rate of 18 cash per catty, and the salt allowed free circulation after the one payment. A check barrier was also established at Pa-tung Hsien (巴東縣) and examination barriers at P'ing-shan-pa (平善壩), and, during high water, at T'un-chia-t'o (屯甲沱), all above Ich'ang. The receipts amounted to about 2 million strings per annum, and the 1½ cash paid for barrier expenses alone realised some 200,000 strings, barely half of which could be expended.

Efforts had been made in the meantime on the Ssŭch'uan side also to either suppress a traffic which threatened to drain off a prime source of revenue, or to share in its profits. In 1854, therefore, the price of salt ruling very high, the exporters of salt were prevailed upon to agree to a tax, payable at place of production, of 1 *li* per catty or Taels 8 per river permit, Taels 2.75 of which were borne by the producer, and Taels 5.25 by the merchant. Exempt from this tax were the districts in which the salt-tax was absorbed in the poll-tax, and one or two other districts. Special offices were established in the most important manufacturing centres, and deputies or local officials entrusted with the superintendence in others. In the following year the duty on surplus salt exported was raised to 4 cash a catty, while salt covered by permits continued to pay at the old rate.

In 1855 the Salt Office of K'ui-chou-fu was established, and duty was here charged on surplus salt exported to Hupei at the rate of Taels 0.13 per pecul. In order to bring the salt of Ta-ning-hsien (below K'ui-fu) within the radius of taxation, a second office was opened at K'ung-wang-t'o (空望沱) in the Wu-shan district. The collection of the two stations during the first years of their existence was about Taels 120,000 per annum.

In 1860 the Salt Office of Chungking was opened, and barriers were established at Hsiang-kuo-ssŭ (香國寺) on the tributary, 10 *li* above Chungking, and at T'ang-chia-t'o (唐家沱) on the main river, 25 *li* below the city. The tariff was the same as at present [*see below*].

The three offices together collected about Taels 1,100,000 in the year, 5 per cent. being retained by each office for local expenditure. This handsome revenue, however, did not last long, and when the river communication with the Eastern provinces was restored, it dwindled away, the explanation given being that exportations of salt to Hu-kuang had diminished or ceased. Yet, seeing that the Ich'ang office continued flourishing till long afterwards, we must seek the true solution once more in the trite Chinese saying 法久弊生.

It was high time for a reform to be made. While the exportation to Hu-kuang was so profitable a business that the heavy taxation by which it was sought to check it, had but little effect, the permits for home consumption remained unapplied for or were misappropriated. Nor was Ssŭch'uan spared the internal troubles which shook the very foundations of the Empire during the 5th decade. Refugees of the "T'ai-p'ing" rebellion overran the South of the province under Shih Ta-k'ai (石達開), gangs of disbanded opium smugglers plundered Central Ssŭch'uan under Li Tuan-ta-ta (李短搭搭) and others, and a general rising of the Miaotzŭ disturbed the peace of Yünnan and Kui-chou. Nowhere indeed was the administration so completely disorganised as in the last two provinces, for which over 80,000 permits remained on hand, and duties amounting to over a million were outstanding. A thorough reform was at last undertaken in 1877 by the then Viceroy Ting Pao-chên, conjointly with the expectant Taot'ai T'ang Chün (唐炯), a very able official, afterwards *fu-t'ai* of Yünnan, who lost his high reputation, as many another was won, undeservedly, during the last French war, and who,

after years of disgrace, was finally appointed to the administration of government mines in Yünnan, where he still officiates.

The system inaugurated in 1877 is called the government transport system (*kuan-yün* 官運, or more fully *kuan-yün shang-hsiao* 官運官銷). The principle on which it is based is this: while leaving both the production and ultimate sale to private enterprise, the government, in order to insure the distribution in every direction, undertakes the conveyance. It purchases the salt at the wells, transports it to destination, or to central depôts from which the districts supplied by them can be conveniently reached, and there sells it to the trade at a figure which includes all charges for prime cost, transport, duty, etc. Permission was first granted to give the system a trial in Kui-chou, and, on its being found entirely successful, it was extended to Yünnan, to the 8 districts of Hupei drawing salt from Ssŭch'uan, and to 33 districts of the province itself.

We see that there are actually three different systems working side by side in this province. The first, *kuan-tu shang-hsiao*, which may be described as the allotment system, has been tried for a century and a-half, and has failed to give satisfaction. The second system, the incorporation of the salt-tax in the poll-tax (*kui-ting*), the general adoption of which has at one time been warmly advocated, has dangers too obvious to detail. It would mean simply the increase of a general tax for the benefit of one particular trade, which benefit would tend to stimulate exportation at the expense of the local supply. The third system, that of government transport (*kuan-yün shang-hsiao*) is a compromise, and, if honestly carried out, is beyond doubt the one which satisfies best the requirements of both the revenue and the public. It is also, if I am not mistaken, the one which is destined eventually to supersede every other. Although it resembles somewhat and approaches to a certain extent our idea of a state monopoly,

I may now say that to speak of "the Salt Monopoly of China" without qualification is, so far as this part of the Empire is concerned, somewhat misleading, since the government occupies itself in nowise with either the manufacture or the ultimate sale of the product. Among the various schemes proposed at different times we find indeed one called *kuan-yün kuan-hsiao* (官運官銷) which would entirely realise our definition of a state monopoly, but it was thrown out on the very ground that it deprived an important branch of trade of its legitimate interest (奪商利).

Statistics.

Production.—At present (1882) there are 40 districts in Ssŭch'uan producing salt in greater or less quantity. The salt-wells number 8,830; the "fire-wells" 10; the ovens 1,484; the evaporating pans 5,527; and the "hot-water pans" 238.

The principal manufacturing centres are known as:—

Fu-hsing-ch'ang ...	Hsi-ch'ung	49
	Nan-pu	436
Hua-ch'ih-ch'ang ...	Shê-hung	2,999
	P'êng-ch'i	1,261
Fu-yi-ch'ang ...	Fu-shun	382
	Jung	23
Yü-nan-ch'ang ...	Yün-yang	133
	Ta-ning	1
Yung-t'ung-ch'ang ...	Ch'ien-wei	1,195
	Lo-shan	438

The regular supply, for which permits are issued, and the distribution of which is regulated by definite rules, is nominally peculs 2,061,816, actually peculs 2,371,088 and more. This is called *yin yen* (引鹽) in contradistinction to the *yü yen* (餘鹽) or surplus salt, which is subject only to likin charges

en route to destination. The latter, being the variable factor in the annual production, cannot be ascertained with certainty.

Regular Supply.—Permits.—For the regular supply the permits are annually issued by the Board of Revenue, and transmitted to the Governor-General as the responsible head of the Salt Administration. The permits are distinguished as regular permits (額引) and reserve permits (餘引). The latter, to the number of 5,000, are retained by the Governor-General as a reserve stock, to be drawn on in the event of any district applying for an increased allotment. The regular permits are divided into River permits (水引), for shipment by junk, and Land permits (陸引), for overland carriage. The former cover 50 packages, the latter 4 packages each. The package (包) is nominally 1 pecul net, to which an allowance of 15 per cent. is added for loss in transit. The number of permits is as follows :—

River permits	30,178	@	peculs 50	= peculs	1,508,900
Land „	138,229	„	„ 4	= „	552,916
				„	2,061,816
			plus 15 per cent	„	309,272
				Peculs	2,371,088

[In reality a somewhat larger allowance is made for waste. Cake salt (巴鹽) generally weighs peculs 1.60, granular salt (花鹽) peculs 2 per *pao*, inclusive of 20 catties tare. As it is not ascertained in what proportion either variety stands to the total production, the exact figures for the latter are beyond computation.]

The regular permits, impressed with the Governor-General's seal, are divided between the Salt Commissioner (鹽茶道) and the Government Transport Office (官運總局) as follows :—

Salt Commissioner.

River permits	10,528 =	peculs	526,400	peculs 855,132
Land „	82,183 =	„	328,732	

Government Transport Office.

River permits	19,650 =	peculs	982,500	„ 1,206,684
Land „	56,046 =	„	224,184	

Peculs 2,061,816

Distribution.—Ssŭch'uan supplies actually itself with 12 *fu*, 6 *chihli-t'ing*, 8 *chihli-chou*, and 137 *hsien*; 8 districts of Hupei, *viz.* Ho-fêng, Ch'ang-lo, Ên-shih, Hsüan-ên, Li-ch'uan, Chien-shih, Hsien-fêng, and Lai-fêng; 13 *fu*, 3 *t'ing*, and 1 *chou*, of Kui-chou, *i.e.* all Kui-chou with the exception of Li-p'ing-fu supplied from the Liang-kuang provinces; and 2 *fu* and 1 *chou* of Yünnan, *viz.* Tung-ch'uan, Chao-t'ung and Chên-hsiung. The regular supply of these provinces is as follows:—

Ssŭch'uan.

River permits	18,294 =	peculs	914,700	peculs 1,347,584
Land „	108,221 =	„	432,884	

Hupei.

River permits	1,199 =	peculs	59,950	„ 78,810
Land „	4,715 =	„	18,860	

Kui-chou.

River permits	10,685 =	peculs	534,250	„ 534,806
Land „	139 =	„	556	

Yünnan.

Land permits	25,154 =	„	100,616

Peculs 2,061,816

The permits for Ssŭch'uan and Hupei are called *chi-yin* (計引); those for Kui-chou and Yünnan are known as *pien-yin* (邊引).

Administration.—Salt Commissioner.—104 out of the 137 districts of Ssŭch'uan are under the control, for salt-tax purposes, of the Salt Commissioner. The system of administration is mainly the same as inaugurated in 1732. In 42 districts, however, mostly in the North of the province, the salt-tax is collected simultaneously with the poll-tax (歸丁), now amalgamated with the land tax (地丁). The permits are retained by the Salt Commissioner, and the districts concerned depend for their supply on the surplus salt purchasable in small quantities at the nearest salt-wells. In the remaining 62 districts the permits are handed to the territorial officials according to fixed allotment, and these act as collectors (經徵) of the salt-tax. They again distribute them among a number of resident firms (坐商), who have obtained the privilege against heavy guarantees. And in their turn these merchants invite other companies (行商) to contract for the conveyance of the produce to destination. On arrival there a statement of original cost, transport expenses, etc. is submitted to the magistrate, who proceeds to collect the charges due and, adding 4 cash per catty for the merchants' profit, fixes the price of salt accordingly by proclamation. At the end of the year the permits, together with the dues collected, are surrendered to the Salt Commissioner, who forwards them to the provincial capital with his return. The permits are eventually returned to Peking, and the revenue is either remitted or otherwise accounted for.

Government Transport Office.—The head office of the Government Salt Transport is at Lu-chou, and is under the direction of a general manager (總辦) of the rank of

hou-pu tao. The *kuan-yün chü* supplies all Yünnan and Kui-chou, within the limits indicated—33 districts of Ssŭ-ch'uan, chiefly riverine districts and districts bordering on the Southern provinces (近邊), and the 8 districts of Western Hupei.

The government purchases the salt at the wells, and branch offices are established for that purpose in the principal manufacturing centres. These are called *ch'ang-chü* (廠局) and are six in number, *viz.* :—

(*a*) Ch'ien-ch'ang fên-chü at Wut'ung-ch'iao, Ch'ien-wei.
(*b*) Fu-ch'ang fên-chü at Tzŭ-lin-ching, Fu-shun.
(*c*) Shê-ch'ang fên-chü at Yang-t'ao-ch'i, Shê-hung.
(*d*) Yün-ch'ang fên-chü at Yü-nan-ch'ang, Yün-yang.
(*e*) Ning-ch'ang fên-chü at Ta-ning-ch'ang, Ta-ning.
(*f*) Yu-ch'ang fên-chü at Yu-shan-chên, P'êng-shui.

Here the salt is stored pending shipment. An additional depôt (裕濟倉) at Lu-chou is stored with surplus salt, to prevent a sudden rise of prices. From the *ch'ang-chü* the salt is transported by river to the various depôts at destination, called *an-chü* (岸局). Here it is disposed of to the trade at a price which includes prime cost, transport and all dues and duties leviable. The permits which have accompanied the produce thus far, are returned to the head office, and *hu-chao* issued instead to protect the goods to their ultimate places of consumption.

For Yün-nan, which is entirely supplied from Ch'ien-wei, the *an-chü* are 2, *viz.*:—

(*a*) Ip'in an-chü, at Hsü-chou-fu, for conveyance up river to Lao-ya-t'an, and thence to Chao-t'ung and Tung-ch'uan.

(*b*) Nan-kuang an-chü, at Nan-kuang-chên, 20 *li* below Hsü-chou-fu and on the main river, for conveyance to Chên-hsiung *viâ* Ch'ing-fu and Kao-hsien.

For Kui-chou, which is supplied from Ch'ien-wei, Fu-shun and Jung-hsien, the *an-chü* are 4, *viz.*:—

(*a*) Yung-an fên-chü, at Hsü-yung-t'ing, 450 *li* from Na-ch'i-hsien on the river.

(*b*) Jên-an fên-chü, at Jên-huai-t'ing, 150 *li* from Ho-chiang-hsien on the river.

(*c*) Ch'i-an fên-chü, at Ch'i-chiang-hsien, 140 *li* from Chiang-chin-hsien on the river.

(*d*) Fu-an fên-chü, at Fu-chou, on the river, 330 *li* below Chungking.

All four depôts can be reached by junks.

The 8 privileged districts of Hupei, which are supplied by Ch'ien-wei, Yün-yang, Ta-ning and P'êng-shui, are controlled by the Wan-hsien fên-chü, with landing stations at Yün-yang and Wu-shan.

Beside the above there are yet other receiving depôts for the supply of home districts, and there is a well organised system of examination jetties and check barriers, too numerous to detail.

Surplus Production.—The surplus production of those salt districts which contribute to the regular supply, as well as the production of districts having but a few and barren wells, being subject to constant fluctuations, cannot be accurately determined. Such produce is taxed by the several *P'iao-li-chü* (票厘局) established in the principal well districts, or by the officials entrusted with the supervision in the less important. The *ch'ien-lo* and *fu-jung* offices are responsible to the *kuan-yün tsung-chü* the remaining offices, notably those at T'ung-ch'uan, Chien-chou, Ching-yen, Tz'ŭ-chou, Yün-yang Ta-ning, etc., to the *yen-ch'a-tao*. After being freed in the place of production, the salt may be conveyed to any market, but remains subject to likin charges at every barrier *en route*,

and no applicant is granted a pass (票) for more than 80 catties at one time.

Taxation.—Fixed Annual Assessment.—

(a) *Well Tax* (課).—After a new well has been worked for three years, it is reported to the Board and classed according to its productivity as 1st, 2nd or 3rd class. Similarly with evaporating pans and ovens, which in some districts are taxed instead of the salt-wells. There is no fixed scale of taxation, but once assessed the tax remains the same year after year. The collection from this source is Taels 14,961 per annum.

(b) *Regular Salt Tax* (引稅).—This is calculated on the old basis of Taels 0.0681 per pecul, or Taels 3.405 per River permit and Taels 0.2724 per Land permit. The total collection is Taels 140,409 per annum.

(c) *Remittance Tax* (紙硃脚力).—This tax provides for the expenditure connected with the printing of the permits and their remittance every year from and to the Board of Revenue. 3 mace are charged per 100 permits for cost of printing (紙硃) and 4 *li* per permit for cost of remittance (脚力). The annual charge under this head is only Taels 129.

(d) *Examination Fee* (截角).—Originally intended for barrier expenses. It amounts to 6 mace per River, and 48 *li* per Land permit, if for Ssŭch'uan or Hupei, and to 1 tael per River, and 80 *li* per Land permit, if for Yünnan or Kui-chou. The annual collection is Taels 29,725.

(e) *Overcharge* (羨) for cost of administration. This is collected both on the well-tax and on the salt-tax

proper. It varies in different districts but remains the same from year to year. The well-tax overcharge (井課羨) is Taels 3,762, the salt-tax overcharge (引稅羨) Taels 26,074, total Taels 29,836 per annum.

(a) to (c) represent the original Salt revenue due to the central government; (d) and (e) were formerly illegal charges, the amounts of which varied in different places, but have since been submitted to the Board and approved of. All have now become fixed assessments, (a) to (c) being annually remitted to Peking, (d) and (e) retained in the province, but reported and accounted for. The fixed assessments amount to Taels 315,064 per annum.

Likin.—

(a) *Yin-li* (引厘) or *ch'ang-li* (廠厘), a tax levied at place of production on the regular supply covered by permit. Originated in 1854. Before 1877 the tax was Taels 19.50 for *pa-yen*, and Taels 25 for *hua-yen* per permit of 50 *pao*. The latter charge has since been reduced to Taels 18 at the *fu-jung*, to Taels 17.50 at the *ch'ien-lo*, and to Taels 7,555 at the *shê-hung* office (peculs 100 being allowed to the permit). The tax is collected by the *kuan-yin-chü* (官引局) in the great salt centres, and the receipts are about Taels 300,000 per annum [1882].

(b)—*P'iao-li* (票厘), or tax levied at place of production on surplus salt not covered by permit. Originated in 1765, during the Chin-ch'uan expedition, abolished in 1771, and revived as a sort of poor rate in 1778. Since 1862 the sale of surplus salt and the collection of the tax took place in special warehouses, which were again done

away with in 1877, and the *p'iao-li-chü* (票厘局) created instead. One person can apply for no more than 80 catties at a time, and the duty is 4 cash for *pa-yen*, and 3 cash for *hua-yen* per catty. The receipts are over Taels 200,000 a year [1882].

(c)—*Yü-li* (渝厘), or likin collected on salt at Chungking. The office at this port was established in 1860. It taxes both the regular supply and surplus salt exported on the following scale :—

Salt exported to Hupei : if covered by permit, 1,250 cash for *hua-yen*, 650 cash for *pa-yen* per *pao* ; if surplus salt, then indiscriminately 1,500 cash per *pao*.

Salt destined for home districts : Taels 2 per *yin*.

The collection is about Taels 300,000 per *annum* [1882].

The *k'ui-li* (夔厘), or *k'ui-shui* (夔税) collected at K'ui-chou-fu since 1853 on surplus salt going into Hupei, was abolished when in 1877 the *kuan-yin-chü* were created.

Likin on Ssŭch'uan salt going into Yünnan was done away with when the *kuan-yün* system was extended to that province.

But in Kui-chou taxation continued, even after the introduction in 1877 of the new system, and proved most vexatious, until eventually the *kuan-yün* administration undertook to collect the provincial charges at a fixed rate of Taels 10 for duty and Taels 4 for likin per *yin*, and agreed to surrender to Kui-chou the collection thus obtained, amounting to about Taels 180,000 per annum. After that salt became a free article throughout that province.

Revenue.—Previous to the introduction of the *kuan-yün* system the salt-tax revenue of Ssŭch'uan, collected from all sources, amounted to about Taels 900,000 per annum. After the first year of its successful working throughout its present area, in 1879, the figures were reported as follows :—

Kuan-yün-chü	Taels	476,153
Fu-jung kuan-yin-chü	„	503,389
Ch'ien-lo kuan-yin-chü	„	91,244
Fu-jung p'iao-li-chü	„	126,802
Ch'ien-lo p'iao-li-chü	„	61,896
Yü-ch'êng yen-li-chü	„	364,717
	Taels	1,624,201

To this must be added the revenue for which the Salt Commissioner is responsible, the exact figures of which I am unable to give. But if we estimate the salt-tax for the whole province in round numbers at two million Taels and more, we cannot be far wrong. It is, with the exception of the united land and poll tax, the principal item in the provincial balance sheet. Apart from remittances to Peking it is chiefly appropriated for the maintenance of the military establishment, for subsidies to the administrations of Yünnan and Kui-chou, which are not yet self-supporting, and in latter years also for contributions to the coast defence.

It must be remembered, however, that, from the nature of native returns, all estimates and valuations given in this paper represent minimum values. The burden on the country may be much heavier than these figures would lead one to infer, but the revenue as here given is what the central government reckons with, though it is not and cannot be drawn on to its full margin.

APPENDIX.

The following is a list of River Stages with distances in *li*, and branch routes to Yünnan and Kuichou in the margin. It is compiled from the *Yen-fa-chih*, is thought generally reliable, and may therefore be not without interest. A sketch map extracted from the same source is appended.

Name of Place.		Distance. *Li.*	Branch Routes, etc.		Distance. *Li.*
Chia-ting-fu	嘉定府	—	Lo-shan-hsien	樂山縣	—
Niu-hua-ch'i	牛華溪	30			
Lao-mu-k'ung	老木孔	10			
Chu-kên-t'an	竹根灘	10			
T'ie-shê-pa	鐵蛇壩	10			
Mu-tzŭ-ch'ang	木子場	10			
Tzŭ-yün-t'ing	子雲亭	15			
Shih-pan-ch'i	石板溪	5			
Ch'a-yü-tzŭ-t'an	义魚子灘	25			
Ch'ien-wei-hsien	犍爲縣	10·125			
Yao-ku-t'o	么姑沱	30			
Lo-p'o	樂坡	30	or Hsiu-ch'i-k'ou	沐溪口	—
Mo-tzŭ-ch'ang	磨子場	25	Chien-pan-ho R.	箭板河	
Ni-ch'i	泥溪	15			
Kan-pe-shu	乾柏樹	30			
Pan-chiu-shih	斑鳩石	30			
Chu-mao-t'o	猪毛沱	60			
Kao-chia-ch'ang	高家場	5			
Niu-shih-pien	牛屎堛	30			
Hung-ai-ssŭ	紅崖寺	5			

Name of Place.		Distance. *Li.*	Branch Routes, etc.		Distance. *Li.*
Lei-p'i-shih	雷劈石	5			
Liu-pei-ch'ih	流杯池	10			
Hsü-chou-fu	敘州府	10·285	I-p'in-hsien	宜賓縣	—
			Chin-sha-chiang	金沙江	—
			or Chin-ho R.	金河	—
			Yünnan Route—1.		
			Ascends the Chin-ho to:		
			An-pien-ch'ang	安邊場	90
			P'ing-shan-hsien	屏山縣	120
			Fu-kuan-ts'un	副官村	90·300
			And continues overland to:		
			Yung-shan-hsien	永善縣	·690
			Chao-t'ung-fu	昭通府	·180
			Yünnan Route—2.		
			Branches off at An-pien-ch'ang, and ascends the Hêng-chiang to:		
			La-ya-t'an	老鴉灘	370·460
			And continues overland to:		
			Ta-kuan-t'ing	大關廳	·300
			Chao-t'ung-fu	昭通府	·140
			Tung-ch'uan-fu	東川府	·420
Kuo-kung-t'o	國公沱	10			
Nan-kuang	南廣	10	Nan-kuang-shui R.	南廣水	
			Yünnan Route—3.		
			Ascends the Nan-kuang-shui to:		
			Ch'ing-fu-hsien	慶符縣	170
			Kao-hsien	高縣	20
			Lo-hsing-tu	羅星渡	150·340

Name of Place.		Distance. *Li.*	Branch Routes, etc.	Distance. *Li.*
			And continues overland to:	
			Chên-hsiung-chou 鎮雄州	·270
Li-chuang	李莊	40		
Shih-sun-t'o	石筍沱	35		
Nan-ch'i-hsien	南溪縣	25·120		
T'ung-ku-tzŭ	銅鼓子	10		
Hsiao-nü-chi	孝女磧	10		
Mu-t'ou-hao	木頭浩	10		
Lo-kuo-pien	羅蜼堛	5		
Mo-p'an-t'an	磨盤灘	5		
Hsiang-lu-t'an	香爐灘	10		
Chiang-an-hsien	江安縣	10·60		
Ta-kuo-shih	大角石	60		
Ch'ing-ch'i	清溪	20		
Na-ch'i-hsien	納溪縣	20·100	Yung-ning-ho R. 永甯河	
			Kuichou Route—1.	
			Ascends the Yung-ning-ho to:	
			Yung-ning-hsien 永甯縣	·450
			And continues overland to:	
			Pi-chie-hsien 畢節縣	·320
			Shui-ch'êng-t'ing 水城廳	·290
			P'u-an-t'ing 普安廳	·290
			Or from Pi-chie-hsien to:	
			Wei-ning-chou 威甯州	·320
			Or from Yung-ning-hsien to:	
			Ta-ting-fu 大定府	·250
			Lang-tai-t'ing 郎岱廳	·340
			Chên-fêng-chou 貞豐州	·180

Name of Place.	Distance. *Li.*	Branch Routes, etc.	Distance. *Li.*
		Or to:	
		P'ing-yuan-chou 平遠州	·420
		An-shun-fu 安順府	·180
		Kui-hua-t'ing 歸化廳	·140
		Or from An-shun-fu to:	
		Chên-ning-chou 鎮甯州	·30
		Yung-ning-chou 永甯州	·100
Chü-liang-tzŭ 鋸梁子	8		
Lu-chou 瀘州	30·38	Chung-shui L. 中水	
Lei-k'ou 簩口	20		
Kuan-k'ou 鱞口	20		
Tou-k'an-tzŭ 陡坎子	20		
Mi-t'o-yen 彌陀巖	30		
Chiu-hu-chou 舊瀘州	30		
Niu-lao-i 牛老驛	60		
Ho-chiang-hsien 合江縣	30·210	Ch'ih-shui-ho R. 赤水河	
		Kuichou Route—2.	
		Ascends the Chih-shui-ho to:	
		Jên-huai-t'ing 仁懷廳	150
		Mao-t'ai-ts'un 茅台村	490·640
		And continues overland to:	
		Kui-yang-fu 貴陽府	·530
		Or to:	
		Ch'ien-hsi-chou 黔西州	·380
		Ch'ing-chên-hsien 清鎮縣	·140
		Or to:	
		P'ing-yuan-chou 平遠州	·440
		Or to:	
		An-p'ing-hsien 安平縣	·420

Name of Place.	Distance. *Li.*	Branch Routes, etc.	Distance. *Li.*
Wan-chia-ch'ang 王家場	30		
Yang-shih-p'an 陽石盤	30		
Shih-pa-t'o 史壩沱	10	Also written 十八沱	
Chu-yung-ch'i 洙溶溪	20	Ch'ê-tui-ho L. 車對河	
Chu-chia-t'o 朱家沱	30		
Shih-mên 石門	60		
Pe-sha 白沙	20		
Yu-ch'i-k'ou 油溪口	40		
Lung-mên-t'an 龍門灘	20		
Chiang-chin-hsien 江津縣	40·300		
Chiang-k'ou 江口	30	P'u-ch'i or 涪溪	
		Chi-chiang-ho R. 綦江河	
		Kuichou Route—3.	
		Ascends the P'u-ch'i to:	
		Ch'i-chiang-hsien 綦江縣	140
		Hsin-chan 新棧	360·500
		And continues overland to:	
		Hsü-yang-hsien 綏陽縣	·210
		Tsun-i-hsien 遵義縣	·70
		Yung-an-hsien 甕安縣	·220
		P'ing-yüe-chou 平越州	·110
		Tu-chün-fu 都勻府	·130
		Or to:	
		T'ung-tz'ŭ-hsien 桐梓縣	·80
		Tsun-i-hsien 遵義縣	·200
		Kui-yang-fu 貴陽府	·290
		Ting-fan-chou 定番州	·90
		P'ing-yüe-chou 平越州	·120
		Tu-chün-fu 都勻府	·80
		Tu-shan-chou 獨山州	·60

Name of Place.		Distance. *Li.*	Branch Routes, etc.		Distance. *Li.*
			Or from Tsun-i-hsien to:		
			Kuang-shun-chou	廣順州	·420
			Ch'ang-chai-t'ing	長寨廳	·70
			Lo-hu-chou	羅斛州	·170
			Or from Ch'i-chiang-hsien overland to:		
			Chêng-an-chou	正安州	·380
			Mei-t'an-hsien	湄潭縣	·190
			Yung-an-hsien	甕安縣	·220
			Li-po-hsien	荔波縣	·590
T'ung-kuan-i	銅鑪驛	30			
Yü-tung-ch'i	魚洞溪	60			
Fu-t'u-kuan	佛圖關	40			
Ch'ung-ch'ing-fu	重慶府	20·180	Pa-hsien	巴縣	
			Chia-ling-chiang L.	嘉陵江	
Chiang-pei-t'ing	江北廳	—			
Kuan-yin-p'ei	觀音磧	10			
Tung-lo-hsia	銅鑼峽	20			
Ye-lo-tzŭ	野贏子	30			
Ming-yüe-hsia	明月峽	30			
Mu-tung	木洞	30			
Lo-chi	羅磧	30			
Shan-pei-t'o	扇背沱	30			
Ch'ang-shou-hsien	長壽縣	30·210			
Huang-ts'ao-hsia	黃草峽	30			
Li-shih	酈市	30			
Li-tu	李渡	30			
Huo-fêng-t'an	火烽灘	15			
Fu-chou	涪州	15·120	Fu-ling-chiang *or* Fu-chiang R.	涪陵江 涪江	

Name of Place.		Distance. *Li.*
Ch'ün-chu-t'an	羣豬灘	15
Tou-ai	陡崖	5
Kai-ch'ien-t'an	皆牽灘	30
Chiao-ai	焦崖	30
Li-shih-chên	利市鎮	20
Nan-t'o-pei-p'ei	南沱北碚	10
Fêng-tu-hsien	酆都縣	30·140

Branch Routes, etc.		Distance. *Li.*
Kuichou Route—4.		
Ascends the Fu-chiang to:		
P'êng-shui-hsien	彭水縣	450
Kung-t'an	龔灘	190
Hsin-t'an	新灘	370·1010
Continues overland to:		
Ch'ao-ti-ch'ang	潮底場	70
And again by river to:		
Ssŭ-nan-fu	思南府	60·130
Shih-ch'ien-fu	石阡府	·280
And thence overland to:		
Ssŭ-chou-fu	思州府	·210
Whence by river to:		
Chên-yuan-fu	鎮遠府	·330
Or from Fu-chou overland to:		
P'êng-shui-hsien	彭水縣	·420
Hsiu-shan-hsien	秀山縣	·580
Sung-t'ao-t'ing	松桃廳	·120
T'ung-jên-fu	銅仁府	·120
Or from P'êng-shui-hsien to:		
Chêng-an-chou	正安州	·90
Or to:		
Wu-ch'uan-hsien	婺川縣	·120

Name of Place.		Distance. *Li.*	Branch Routes, etc.	Distance. *Li.*
Kao-chia-chên	高家鎮	30		
Luan-chu-pei	鑾珠背	5		
Hu-hsü-tzŭ	虎鬚子	10		
Fêng-huang-tzŭ	鳳凰子	5		
Yang-tu-ch'i	羊渡溪	10		
Yü-tung-tzŭ	魚硐子	10		
Pe-ma-tzŭ	白馬子	15		
Chung-chou	忠州	40·125		
Huang-hua-chou	皇華洲	50		
Ts'ê-wei-tzŭ	折桅子	10		
Ts'ao-ch'i-p'an	曹溪盤	15		
Shih-ku-hsia	石鼓峽	5		
Wu-ling-chi	武陵集	30		
Jan-tu	冉渡	30		
Ta-hu-t'an	大湖灘	20		
Wan-hsien	萬縣	30·190	*Hupei Route—1.*	
			By river to:	
			Ta-ch'i-k'ou 大溪口	·60
			And overland to:	
			Li-ch'uan-hsien 利川縣	·270
			Hsien-fêng-hsien 咸豐縣	·270
			Or from Li-ch'uan hsien to:	
			Lai-fêng-hsien 來鳳縣	·370
O-mei-chi	蛾眉磧	30		
Ch'ih-sha-chi	赤沙磧	10		
Hou-tzŭ-shih	猴子石	30		
Hsiao-chiang-k'ou	小江口	20		
Yün-yang-hsien	雲陽縣	60·150		
Pao-tzŭ-t'a	寶子塔	5		
Tung-yang-tzŭ	東陽子	10		
Miao-chi-tzŭ	廟磯子	15		

Name of Place.	Distance. *Li.*	Branch Routes, etc.	Distance. *Li.*
Tz'ŭ-chuang-tzŭ 磁莊子	15		
San-k'uai-shih 三塊石	15		
Pe-ai 白崖	40		
K'ui-chou-fu 夔州府	30·130	Fêng-chie-hsien 奉節縣	
		Hupei Route—2.	
		By river to:	
		Ta-ch'i-k'ou 大溪口	·30
		And overland to:	
		Chien-shih-hsien 建始縣	·180
		Shih-nan-fu 施南府	·120
		Hsüan-ên-hsien 宣恩縣	·90
		Lai-fêng-hsien 來鳳縣	·180
Yen-yü-tui 灩澦堆	10		
Nan-nü-k'ung 男女孔	5		
Shih-pan-hsia 石板峽	5		
Hei-shih-t'an 黑石灘	5		
Tai-ch'i 戴溪	10		
Hsiao-ch'ing-t'an 小青灘	5		
Lung-pao-tzŭ 龍寶子	15		
Chiao-t'an 焦灘	5		
San-lan-tzŭ 三纜子	15		
Tung-kan-tsui 東竿嘴	5		
Hsiao-mo-t'an 蝦蟆灘	5		
Hung-shih-liang 紅石梁	10		
Wu-shan-hsien 巫山縣	5·100	*Hupei Route—3.*	
		By river to:	
		Shang-yang-p'ing 上洋平	·110
		And overland to:	
		Shih-nan-fu 施南府	·330
		Hsüan-ên-hsien 宣恩縣	·90

Name of Place.		Distance. *Li.*	Branch Routes, etc.	Distance. *Li.*
			Or to:	
			Chien-shih-hsien 建始縣	·160
			Or to:	
			Ho-fêng-chou 鶴峯州	·360
K'ung-wang-t'o	空亡沱	5		
Lao-shu-ts'o	老鼠錯	5		
Huang-ts'ao-p'o	黃草坡	5		
Pa-wang-ch'ou	霸王愁	5		
P'u-p'e-tzŭ	蒲泊子	5		
Hsiao-mu-jang	小木瀼	5		
Mei-jên-fêng	美人峯	5		
Kuan-ch'ai-hsia	棺柴峽	5		
Pei-shih	培石	5		
Wan-liu-i	萬流驛	5		
Chin-pien-tan-t'an	金扁擔灘	7		
Cho-niu-t'an	卓牛灘	30		
San-sung-tzŭ-t'an	三松子灘	8		
Kuan-tu-k'ou	關渡口	5		
Wan-hu-t'o	萬戶沱	20	First place in Hupei, 2,703 *li* from Chia-ting-fu	
Pa-tung-hsien	巴東縣	30·150		
Hsie-t'an	洩灘	70		
Lao-kui-chou	老歸州	40·110		
Hsin-t'an	新灘	20		
T'ung-ling	通羚	30		
Chü-ch'i	曲溪	30		
Huang-ling-pa	黃陵廟	60		
Nan-t'o	南沱	30		
P'ing-shan-pa	平善壩	30		
I-ch'ang-fu	宜昌府	30·230	Tung-hu-hsien 東湖縣 1,655 *li* from Ch'ung-ch'ing-fu	—

Name of Place.		Distance. *Li.*	Branch Routes, etc.	Distance. *Li.*
Hu-ya-t'an	虎牙灘	30		
Ku-lou-pei	鼓樓背	30		
I-tu-hsien	宜都縣	60·120	90 *li* by river, and 180 *li* overland to:	
			Ch'ang-lo-hsien 長樂縣	—

EARLY PORTUGUESE COMMERCE AND SETTLEMENTS IN CHINA.

By Z. VOLPICELLI.

E então se verá quão incertas são as cousas da China, de que nesta terra se trata com tanta curiosidade, & de q̃ algũs enganados fazem tãta conta, porque cada hora estão arriscadas a muytos desastres & desaventuras.

Chap. LXVI FERNAO MENDEZ PINTO.

First Settlements in China.

The early Portuguese Settlements in China form an interesting study, as they mark the furthest advance of that European nation which led the way in the continuous movement of colonial and commercial expansion which has been going on for the last four hundred years, and which forms such an important factor in the modern history of the world. The cause of Portuguese expansion lies, I think, in her geographical position, in the West of Europe on the shores of the Atlantic ; in fact all the other nations of Europe which have formed or attempted to form colonial empires—England, Spain, Holland and France—are all similarly situated. Great historical events which cover a long period of time must have an underlying cause of permanent nature, and none is more so than geographical position. The causes of Portuguese precocity in colonial growth are principally historical : her people severely trained, like the other races of the Iberian Peninsula, by secular struggles with the Moors, early acquired a secure independence which afforded leisure and resources for maritime enterprise. While Portugal had driven out the

infidel, the struggle was still going on in the rest of the Peninsula and it was long of such uncertain result that none of the Spanish kingdoms could dare weaken itself by wasting its strength in wars with Portugal. At the same time a series of prudent sovereigns refrained from meddling with Spanish affairs. So that Portugal not being either attacked by her continental neighbours, nor attacking them, enjoyed a tranquillity and peace which could be found nowhere else in Europe towards the end of the Middle Ages. This rest and security were well employed by Portugal in devising and carrying out a vast plan of commercial expansion.

Here we see at once the difference in the origin of the Portuguese Colonial Empire compared to that of other nations. The rest, even when most successful, as in the case of England, have expanded unconsciously, either seizing opportunities which presented themselves or driven to conquest by circumstances: they have never carried out a plan elaborated for years or persevered in against every discouragement and difficulty, though with the certainty that immense wealth would be the reward of success. In fact Spanish expansion was due to the casual acceptance of the services of a foreign navigator who had offered them before to Portugal and was going to offer them to other nations. France and England, more out of spirit of imitation than deliberate policy, followed in the wake of Spain, and were glad to pick up the lands discarded by the Spaniards, who in their thirst for gold could see no other wealth, and called them of little account.[1] Holland made her first expeditions more to annoy Spain than to develop her trade, though she succeeded very rapidly in achieving the latter purpose.

Portugal, on the contrary, started with a clear plan though fraught with many difficulties—the discovery of a new trade-

[1] Tierras de poco conto.

route, which she saw must give her for a long time the monopoly of eastern commerce. This was a new departure in history; hitherto all the products of further Asia had been brought to the European markets through the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf, and the wealth and prosperity of the Italian maritime cities during the Middle Ages, was owing to their monopoly of the carrying trade of those products in the Mediterranean. The genius of Prince Henry the Navigator inspired him with the bold plan of reaching India by a direct sea-route round Africa, thus securing for Portugal not only the monopoly enjoyed by the Italians in the Mediterranean but also that of the Arabs and Indians in the Indian Ocean.[2]

To this purpose nearly a century of unceasing exertion was sacrificed. Prince Henry, the originator of the enterprise, died without seeing it fulfilled with success. Four kings—John the Great, King Edward, Alfonso V. and John II—passed away in succession. Still the Portuguese did not grow tired of what seemed a hopeless task. Slowly but unceasingly they crept along the African coast, discovering islands and doubling capes, until at last the end of the long continent was reached, and in 1486 Bartolomeu Diaz doubled the last terrible Capo Tormentoso (Stormy Cape), which his sovereign, to encourage mariners, styled of Good Hope.

It would be too long and foreign to my subject to deal in detail with the successive expeditions which led to this final brilliant result, but I cannot refrain from noticing one which from its strangeness will show us how fertile in resources were the Portuguese, and how tempted they must have been at times to abandon their continual and fruitless navigations and try some other plan. In the course of

[2] These are not merely historical reflections *a posteriori* but were the ideas which inspired the Portuguese throughout their conquest, as may be seen in the speech of the great Dalboquerque before the final attack on Malacca.

their discoveries on the western coast of Africa, they heard from the natives that right across the land there was a Christian kingdom. As this agreed with what was stated in a chapter of Marco Polo, it was thought sufficient basis for another plan by Prince Henry—to try a land-route across the continent parallel to that pursued by the Arabian caravans, and reaching to the Christian state, which would then protect one end of the line while the Portuguese occupied the other. Alfonso de Paiva and Pietro Covillan were sent to explore this kingdom, and their voyages, though they never returned themselves to Portugal, led to the discovery of Abyssinia, which for over a century remained under the political and religious influence of Portugal. This strange alliance between two peoples so distant from each other, and which never either before or after had anything in common, forms such a curious historical episode that I have thought it might prove interesting to notice it. In fact it can only be explained by the daring spirit of enterprise which then characterised the Portuguese nation, and is a brillant instance of their fine qualities. The continuance of their relations with Abyssinia, the military expeditions and the missionaries they sent there, even after the sea-route to India had been found and proved to be practicable and profitable, show the broad political sagacity of the Portuguese Viceroys in India, who saw the strategical importance of Abyssinia in a war against the Mahomedans to destroy the old trade-route through the Red Sea. Now that, after four centuries, commerce has gone back to her old route, this fragment of history has acquired fresh interest, and I drew attention to it in a series of articles in the Italian papers about three years ago.

If Portuguese enterprise and perseverance were so conspicuous during a century of discouraging attempts, it is no wonder they shone brilliantly when the whole commercial wealth of Asia lay open to them. Vasco de Gama reached

India in his first voyage only in 1497, and yet the Portuguese had reached Malacca in 1509, and proceeded to explore the island of Sumatra; in 1516 Duorte Coelho navigated along the coast of Cochinchina and Siam. This rapid expansion was only a further development of the old plan of Prince Henry. They had doubled the Cape of Good Hope in order to trade direct with India, and gather themselves all the gains hitherto distributed among Arab and Venetian middlemen along the old commercial route; on reaching India, they found that a large part of the trade there was also a transit one which enriched other middlemen along further trade routes, and the Portuguese, consistent in their commercial principles, determined to explore the Spice Islands and carry on the trade direct. Of course this commercial revolution ruined many and it was not carried out without much opposition, which showed itself sometimes by violence and at other times by the more dangerous arts of fraud and treachery. Arabs, Indians and Malays were all against these bold intruders that upset the commercial traditions of centuries.

The Portuguese, however, were too flushed by success to care for casual losses incurred by local hostility, and too well trained by their trials of a century to fear any enemy they might meet in Asia, and they continued their explorations and mercantile adventures. Their possession of Malacca, which was thoroughly conquered by Alfonso Dalboquerque in 1511, at once opened up relations with China, both private and public. Malacca was then a great emporium of trade frequented by merchants of every country in the Far East besides those from India, and while the Portuguese were preparing for the final assault, they received proffers of assistance from six Chinese junks which were at that time in the port. This unexpected friendship arose from two causes: the Chinese had been spared by the Portuguese when they burnt the ships of the Guzarates in the harbour, and they had been vexed

and annoyed by the King of Malacca who had detained them for the purpose of using them in another military expedition. The arrival of the Portuguese fleet and the dangers which menaced the King entirely drove out of his mind all thought about the Chinese, and they with characteristic coolness understood the situation, and quietly one by one slipped on board their junks and went to offer their services to Dalboquerque. His answer shows how the genius of that great man was able to reconcile the noblest principles with the furtherance of the interests of his king and country. He declined their assistance, because if his enterprise did not succeed as well as he trusted in God it would, the Chinese would be persecuted by the King of Malacca for the part they had taken in the attack. The Chinese then asked permission to go back to their own country, promising to treat the Portuguese well wherever they met them, in consideration of the kindness they had received. At the same time they informed Dalboquerque of the difficulties he must encounter in his projected attack as the Javanese, Persians and Guzerates had assembled a large army and numerous artillery in the place, and they did not think he could win. He thanked them for their advice and asked them to wait a few more days so that they might see the valour of the Portuguese and report it to the King of China on their return. After a few days the Chinese asked again permission to leave as their monsoon had arrived and any delay would be injurious to their navigation. Dalboquerque this time consented because the first attack had already been made, and the valour and skill shown by the Portuguese must have convinced them that final success was no longer doubtful. He only asked them to touch at Siam (Sião) on their way and leave there Duarte Fernandez, whom he intended to send as messenger to the king. This request was very willingly granted.

The sagacity of Dalboquerque had thus arranged matters in such a way that the first reports about the Portuguese in China should be of the most favourable description ; they had shown great valour against their powerful enemies and a generosity towards weak strangers which must have seemed extraordinary to the Chinese accustomed to the violence and brutality of the Malays. Events that followed soon proved the wisdom of Dalboquerque's conduct. When the Portuguese took Malacca, the king fled to the kingdom of Pão, and sent an ambassador to the court of Peking, asking for succour from China on account of the ancient friendship between the two countries.[3]

The fall of Malacca, then the great commercial port of the East, had caused an immense sensation throughout all the neighbouring states, so that when the ambassador reached Peking, after a long voyage over land from Canton, he was subjected to long questionings about the Portuguese, their great Viceroy, and their mode of fighting. He was able to give a full account of the whole war, as he had been an eye-witness; but all his eloquence in describing the affronts his master had received from the Captain of the King of Portugul was insufficient to obtain an army and fleet to reinstate his sovereign. The Emperor of China was determined to keep on good terms with the Portuguese, because they had treated kindly his merchants, and intended to allow them to trade in Malacca.

After they had securely established their power in Malacca by building a fortress, the Portuguese were not long in profiting of the advantages for trade of their new position. They had simply to continue the traditions of the place, which was the emporium of the Far East where merchants flocked from all parts of the Indian archipelago, from Cochinchina

[3] An ancestor of the king had visited Peking in 1411, and done homage as vassal.

and the southern parts of China. In 1516 Rafäel Perestello made the first voyage from Malacca to China in a junk, and he brought back such good information and the profits of his mercantile venture were so great that a large expedition was fitted out the next year. Fernão Peres de Andrade sailed with four Portuguese ships and four Malay vessels and was accompanied by George Mascarenhas in another ship. The appearance of such large vessels filled with strange-looking men in the Gulf of China (as the China Sea was called by the Portuguese) caused great consternation among the natives; but Fernão Peres de Andrade, who had served under the great Dalboquerque at the taking of Malacca, took care to follow the wise conduct of his former chief. He did not forget his mission of pioneer of new extensive commercial relations of his country, and determined that the first impressions (always so important and lasting) of his countrymen on the inhabitants of the strange unknown land should be of the most favourable kind. He kept his men well in hand and distributed presents so liberally that the Chinese, struck with the mild behaviour of men possessed of such powerful ships and arms, consented that he should be allowed to trade at Tamao in the island of San-shan, where later S. Francis Xavier died and was buried. The location of the grave of the great Catholic Apostle of the East in the small island which was the first trading station of the Portuguese, is symbolical of their future action in China, which was as energetic in the diffusion of religion as in the promotion of commercial interests. It is probable that Tamao was not a special place assigned to the Portuguese, but a port already frequented by Malay-Indian merchants, where they met the Chinese merchants and exchanged commodities until the end of the monsoon, when all business was settled up and the island abandoned until next season. Throughout all their commercial enterprises the Portuguese seldom

founded new places but preferred occupying those which were already renowned as marts. It was sufficient for them to connect the great commercial centres of Asia to the sea-route they had discovered.

The permission to trade at Tamao satisfied the enterprising Portuguese only as a first step towards the establishment of commercial relations with the great empire of Eastern Asia. They at once began to extend their explorations and negotiations. George Mascarenhas took advantage of the presence at Tamao of some ships from the Liu-kiu Islands, to follow them in their homeward voyage. He was thus able to explore the southern part of the eastern coast of China with a rapidity and security that would have been impossible had he travelled alone. He probably touched at places on the coast of Fokien and Chekiang, and led the way in the trade which afterwards centred in Chinchew and Liampoo. Fernão Peres de Andrade, on the other hand, was allowed to go to Canton with two vessels, and there negotiated so successfully with the local government that he obtained permission to trade with China and Canton. His stay at Canton was very short, as he had to go back to Tamao to assist his other six vessels, which were threatened by an attack of pirates. Fernão Peres de Andrade continued to show the greatest justice and probity in all his transactions, and before leaving Tamao, proclaimed that he was ready to redress any grievance and make up any loss that had been incurred by or through any misconduct of his men.

Up to this time the intercourse between the Portuguese and Chinese had been of the most friendly nature, and an extensive secure trade, besides many other advantages, would have been derived from it, *at once*, if the inconsiderate action of men of unruly passions had not destroyed all the good effects of the wise, benignant policy of Alfonso Dalboquerque

and Fernão Peres de Andrade. In 1518 Simão de Andrade arrived at Tamao with a ship and three junks. His conduct was entirely opposite to that of his brother: he began to treat the Chinese with oppression, and disregarded all considerations of international law. Without permission he built a fort at Tamao, and exercised sovereign authority, ignoring the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials. He is also accused of committing acts of piracy, of enslaving the Chinese and kidnapping girls on the coast. Under such a commander it was natural that the men should commit the worst excesses. At last the abuses became so intolerable that the Portuguese were blockaded by a Chinese fleet which would have starved them into submission if a gale had not luckily enabled three of their vessels to successfully run the blockade in 1521.

The bad conduct of Simão de Andrade not only stopped Portuguese trade at Tamao, but it led to even worse consequences, ruining negotiations which if carried on in the spirit of Dalboquerque might have obtained official sanction from the Emperor to trade between China and Portugal. When Fernão Peres de Andrade arrived in 1517 he brought with him Thomé Pires, an intelligent man of prepossessing appearance, who had been appointed by the Governor of Portuguese India[4] to go as envoy to the Emperor of China and propose friendship and free trade between the two countries.[5] De Andrade mentioned this fact to the high authorities in Canton when he went there, and before leaving he landed the envoy and his retinue. It was a long time however before Thomé Pires could even get permission to start for Peking. The ambassador who had been sent by the dethroned King of Malacca, though

[4] Lopo Soares de Albergaria.

[5] Thomé Pires was not a man of very high distinction, as he was an apothecary who had been employed in choosing drugs in India, but his natural qualities rendered him the most suitable, as he was pleasant in manner and most inquisitive in finding out things, and had a quick intellect for business (*see* João de Barros).

he had been unable to obtain armed assistance to reinstate his master, had been successful in rousing suspicions against the Portuguese at the Court of Peking, and the first answer the Portuguese mission received was that they must evacuate Malacca. At last, in 1520, on the 15th January, Thomé Pires was allowed to go to Peking to explain matters and defend his country against the slanders of its enemies. He started in three vessels gaily bedecked with flags and silk awning and bearing the arms of his country. He did not reach Peking till the 11th January of 1521. His departure increased the malevolence of the inveterate enemies the Mahometans of Canton, who there as everywhere feared that the advent of the Portuguese meant the collapse of their secular monopoly in trade. They spread the report that the Portuguese wanted to ruin all shipping, so that they might remain the sole carriers of the trade of the whole world. Unfortunately at that time the overbearing piratical conduct of Simão de Andrade bore out their statements, and the former mild behaviour of his brother and the friendly embassy of Thomé Pires, in the light of later events, seemed only the deceitful advances of treachery. The mandarins of Canton reported that the Portuguese, pretending to be merchants, really came to spy the country that they might afterwards conquer it. In consequence of all these representations the diplomatic character of Thomé Pires' mission was not recognised, and the new Emperor Chia-ching sent him and his retinue back to Canton to be kept in prison as spies.

These untoward events took away all chance of success from a second official commercial expedition which about that time reached China. In 1521, in the fleet which left Lisbon for the newly-discovered Indies, among the other bold adventurous Portuguese there was Martim Affonso de Mello, who was entrusted by King D. Manuel with an important mission for China. He was to go to Tamao and make friend-

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ship with the king of China, and then establish, either there or in any other place found most suitable, a fortress where the Portuguese might carry on their trade in a settled way. He was to be the captain of this fortress. He was also informed that the business was much facilitated on account of another mission having been already sent to the King of China by Fernão Peres de Andrade. Martim Affonso de Mello started with six vessels from Malacca to carry out his instructions on the 10th July 1522 and he arrived at Tamao in August. A great deception awaited him: the ambassador Thomé Pires, who was to have smoothed the way for his negotiations, was then in prison, and the rich presents he had brought for the Emperor of China had been stolen by the official underlings. Simão de Andrade with his Portuguese had been driven out of Tamao the year before. The Chinese, emboldened by this military success against the formidable strangers, and by the humiliation inflicted on the embassy, were prepared to attack the Portuguese with a large squadron and destroy them as pirates. Martim Affonso tried to parley, and sent boats to the admiral of the squadron, but as they did not return he saw that things were in a hopeless state of hostility and that it would be folly to risk himself in the harbour. As he was sailing away the Chinese attacked him in great force. The Portuguese, heavily outnumbered, defended themselves with the bravery which rendered them famous at that time throughout Asia, but unfortunately one vessel was destroyed by the explosion of the powder magazine, and another was taken by the Chinese, though after such a strenuous resistance that Martim Affonso was able to escape with the rest. He reached Malacca in October whence he sailed back to India with the monsoon.

This was the last attempt in the 16th century to establish trade between the two countries on an international basis. Its failure however did not prevent merchants continuing to

trade privately either with the connivance of the mandarins or by a certain display of force. It was a business full of risk and danger, because the Portuguese had to fight not only against the Chinese authorities, when they were hostile, but also against their commercial rivals the Mahometans, especially their deadly enemies the Guzerates[6] and against the pirates of every nationality that then swarmed along the coasts of Asia. The profits of a successful commercial voyage were then so great, that it paid the risk of a total loss through piracy or typhoons. It must also he held in mind that piracy cut both ways, and though it might entail loss of ships and cargo, it might also bring the capture of a rich prize of the enemy.

The bad conduct of Simão de Andrade at Tamao and the sea-fights which ensued did not prevent Portuguese vessels from frequenting it at a later date. In 1554, Lampacao, an island close to Macao, was fixed as a place of foreign trade, and three years later this was transferred to Macao. Before these dates the Portuguese traded, and are said to have established even what we should call settlements, at Chincheu and Ningpo. They were impelled to do this not only from the desire to open new channels of trade, but also to remove at such a distance from Tamao that they should not be affected by the reports of the past misconduct of some of their countrymen. On examination we shall find that the principal trading stations at that early period were three—in the South successively Tamao, Lampacan, Macao; in the North, Liampo (Ningpo) and about half-way between them Chincheu. They correspond very nearly to the first treaty-ports, which is not wonderful, as the choice of trading-stations is dependent on causes of a

[6] In the attack on Malacca under Dalboquerque, the Commentaries mention that the Guzerates, on account of commercial jealousy, were the worst enemies of the Portuguese, exciting the king against them with falsehood and calumny.

permanent nature, such as geographical position and proximity to regions of production ; therefore the Portuguese only followed in the routes pursued for centuries by Mahometan traders, and the English at first did the same. This identity of location now leads us to consider whether there may not be points of resemblance between the life of these early settlers and that of the residents in the Far East, during this century. It will be the object of the remainder of this paper to describe life as it was then in China, and to show that, though more than three centuries have passed yet many things have remained unchanged.

We have several accounts of European life and enterprise in China in the 16th century, but the fullest and most picturesque is that which we find in the Peregrinação of Fernão Mendez Pinto. Unfortunately this author has had a very bad reputation : they have punned upon his name and called him *mendacious* Pinto, and Congreve has perpetuated this opinion by his famous line "Mendez Pinto was but a type of thee, thou liar of the first magnitude." Modern criticism which has revised so many judgements of the past, is more indulgent towards him and admits that his book contains a true account of his adventures though embellished by his fervid imagination. I am afraid I cannot agree with this favourable view. I have carefully read several times all the parts of his work which refer to the present subject, and whenever it was possible I have checked his dates and facts : the result has been to find him generally inaccurate, and I do not think his work is of any historical value. I shall give later on the several instances of inaccuracy I have detected. I have been tempted, when I was exasperated at the discovery of some incongruity or palpable exaggeration, to discard him altogether, but I reflected that even works of fiction are often of some historical value, as they show the current of thought of the times and derive their colouring from the bias of men's

minds. At the same time I was struck by finding occasionally either descriptions of places which corresponded to existing facts, or notices of national character and customs which agree with all that our later experience of China has taught us. I think then, that the Peregrinação of Fernão Mendez Pinto may give us much useful information if we extract it with the following restrictions : never to rely upon him exclusively for the proof of any important historical event ; to accept his accounts of people and customs only when they agree with what we know of them from later knowledge, in which case the agreement is strong evidence that he must have seen what he describes correctly ; lastly, we may rely on him exclusively to give us a general view of the life of the roving Portuguese adventurers of that time in the Far East. On such a point his inaccuracy is of little moment, nay, perhaps advantageous, it would lead him to give a fuller picture of those strange times. If he describes exploits which never happened to him, he must have invented them of such a nature as to correspond with the real experience of his fellow adventurers, so that they might seem probable and be pleasant to read. His work then, instead of being an account of the adventures of one man, would be of those of his nation at that epoch in the Far East.

I shall now give a brief account of the causes which brought our author to the coast of China and what he saw and did there.

Fernão Mendez Pinto, after many other misfortunes, was attacked on the coast of Siam in a ship belonging to some Portuguese of Patane by the pirate Coja Acem, a Guzerat Moor, who had vowed deadly enmity to the Portuguese nation. With the greatest difficulty our author and two others escaped with their lives, and after many hardships were able to return to Patane and report the loss of their ship and rich cargo. Amongst the losers by this transaction, there was a certain Antonio de Faria, who had sent by the ill-fated vessel a cargo

of merchandise from the sale of which he hoped to pay 12,000 crusados he owed to merchants in Malacca. He now found himself penniless and indebted. He dared not go back to Malacca and face his creditors, so he swore on the Gospels to go in search of the corsair and be revenged of his loss. He succeeded so well in enlisting public sympathy for this project by describing the loss of Christian lives there had been, and the danger to commerce in allowing such a pirate to rove with impunity, that all the Portuguese in Patane assisted him in fitting out his expedition ; the rich ones subscribed money to provide a ship and arms, the poor ones offered their services as soldiers. Amongst the latter there was F. M. Pinto, who, as he pithily puts it, had only been able to save from the disaster his poor person with three dart-wounds and a stone-cut on the head, which had endangered his life three or four times, and had compelled him to have a bone taken out before leaving Patane.

In 18 days Antonio de Faria was able to gather 55 fighting men, and he started for the island of Ainão, where it was reported Coja Acem was to be found, on Saturday 9th May 1540.[7] It was a long time before he could come up with his enemy and carry out his vow, but he did not lose his time, as he was able to scour the whole coast up to Liampo (Ningpo) and destroy many other pirates. F. M. Pinto, in his usual pious style says: God, who draws good from evil, allowed Coja Acem to commit his piracy that Antonio de Faria might form the resolution to go in search of him and so

[7] This is the first inaccuracy of F. M. Pinto, which I will point out: the 9th May 1540 was not a Saturday but a Sunday. Not only is F. M. Pinto incorrect but he is not even consistent, because later on in Chapter LXXI he says that the 14th May 1542 was a Monday, while to agree with his former statement it should be a Saturday (the 14th May 1542 was really a Sunday). These mistakes are trifling, and natural in a man who could have kept no notes in the midst of so many shipwrecks and adventures, but his pretension to minute accuracy in dates when he could not possess the means of doing so, shows a looseness of statement that shakes our faith in him. Later on we shall find more important instances of this nature.

destroy many other robbers who deserved such punishment at the hands of the Portuguese nation.[8] It will give an idea of the dangers of maritime commerce in these seas at that time, to know that in less than 18 months from the coast of Cochinchina up to Ningpo, Antonio de Faria destroyed six famous pirates besides others which are not mentioned. Most of them had taken several vessels and killed many Portuguese. Generally a short history of the previous career of each pirate is given as soon as he has been defeated and killed. Some of these pirates had lived with the Portuguese, had been baptised, married to half-caste daughters of respectable Portuguese, and had assumed, either at conversion or from bravado after a piratical victory, some famous foreign name. The sea-fights are described very minutely and are mostly alike : after a general discharge of artillery the vessels grapple each other, and at close quarters keep up a constant fire of musketry and discharge of darts, until at a favourable moment the stronger or more daring side throws powder-canisters[9] on the enemy's deck and sends its boarders to complete the victory ; severe hand-to-hand fighting with swords and battle-axes then ensues until the losers are all killed or have jumped overboard. Sometimes a few prisoners are taken, but it is only for the purpose of putting them to the torture and getting some information ; if they refuse to or cannot give it they are tortured to death. The most ruthless cruelty does not prevent the actors indulging in frequent invocations to God and the Saints, and the

[8] "Mas como he costume de Deos nosso Senhor de grandes males tirar grandes bẽes, permitio pela inteireza de sua divina justiça, que do roubo que Coja Acem nos fez na barra de Lugor, como atrás fica dito, nacesse a Antonio de Faria determinarse em Patane de o yr buscar, para castigo de outros ladrões que tão merecido o tinhão á naçáo Portuguesa." In all the Portuguese writings of the time we find this vein of religious thought inspiring their commercial and warlike expeditions : they considered that God had sent them on a special mission to Asia, and that he was always furthering their schemes and averting dangers. Such an ever present consciousness of Divine assistance must have been a great source of strength to the nation.

[9] This method of attack was preserved by the Chinese pirates up till quite lately.

most common measure of time for a short desperate struggle is the time required to recite some prayer: thus F. M. Pinto, describing the final rush of some pirates discovered in their hiding-place in a captured vessel, says, "they attacked us *in a muck* and the fight was so desperate that in less than three *credos*, which it took us to finish them, they had killed 2 Portuguese and 7 others besides wounding 20 more."

It is very curious to notice how Antonio de Faria was slowly and insensibly drawn on from his original purpose of simply revenging his wrongs, to become a chastiser of piracy, then little better than a corsair himself, and finally to grow so bold as to attack and burn a town. His first engagement was forced upon him, as the pirate took him to be a merchant and tried to surprise him by night. Other pirates he attacked because he thought they were Coja Acem, and thus getting gradually accustomed to bloodshed and lawless violence he came at last to carry off a poor bride that was going by sea to her husband, and on the coast of Ainão he went so far as to levy a kind of maritime black-mail. The Chinese merchants who had watched one of his successful fights from their junks, were so frightened that they sent a deputation offering him 20,000 taels of silver if he would protect them as king of the sea. Antonio de Faria consented to this, and issued regular passes for their protection. F. M. Pinto gives the text of these curious documents[10] and adds that there was such a rush for them, that one of Faria's men who had been appointed to write them, and received 5 taels for each junk and 2 for every smaller vessel, made more than 4,000 taels in 13 days, besides rich presents from the merchants who were in a hurry to get their passes first.

[10] Seguro debaixo de minha verdade ao Necodá, foão, para que possa navegar livremente por toda a costa da China, sem ser agravado de nenhum dos meus cõ tanto que onde vir Portugueses os trate como irmãos & asinavase ao pé Antonio de Faria.

The successful cruise of over seven months in the Gulf of Cochinchina (Gulf of Tonking) had powerfully increased A. de Faria's armament. He had kept the best of the captured vessels and armed them with Portuguese prisoners he had liberated or with piratical sailors he had pressed into his service. He now had four ships and over 600 men under his command. His successes, however, did not drive from his mind the original purpose for which he started, and he was always bent on finding Coja Acem. His men did not share these sentiments, they were tired of the long navigation, and as an immense booty had been accumulated they were clamorous for a division of spoils so that they might go to India or where they listed to enjoy the wealth they had won. They were on the point of carrying out this plan, and were only waiting for the monsoon to go back, when a dreadful storm, which all their skill could not weather, drove them ashore on an island (called Robber's Island) near which they were anchored. All the vessels, booty, arms were lost and most of the crews were drowned.[11] A. de Faria, who had been saved with about 50 of his men, kept up their spirits, and by his fertility of resources succeeded in escaping from the desert island, though in an unscrupulous way. Having observed the arrival of a Chinese fishing vessel, he hid his men, and by stealthily getting between the Chinese and their boat, he managed to capture the latter by a bold rush, and went out to sea, leaving the unfortunate Chinese to take his place on the island. This was but the first of several similar enterprises. As he was sailing towards Liampoo, the nearest port where he hoped to find Portuguese, he took out eight sailors from a fishing boat, as his men were too weak to work his vessel. Later on,

[11] Here is another instance of chronological confusion. F. M. Pinto says the shipwreck occurred in October *i.e.* at most 6 months after the departure from Patane, and yet some time before they had been sailing for over 7 months in the Gulf of Tonking!

while he was at a place called Xamoy, he reflected that his vessel was not fit to take him as far as Liampoo, so he attacked in the night a small junk which was anchored in a solitary place, and cutting its cables went out to sea. By this succession of bold piratical acts, from utter destitution on a desert island he had succeeded in providing himself with a good sea-worthy vessel and native crew.

Antonio de Faria was continuing his voyage to Liampoo in his newly-acquired ship when he met a large junk which at once bore down to attack him, firing 15 pieces of artillery. He encouraged his men as well as he could to fight bravely against such terrific odds; but before they came to close quarters they saw on the high bows of the junks a lot of men with red caps. As these were always worn then by the Portuguese in their naval expeditions, Faria's men began to have a ray of hope, thinking they might be fellow countrymen travelling from Liampoo to Malacca, and showing themselves as much as they could on the deck, they were overwhelmed with joy by hearing a friendly shout from the junk—a boat was then lowered and among its crew came two Portuguese. These were very well received by A. de Faria, and they informed him that the captain of the junk, a Chinese corsair, Quiay Panjão, had 30 Portuguese on board, and that he was a great friend of their nation. This report served to establish cordial relations between the two pirates, and they agreed to travel together, Quiay Panjão offering to assist A. de Faria in all his enterprises with a hundred men and fifteen pieces of artillery, provided he got a third part of the booty. A. de Faria consented, and according to his pious custom swore on the Gospels to keep this compact.

This Chinese pirate, Quiay Panjão, is a curious figure, and shows us another aspect of the life of that period. The details of the long cruise of A. de Faria are a proof that the Portuguese of the 16th century in the East, like the English

of this century, were only a small governing body. They used natives of the different countries not only to work the ships but also as auxiliaries in fighting, and reserved themselves for intelligent direction or for action at times of great emergency. In fact when A. de Faria, before his shipwreck, commanded over 600 men, he had only about 50 Portuguese among them. The presence of Portuguese on board a Chinese piratical junk shows that they consented also to be employed as a kind of mercenaries by friendly natives who had recognised their high military qualities. We shall see later on that Quiay Panjão was of great use, by his acquaintance with the people of the coast, in procuring for the Portuguese all that they required for their ships. His conduct will make us understand how the Portuguese were able at that time to carry on their commercial expeditions notwithstanding that all official attempts to obtain free trade for them had failed.

His new Chinese friend advised A. de Faria to go at once to Chincheo, where he would meet other Portuguese, and where they might learn something about Liampoo. There was a rumour then about the country that the King of China had fitted out a fleet of 400 junks with 100,000 men on board, and had sent it to Liampoo to drive out the Portuguese and burn their ships and houses, because he did not wish to have them any longer in his country, as they were not faithful, quiet people as he had formerly been told. I mention in full this report because we shall find it elsewhere and because it refers to one important historical event on which I shall have much to say. When A. de Faria reached Chincheo, he found five Portuguese vessels there, and was received with great joy and festivity. Nothing was known about Liampoo except that the Chinese said there were many Portuguese wintering there, besides others newly arrived from Malacca, Çunda, Siao and Patane, and that they were

transacting their business very quietly. The large fleet had not gone there and was probably at the Goto Islands to support an ally of the King of China.

Having found out what they wanted they prosecuted their voyage to Liampoo, with a reinforcement of 35 soldiers they had picked up from the five Portuguese vessels they had found at anchor at Chincheo. After sailing for five days against head winds they caught sight of a small fishing vessel manned by eight Portuguese, most of them wounded. These, on being taken on board, gave a sad account of their misfortunes. They were the sole survivors of a ship that had left Liampoo for Malacca and India seventeen days before, and had been attacked and taken by a Guzerate pirate called Coja Acem. After a brave resistance they had been overpowered by the enemy, who was 500 strong and had seven vessels; eighty-two of them were killed, among which eighteen Portuguese, and nearly as many taken. A. de Faria listened to their story with great interest, cross-examined them, and enquired what had been the probable loss of the pirate himself, and whether the damages sustained by his vessels would not compel him to remain some time in the river where they had left him. As soon as he had elicited all the information he required, A. de Faria took off his cap and knelt on the deck and made a long prayer aloud, begging God to give him strength and victory against this cruel slayer of the Portuguese, whom he intended to seek as he had sought him heretofore, to punish him for the evil he had committed for so long. All his crew approved him shouting, "A elles! a elles! co nome de Christo" (At them! at them! in the name of Christ).[12]

Before engaging in such serious business as a death struggle with a formidable pirate like Coja Acem, it was

[12] This cry corresponds to the "A lor! a lor!" of the Italian sailors in the middle ages during the internecine wars of Genoa and Venice.

necessary to make full preparations, and A. de Faria put back to Lailoo, a port eight leagues astern. Here the assistance of Quiay Panjão was invaluable. He had many relations in the place and he obtained permission from the Mandarin to buy all they wanted. F. M. Pinto at this point is enthusiastic about China, and says that of all countries in the world it is the most abundantly supplied with all that one may want.[13] Judging from the list of purchases made by A. de Faria certainly its resources, in a small place of 300 or 400 people, were taxed to the utmost. He sold the two small vessels he had, and bought two large high junks and two rowing vessels; he engaged 160 sailors and provided himself with cables, chains, ropes, anchors, naval stores, provisions, cord, sulphur, bullets, darts and other kinds of warlike material. The armament when complete was very formidable. There were more than 500 men, both sailors and soldiers, among which 95 Portuguese, all brave determined fellows; they had 40 pieces of artillery and 160 muskets; 900 canisters, 400 of gunpowder and the rest of quicklime, as used by the Chinese, and 4,000 darts. Where the money came from to buy all these things is not very clear. A. de Faria had lost all the treasures he had won, in the shipwreck, and the common funds must have been furnished by Quiay Panjão, who thus showed great confidence in the future victories of his friend.

The little fleet sailed for the river where Coja Acem had been busy refitting his vessels, and an experienced Portuguese dressed as a Chinaman was sent to explore the position of the enemy. He returned reporting that the pirate was at anchor with a large portion of his forces on shore, and that it would be easy to destroy him. Sailing up the river

[13] Porque esta excellencia tem a terra da China sobre todas as outras, ser mais abastada de tudo o que se pode desejar, que todas quantas ha no mundo.

with wind and tide they reached the enemy about dawn. He kept such good watch that as soon as they appeared a bell was rung and the pirates on board and on shore began to rush to arms. A. de Faria, seeing that a surprise had failed, shouted to his men to attack at once in the name of Christ and Santiago. A general discharge of musketry and artillery cleared the enemy's decks. F. M. Pinto grows quite eloquent[14] in his description of the wild scene which followed. The enemy could not repair the disadvantage of having their forces divided, and this gave the Portuguese an easy victory. As soon as the pirates on shore tried to join their comrades, their boats were sunk by the well-aimed artillery of the Portuguese. A last effort was made by Coja Acem himself, who shouting "Lah hilah hilah lah Muhamed roçol halah!"[15] encouraged his men by all the promises of Mahomet's Paradise to destroy the hated Christians, but A. de Faria, after making a similar religious exhortation to his men, with an allusion to Christ put on the Cross for them whom he would not abandon, sinners as they were, to the heathen dogs, rushed at Coja Acem with a two-handed sword and knocked him down with a blow on his cap of mail and then severed both his legs with a second blow. This was the sign for a desperate *melée*, because all the Mahometans rushed on A. de Faria and the Portuguese rushed to his rescue, and, as F. M. Pinto puts it, in less than two credos 48 of the enemy and 14 of his men, amongst which five Portuguese, were killed over the body of Coja Acem.

[14] A briga se travou entre todos de maneyra. que realmente confesso q̃ nã̃o me atrevo a particularizar o que nella passou, inda que me achey presente, porque ainda neste tempo a menham nao era bem clara, & a revolta dos inimigos & nossa era tamanha, juntamente co estrondo dos tã̃bores, bacias, & sinos, & com as gritas & brados de hũs & dos outros, acompanhados de muytos pilouros de artilharia, & de arcabusaria, & na terra o retombar dos ecos pelas concavidades dos valles, & outeyros, que as carnes tremião de medo.

[15] This romanisation of an Arabic sentence is very good and shows that F. M. Pinto must have had a good ear for languages, because it is probable he did not know Arabic.

The victory was most complete: all the enemy were either killed or drowned and their vessels, loaded with wealth, became the prize of the victors. A. de Faria behaved very liberally to his people: he gave to the Portuguese from Liampoo all that they had lost in their ship, and he ordered that all slaves should be liberated. He committed, however, an act of such barbarity that even F. M. Pinto, who by this time must have been accustomed to atrocities of every kind, was shocked. After landing he proceeded a short way into the country, and came upon a temple which was full of sick and wounded men that had been left there by Coja Acem. As soon as these poor wretches saw A. de Faria they gave a great cry, beseeching for mercy, but he refused to grant it, saying that it was not proper to give life to those who had killed so many Christians. He ordered the building should be set on fire in six or seven places, and as it was of tarred timber covered with dried palm-leaves it burned rapidly, and the scene was dreadful and heartrending on account of the horrible shrieks which the miserable creatures uttered when the flames spread everywhere. Some tried to escape by jumping from the windows, but they were spitted on the points of lances by Faria's men who were waiting for them below.

A. de Faria remained on the spot where he had destroyed his great enemy nearly a month, to enable the sick and wounded to recover, and then he resumed his course for Liampoo loaded with all the wealth of Coja Acem. His misfortunes were not yet over, because a dreadful storm destroyed two junks and a lorcha, and he lost more than a hundred men, amongst which 11 Portuguese and 200,000 crusados worth of goods. F. M. Pinto makes some sad remarks[16] about the

[16] E estas pancadas tais tem esta costa da China mais que todas as das outras terras, pelo que ninguem póde navegar seguro nella hũ só anno que lhe não aconteção desastres, se com as conjunções das lũas cheyas se não meter nas calheitas dao portos que tem muytos & muyto bũs, onde sem nenhum receyo se póde entrar, porq̃ toda he limpa, tirãdo somente Lamau Sumbor, que tem hũs baixos obra de meya legoa das barras da parte do Sul.

dreadful storms to which navigators of the China coast are exposed to, and which it must have been very difficult to weather with the small vessels and imperfect knowledge of the period. During the storm some of the shipwrecked Portuguese had been thrown ashore and there they had been seized and carried off as prisoners to a neighbouring town called Nonday. A. de Faria, in his endeavours to get back these men, was by a curious series of circumstances forced into another piratical adventure of much greater importance than any of his former ones.

The negotiations for the release of the prisoners between the Mandarin of Nonday and A. de Faria are very amusing, and furnish us probably with only a slightly coloured picture of what official transactions were at that time. As soon as it was found that the shipwrecked sailors were in prison at Nonday, A. de Faria was advised by the Chinese to write a petition to the Mandarin asking for them, and promising to pay a ransom if necessary; a present also was sent. The mistake of writing a petition as if he were a Chinaman, and of sending a present, were at once put down to their true cause—his anxiety to get back his men—and this feeling was played upon until he could stand it no longer, and a rupture took place. The answer of the Mandarin came scrawled in the margin of the petition, and according to F. M. Pinto was to this effect: Let your mouth come before my feet, and after being heard I shall show you if you will get justice. A. de Faria was very angry at this ill-mannered answer, as he saw it would be difficult to liberate the prisoners. After some consultation he sent what should have been sent the first time, a letter between equals, with none of the ceremonies of the Gentiles, and not in form of a petition. The request for the prisoners was repeated, 2,000 taels was offered for them, and it was added he would not leave the coast until the men were given back. He hoped in this way to frighten the Mandarin. F. M.

Pinto says that two grave mistakes were made in the compilation of this letter, which ruined the whole business: first, to say that A. de Faria was a respectable merchant of Liampoo, who traded peacefully there and always had paid his duties; second, to say that, as the King of Portugal was brother to the King of China, the Portuguese came there to trade just as the Chinese were allowed to trade at Malacca. These two points displeased the Mandarin. He did not like any official reference to the trade clandestinely carried on at Ningpo, and the assumption of equality between the kings of the two countries upset all his preconceived notions and made him furious. His answer came on a broken piece of paper, and began by calling A. de Faria the bad egg of a flesh-fly engendered in a filthy dung-hill; then he said that at first, touched by his humble petition, he was disposed to favour, and had pity on him, but now after his insolence in daring to meddle with the Emperor and other Heavenly things far above his meanness he deserved no mercy and was ordered to leave the coast at once, *at once* without delay. When A. de Faria heard the contents of the letter from the *tansuu*[17] (as they called the interpreter), he was very angry, and after consulting his men it was decided to attack the place and free their captives by force.

They sailed up the river and anchored close to the city. After another fruitless attempt to come to a pacific solution they marched to attack the city. They were 300 strong including 70 Portuguese, and they had 160 muskets, besides lances and other weapons; their vessels were also disposed so that they could be supported by artillery. F. M. Pinto remarks on the great display of flags and shouting on the walls, and says it was of people who trusted more in words and external

[17] This is probably the rendering of *t'ung-shih*, and would show that F. M. Pinto must have picked up a few words of Chinese otherwise he could not have remembered this one when he was writing his book.

show than in actions. Over a thousand men came out to meet the Portuguese and began to skirmish in a wild way, though at a safe distance, and he says it looked as if they were thrashing corn on a thrashing-floor, they wheeled about in such confusion. When they saw that the Portuguese were not frightened by all these warlike demonstrations they gathered together in some disorder. A. de Faria ordered a general discharge of musketry, and charged the enemy with such vigour that they fled wildly to the city and were slaughtered helplessly as they crowded on the bridge over the city moat to get through the gate as fast as they could. This butchery over, the Portuguese, still pursuing the remaining fugitives, came to the gate, where they found the Mandarin himself with a picked body of 600 soldiers. These fought very well, so that it took four or five *credos* before the Portuguese could secure victory, and this was owing more to chance, as a lucky shot killed the Mandarin, which so disheartened his soldiers that they fled right through the city and out again at the opposite gate, the Portuguese all the time pursuing and driving them before them like a herd of cattle. A. de Faria only allowed half-an-hour to his men to carry off what they liked from the city, as he was afraid the enemy might come back with reinforcements from the country. After an hour and a-half, as his men would not desist from plundering, A. de Faria set fire to the town in ten or twelve places, and as it was built of pinewood, F. M. Pinto says that in a quarter of an hour it burnt like a thing of hell.[18]

In the above passages of F. M. Pinto there is nothing that is improbable and much that resembles what we know of China both before and after that period; there may be some exaggeration, and the adventures are perhaps too many for the experience of one man, but this does not affect the use we are

[18] Que parecia cousa do inferno.

making of his book, *i.e.* to get a vivid picture of the life of the Portuguese adventurers in China. We learn from him that piracy was then rampant on the coast, but so has it ever been up to the introduction of steam, and sporadic cases have happened even since. We find that Portuguese merchants frequented Chincheo and Liampoo, and this is highly probable because Mahomedan merchants had done the same for centuries, and the Portuguese simply supplanted them everywhere. The negotiations with the Mandarin at Nonday bring out one or two points which the later history of China has made us familiar with—the refusal of the Mandarins to recognise officially clandestine trade which they knew existed and could not or would not prevent, and the assumption that the Emperor of China is superior to all other monarchs of the world. Such facts must have been picked up by F. M. Pinto in China, and he must have witnessed similar negotiations whether at Nonday or elsewhere. Before following our author in a subject of much greater importance, where he treats of facts of a strange nature, *i.e.* the extensive settlement of the Portuguese at Liampoo and its complete and sudden destruction by the Chinese—facts which require the strongest corroboration before we can accept them from an author given to exaggeration and loose statements—let us see what we can glean from another writer of the period.

Gaspar da Cruz,[19] a Dominican friar, in his *Tractedo da China*, gives us incidentally some account of the Portuguese traders of that time. He says that after 1554 commerce was carried on very quietly and no ship was lost except in unusually bad storms, while before that date, as there was constant fighting between the Chinese and the Portuguese, the latter had often to run out to sea to avoid the enemy's fleet

[19] He came to China as a missionary on a Chinese junk, and must have had a certain knowledge of the language. His remarks on all subjects are very sensible.

and thus exposed themselves to storms in ill-sheltered places. In the above-mentioned year Leonel da Sousa (capitam moor) agreed with the Chinese to pay duty if they allowed him to trade, and after that Canton was opened to the Portuguese with great profit and satisfaction to both sides. He says that the disturbance caused by Fernam Perez Andrade[20] had raised such hatred against the Portuguese that they were called "fancui,"[21] which means "men of the devil," while after the pacification of 1554, though they were not called Portuguese, yet they were styled "fangim" which means "men of other coasts." Father da Cruz then goes on to explain that the Chinese cannot leave their country, and if they do so they are obliged to remain abroad to avoid punishment, and this accounts for the presence of so many Chinese in Malacca and elsewhere. This class of Chinese outlaws furnishes the Portuguese with all the assistance and information necessary for navigating and trading on the coast of China: they have relations and friends ashore from whom they can get provisions and with whom they can arrange business, and when it comes to paying the Customs duties they ask a Portuguese friend to lend them his name, for which they pay him a consideration[22]. These foreign-residing Chinese, after the conduct of Andrade had stopped trade at Tamao, encouraged the Portuguese to go to Liampoo, as in that part of the coast there were not many cities, but large villages of poor people who were only too glad to sell provisions to the strangers. These Chinese used to act as middlemen between the Portuguese and native merchants in all their transactions, and used to give bribes to the Mandarins that they might wink at the trade. We

[20] He mistakes him for his brother. As may be seen, this author spells the name differently from F. M. Pinto.

[21] According to this account Simão de Andrade would be the prototype for which the term "fankwai" was coined, a term which has been so liberally applied since to all foreigners, however weak and harmless they might be.

[22] This is still practised in China, and shows how little influence three centuries have had in changing character and customs.

recognise in them the ancestors of our old friends the compradores. This clandestine commerce went on for a long while without coming to the knowledge of the Emperor and great provincial authorities, so that the Portuguese, growing bold, began to trade also at Chincheo and the islands near Canton. Matters progressed so favourably that the Portuguese went so far as to remain all the winter at the islands of Liampoo and to settle permanently, and with such freedom that the only thing wanting was that they should have a pillory and gallows.[23] But as the Chinese who were with the Portuguese, and some of the latter, began to overstep all bounds and to rob and to kill, the whole business came to the knowledge of the great provincial authorities and of the Emperor. He ordered at once that a large squadron should be fitted out in Fokien, to drive all the robbers off the coast, especially those of Liampoo. The merchants, both Chinese and Portuguese, were reckoned among the robbers. The fleet set sail, and as the winds were not favourable, instead of going to Liampoo they steered for Chincheo, and wherever they met Portuguese vessels they fought with them. The Portuguese continued fighting for many days in the hope that they might find some opportunity of selling their goods, but as none offered itself they decided to depart. The captains of the Chinese squadron on hearing of this sent a messenger secretly one night, saying that if they would give them something they might go on trading. The Portuguese, delighted at this message, sent a rich present, after which there was no difficulty in selling and buying goods.

This happened in 1548 ; the following year the vigilance of the squadron was more strict.[24] With all their care however

[23] By this the author means territorial jurisdiction, the right which the Chinese always contested with the Portuguese.

[24] This clandestine trading of the Portuguese is very similar to what happened in this century before the Treaties were concluded, when the opium traffic was carried on secretly by armed vessels called gun-brigs, which used to land their cargoes among the islands of the southern coast where their native accomplices were ready to receive them. Namoa Island, I believe, was a favourite spot for such rendezvous,

they could not prevent, among the chain of islands that line the coast of China, some merchandise from being smuggled on board the Portuguese vessels. It was not sufficient however to load the ships for their return voyage, nor had all the cargo they had brought been sold, so it was agreed two vessels with 30 Portuguese should remain to dispose of the unsold goods. The Chinese, by a clever stratagem, succeeded in seizing these ships; they provoked the Portuguese until they came on shore to fight, and the fleet that was hidden behind a headland then swooped down on the defenceless vessels. The Portuguese on land, deprived of their means of escape, were made prisoners. The Mandarin who had commanded this attack, proud of his victory, determined to get all the glory he could out of it, and devised a still more brilliant scheme. He dressed up four of the Portuguese with long gowns, night-shirts and caps, and declared they were Kings of Malacca. Four large flags with their names were carried in front of them, and whenever he entered a village or town there was a great noise and flourish of trumpets, and criers proclaimed the great victory of the Mandarin over four Kings of Malacca. This farce was kept up a long time, but, as to keep the truth secret he had to kill all the Chinese who accompanied the Portuguese, the relations of the murdered men made such a clamour that a special enquiry was made. After much difficulty, because the Portuguese could not understand, nor be understood by the enquiring officials, and the only interpreter for a long time was bribed to falsify their statements by the guilty Mandarin, the fraud was discovered and the greater part of the Portuguese regained their liberty. Those who had not been made to represent the part of Kings of Malacca had been dragged about in hen-coops (cages) with only their heads out, and were obliged even to eat and drink in that uncomfortable position.[25]

[25] Even in this century foreigners have been carried about and exposed to the public gaze in cages.

The above account from da Cruz shows us that the Portuguese in the first half of the 16th century carried on their trade in much the same way as other foreigners did in the same portion of the present century. It seems to indicate also that the Portuguese had established near Ningpo something like what we should call a settlement.

F. M. Pinto goes much farther and describes Portuguese Liampoo in glowing terms. He says there were 3,000 people in it, among which 1,200 Portuguese; that 300 were married to Portuguese and half-caste wives; that there were more than 1,000 houses, some of which cost 3,000 or 4,000 crusados,[26] seven or eight churches, and two hospitals on which they spent every year 30,000 crusados. Japan had only been discovered two years, and Liampoo monopolised the trade with that country, which was so profitable that money employed in it was doubled three or four times. He estimates the trade of the place at three millions of gold.[27] A regular administration was established, and he gives the titles of a lot of officials. The Portuguese were so independent that F. M. Pinto is astonished and remarks that the public scriveners in their acts used to write "and I so and so, public notary in this city of Liampoo, in the name of the King our Lord," just as if they were living between Santarem and Lisbon. If F. M. Pinto's description is correct, Liampoo must have been the Shanghai of the 16th century. In fact, he says it was considered a more noble and wealthy place than any in India or all Asia. Now all this, according to him, was wiped out by the Chinese in five hours. Before discussing this subject let us see how he got his personal knowledge of the place.

After the burning of Nonday, A. de Faria and his Chinese ally Quiay Panjão arrived at two islands which were then

[26] F. M. Pinto makes the crusado equal to two-thirds of the tael.

[27] He means of crusados, as appears from other places,—and would be equal to 2 million taels.

called the Gates of Liampoo. They did not wish to go direct to the Portuguese settlement, because if their piratical attack on Nonday was generally known, their presence there might compromise the safety of their countrymen. He describes the islands as well-wooded, distant from each other two musket-shots, with a depth of water of twenty to twenty-five fathoms and good anchorages between them; they were three leagues from the Portuguese settlement. This description corresponds very well to the islands forming Blackwall Channel, and we might take the settlement to have been at Chinhai.[28] Later on F. M. Pinto says that the Chinese town (probably Ningpo) was seven leagues from the settlement. To make this agree with Chinhai we should have to make the leagues shorter than what we have assumed them for the distance from Blackwall Channel, but probably the Portuguese knew the distance from Ningpo very imperfectly. A. de Faria sent at once the two merchants from Liampoo who had been robbed by Coja Acem, to report his arrival to their fellow-citizens, and declare that he would go and winter elsewhere if his presence should injure them. The merchants of Liampoo were touched at this considerateness, and being very grateful to A. de Faria for all he had done in clearing the sea of so many of their piratical enemies, they prepared for him a magnificent reception. As for his alarm about the Nonday affair, they told him not to trouble himself about such a small matter, as China was then in such a confusion that even the burning of a large place like Canton would attract little notice. F. M. Pinto then describes the intestine troubles of China on account of the death of the Emperor.[29]

The reception of A. de Faria in Liampoo was most gorgeous,—crowds of boats with musical instruments came to

[28] A Portuguese resident has told me that one can still see the arms of Portugal on a gate of Chinhai.

[29] This is another error; Chia-ching did not die in 1541 but in 1567.

meet him, and the shipping in port (twenty-six ships, eighty junks and many more smaller vessels) was all decked out with green branches and festive arches. When he landed they made him a speech praising his heroic deeds and declaring he was greater than Alexander, Hannibal and Julius Cæsar. On his way to the Church they erected a wooden tower with lifelike figures to represent the heroic action by which Faria's ancestors had won their armorial bearings. In church the whole sermon also ran on his exploits, and when the preacher was told that he exaggerated things a little he said: I speak true, because A. de Faria has saved me 7,000 crusados which that dog of Coja Acem had robbed from the vessel which we sent to India.

The narration of all this splendial reception is prefaced by the remark that the author had witnessed the destruction of the whole settlement, and he adds the sad sentence on the uncertainty of things in China which I have chosen as the motto of this paper. It is strange that though he says he was an eye-witness of the disastrous end of this flourishing place, and he describes minutely so many other of his personal adventures, he gives us no particulars of what he was doing on that occasion. After five months residence in Liampoo he accompanies A. de Faria in another wild expedition to plunder seventeen tombs of the Kings of China in the island of Calẽpluy, which Similau, a Chinese pirate, had said were full of gold which could be easily carried off in their ships. They leave on the 14th May 1542, and after many disasters and shipwrecks, after F. M. Pinto has been in captivity near the Great Wall and has been over to Japan, he returns again to Liampoo and leaves it without saying anything about its destruction. It is only more than fifteen years after that time, at the end of his book, while he is describing the flourishing state of Macao, that he reverts to the subject as a moral lesson to those who might feel too confident in their

new settlement at Macao. Then he says again that he was an eye-witness to the total destruction of the place, and he says it happened in 1542. Now this is impossible for many reasons. In the beginning of 1542 he was enjoying himself at Liampoo with bull-fights and hunting, and the rest of the year, at least, must have been taken up by his long voyage north as far as 49° latitude, by his captivity, and by his voyages to Japan. Besides, by the passages of Father Da Cruz it seems that the Portuguese were still at Liampoo as late as 1548. As the foundation of the whole story is doubtful, I think it needless to give the circumstantial account of the causes that led to the disaster; for the same reason I say nothing about the destruction of the Portuguese at Chincheo.

Though we cannot believe that F. M. Pinto was present at the burning of the Portuguese settlement at Liampoo, nor accept his version of it, yet it looks likely that there may be some kernel of truth in it. Da Cruz says that a fleet was sent in 1548 to drive away the Portuguese, and probably later on they achieved their purpose. It was quite sufficient to stop trade to render the place an undesirable residence to the merchants, and we may believe that though there was some bloodshed no such carnage took place as Pinto wishes us to believe. As we know that the Mandarins ageed to concentrate foreign trade in 1554 at Lampacao and in 1557 at Macao, it is probable that the Portuguese were driven away from Liampoo and Chincheo some time before these dates. Such events would cause sensation among the traders and adventurers of the Far East, and F. M. Pinto felt probably that he must be present at such an important event, and therefore assigns it to the year 1542, when he was so long at Liampoo. It would not do for him to miss such an adventure, and he worked up a dramatical description of the catastrophe.

The adventures of F. M. Pinto, marvellous as some of them are, must be considered to have generally a small substratum

of truth and to be based, if not on what he saw or did, on what he heard others had seen or done. Taken in such a light he gives us a picturesque view of the life of those times, and if we reflect we shall find that in most cases we can find a modern parallel to all he describes. Even the last mad enterprise of A. de Faria, which cost him his life—his expedition to rifle the tombs of the Emperors of China—has something to match it in our times, for not many years ago here in Shanghai, at the instigation of pious missionaries, with the assistance of princely hongs, OPPERT fitted out his expedition to rob the tombs of the Kings of Corea.

THE COINAGE OF COREA.

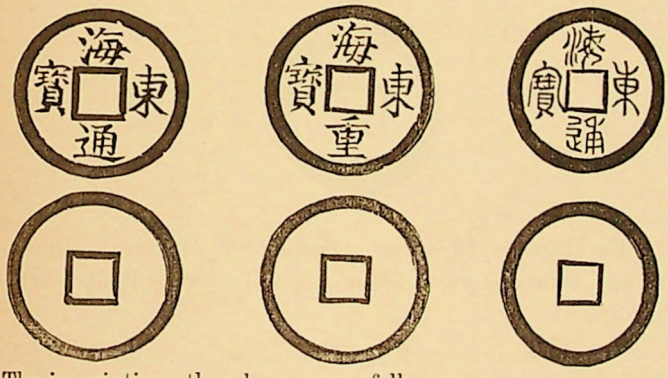
By C. T. GARDNER,
H.B.M. Consular Service.

There is no native work on Corean numismatics, and the Chinese books on coins only contain a very meagre notice of ancient Corean money, and do not give any account at all of modern Corean money.

The 泉吏 [chapter 14, pp. 1, 2 and 3] says:—The Coreans only began to mint coins in the beginning of the 12th century A.D.

Between A.D. 1100 and A.D. 1290 *circa* seven different kinds of coins were issued; the following are drawings of them, copied from Chinese books.

No. 1 No. 2 No. 3



The inscriptions they bear are as follow:—

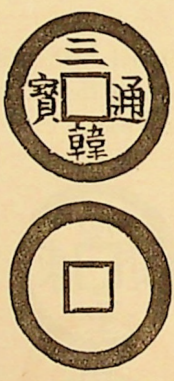
No. 1.—"East of the sea universal currency."

No. 2.—"East of the sea valuable currency."

No. 3.—"East of the Sea universal currency" [in the Chinese Seal Character].

At the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th century Corea had considerable intercourse with China, and the Corean Court modelled itself on that of China. At this time the Sung dynasty was reigning in the Celestial Kingdom, and it was the habit of that dynasty to issue three coins simultaneously, one with "universal," one with "valuable" currency inscribed on it in modern character, and some in ancient character, which was then going out of use. The three coins above depicted are said to have been issued when HWEI TSUNG [徽宗] sat on the Chinese throne, during the Period Ts'ung ning (崇寧) *id est* A.D. 1102 to A.D. 1107.

No. 4



The character 韓 is the old designation of Corea. In the 9th and 10th centuries of our era Corea was divided into three states :—

(1).—Ko rai [Kao li 高麗], or Corea in the north, which included in its territory the two provinces of modern Korea now called Pyeng an do (平安道) and Ham kyeng do (咸鏡道) and portions of the Manchurian provinces of Shêng king and Kirin.

(2).—Pe tsi [百濟] or Hia ksia in the west, which probably included in its territories the three provinces of modern Corea now known as King ki do (京畿道), Hoang hai do (黃海道) and Tsiong tsieng do (忠清道).

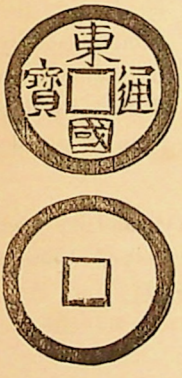
(3).—Shin ra or Sin la [新羅] in the east and south, which probably included in its territories the three provinces of modern Corea now known as Chuen lo do (全羅道), Kang ouen do (江原道) and Kieng san do (慶尙道).

In the end of the 11th century OUANG, king of Korai, with the aid of the Sung dynasty of China, while the Liao and Kin dynasties were struggling for supremacy in Manchuria, conquered the two other states of Hia ksia and Shin ra, annexed their territory and founded the kingdom and dynasty of Kao li.

It must therefore have been subsequent to this annexation that the coin "Universal currency of the three Chau" was minted.

The State of Shin ra had always been closely connected with Japan.

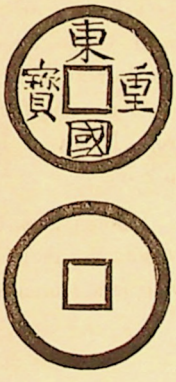
N. 5



No. 6



No. 7



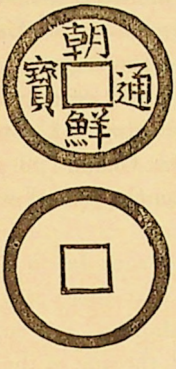
Coins Nos. 5, 6 and 7 seem to have been issued at the same time. They were probably minted sufficiently long after the unification of Corea as to render the king of the Kao li dynasty secure on his throne. The assumption of the title "Kwo" (kingdom) would seem to indicate that the coins were issued at the end of the Sung dynasty, at a time when the Chinese sovereigns were not in a position to effectively resent their previous *protégés* assuming the rank of a sovereign state.

In the 13th century the Mongols overran Asia and conquered Manchuria and China. The King of Corea [still of the Kao li dynasty] hastened to offer his submission to Kublai Khan, and retained his kingdom as a vassal of the Mongols. As a sign of the country's subjection, Corea ceased issuing money, and for some time used bullion or Mongolian coins as its currency.

In A.D. 1368 the Yuan or Mongol dynasty was driven from the throne of China by the Mings, and shortly afterwards [A.D. 1392] a Corean, named by the Chinese LI TAU, aided by the Emperor HUNG WU (洪武), rebelled against the Kao li dynasty, drove it from the throne, and established himself as the king of Corea. He chose for the title of his dynasty the words Ch'ao hsien (朝鮮), "morning calm," pronounced by the Coreans *cho sen*. This is now the official name both for Corea and for the reigning dynasty, which derives its title from LI TAU. He also moved the capital from Song do to Söul.

Coins Nos. 8 and 9 were issued by LI TAU and his successors for about 200 years—A.D. 1392 to *circa* A.D. 1590—when the Coreans were defeated by the Japanese.

No. 8
Copper



No. 9
Iron



The friendship between China and Corea lasted throughout the epoch of the Ming dynasty [A.D. 1390 to A.D. 1632], the smaller kingdom sharing the fate and fortunes of the larger. While China was prosperous Corea flourished. She took large slices of territory from Japan, among which were the islands of Tchushima and Goto. During the reign of king Siong of Corea [A.D. 1506 to 1544] the Japanese endeavoured in vain to throw off the Corean yoke. The Coreans punished the revolt by a frightful massacre of the Japanese,—a massacre for which Japan enacted a fearful vengeance some 50 years afterwards. At the end of the 16th century, when the Ming dynasty in China was falling and the imperial throne was occupied by Wan li (萬 歷), Japan rose against the Coreans, reconquered Tchushima and Goto, and sent a naval expedition to the peninsula under the famous Taiko Sama Hide Yoshi, who made a slaughter of the Coreans, and would, had he lived, have annexed Corea to Japan. In A.D. 1615 the family of the Taiko Sama fell from power, and the Japanese, with a want of persistency which frequently occurs in their history, made peace with Corea. The terms of the peace were exceedingly

humiliating to the Coreans, but the only material advantage Japan gained was the possession of the Japanese settlement at Fusan, which she still retains. By the terms of the peace the king of Corea acknowledged the sovereignty of Japan, and paid tribute to Japan for nearly 100 years, that is, till A.D. 1790. Shortly after the peace with Japan, Corea adopted a new name for the country named Chang p'ing 常平 (Lasting Peace). This title appears on the face of all Corean modern coins.

No sooner had Corea made peace with Japan than other troubles beset her. It was evident that there was to be a struggle between the Chinese and Manchus for supremacy. The king of Corea not unnaturally took the side of the Chinese. Corea was devastated in A.D. 1636 by a Manchu army, which took Söul and forced the king to erect a temple—the temple outside the South Gate of Söul—in honour of the victorious Manchu general.* Corea acknowledged the Manchu emperors as their suzerains and paid them tribute, as she was doing to Japan. But while the tribute to Japan ceased to be paid in A.D. 1790, that to China continues to be paid to the present day. Further, the kings of Corea and the heir-apparents are on each accession invested with the insignia of their authority by an envoy specially sent from China. One of the terms of peace imposed on Corea by the victorious Manchus in A.D. 1632 was that Corea was to cease issuing coins.

About the end of the 18th century, at the time when Corea was throwing off her subjection to Japan, she again issued coins. I cannot find that her engagement with the Manchus to refrain from doing so was ever formally rescinded, but China has acquiesced in her issuing coins since about A.D. 1790. Each province of Corea has since that date had its own

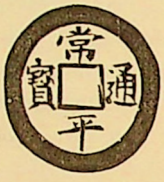
* Some say this temple was erected to celebrate a victory of the Coreans over the Japanese in A.D. 1592. But the armour now to be seen in the temple is said to be old Chinese and not old Corean armour.

mints, and as it is difficult to fix the dates of coins, I have arranged those I possess according to the provinces. As the coins I possess were mostly obtained from the province of King ki do, in which the capital Söul is situated, I have a larger proportion of coins of that province than of others. It is also to be remarked that the province of King ki do has issued more coins than any other province; not only have various towns in the province been allowed to coin money, but various generals and officials in Söul have also been given permission to do so.

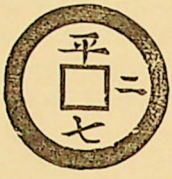


Coins issued by the Pyeng an do Province.

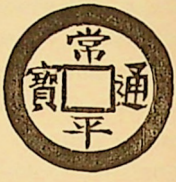
No. 10
Obverse



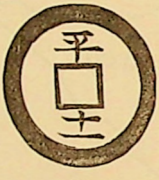
No. 11
Reverse



No. 12
Obverse



Reverse



Reverse

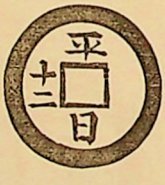


No. 10 is probably the coin issued about 1790. The dies only coin a few coins. As new dies are required they are numbered; thus No. 10 has on it various numbers,—I have in my possession Nos. 1 to 11, excepting 8. In No. 11 we have a second issue,—I have in my possession Nos. 1 to 7. In No. 12 we have a later issue.

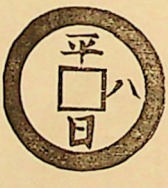
No. 13
Reverse



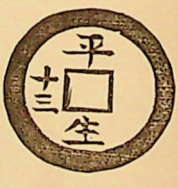
No. 14
Reverse



No. 15
Reverse



No. 16
Reverse



In Nos. 13, 14, 15 and 16 the characters 天, 日 and 生 are used as numerals, according to the order in which they stand in the Thousand Character Classic (千字文).

Thus 天 stands for one
„ 日 „ „ nine.
„ 生 „ „ forty-two.

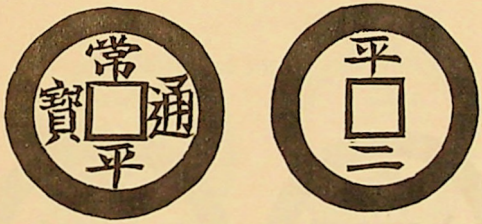
There must accordingly have been at least 42 issues of coins Nos. 13 to 16; the number of dies used in each issue vary, but they must have been at least seven in coin No. 13, twelve in No. 14, eight in No. 15 and thirteen in No. 16.

These small coins are still being minted in the Pyeng an do Province.

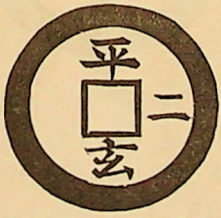
In about A.D. 1830 a large cash (Nos. 17 to 19) was issued, of the nominal value of two small cash; it continued to be issued till about 1877. This large cash is made of good light-coloured Corean copper.

No. 17

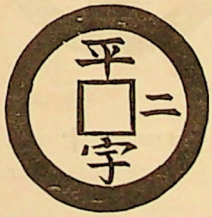
Obverse *Reverse*



No. 18
Reverse



No. 19
Reverse

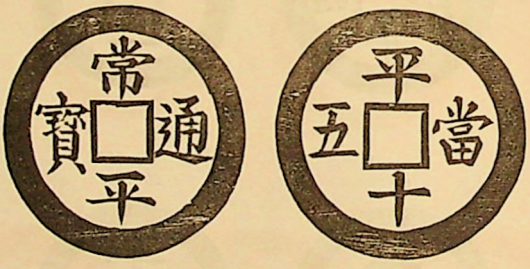


No. 17 calls for no comment. In No. 18 玄 stands for three and in No. 19 宇 for five, being the order of the characters in the Thousand Character Classic: there must accordingly have been at least five issues of the coins of which Nos. 18 and 19 are specimens.

In the year A.D. 1877 a still larger cash was issued, of the nominal value of five small cash. These coins are made of bad brass. The people refuse to receive these coins at their face value, and though in the nomenclature they are called five cash, with them are mixed up a large quantity of small cash and a sprinkling of value two cash, and all are either counted so many *nips* (葉)—pieces—or, more generally, are all called five: thus, speaking of 1,000 cash, only 200 nip cash are meant, and speaking of Riang (兩), which should be $\frac{1}{10}$ of a Chinese Tael, or 100 good Corean coins, only 20 cash is meant.

No. 20

Obverse *Reverse*

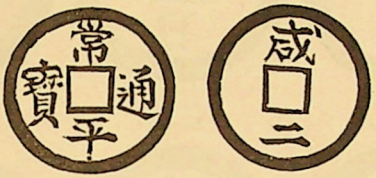


The character 十 is the No. of the die that minted the coin. There must accordingly have been at least ten dies made.

Ham kyeng do Province.

No. 21

Obverse *Reverse*

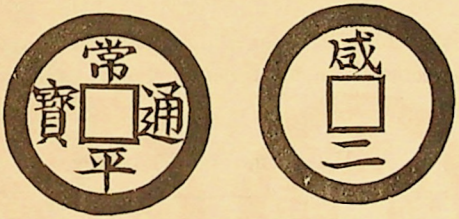


Of No. 21 I have specimens from only two dies—Die No. 1 and Die No. 2.

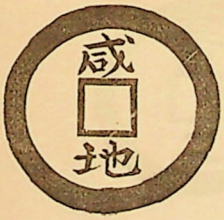
Of the two-cash pieces issued A.D. 1830 to 1877 I have the following:—

No. 22

Obverse *Reverse*



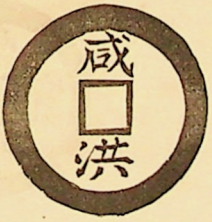
No. 23 *Reverse*



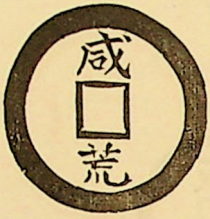
No. 24 *Reverse*



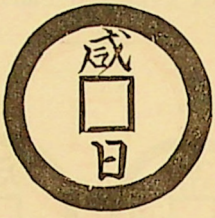
No. 25 *Reverse*



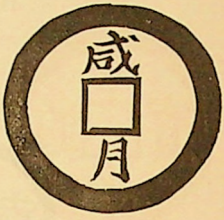
No. 26
Reverse



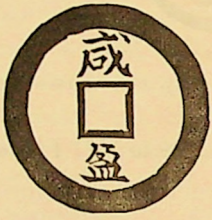
No. 27
Reverse



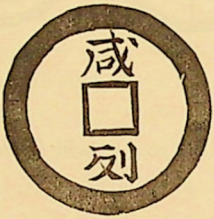
No. 28
Reverse



No. 29
Reverse



No. 30
Reverse



No. 31
Reverse



地 is the 2nd, 玄 is the 3rd, 洪 is the 7th, 荒 is the 8th, 日 „ „ 9th, 月 „ „ 10th, 盈 „ „ 11th, 列 „ „ 15th, and 張 is the 16th character in the Thousand Character Classic. Of these coins there must consequently have been at least 16 issues.

Hoang hai do Province.

Two-Cash Pieces, issued about A.D. 1830.

No. 32

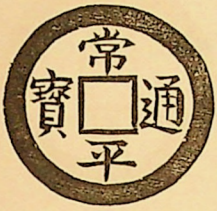
Obverse



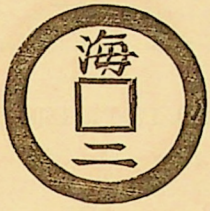
Reverse



No. 33
Obverse



Reverse



No. 34
Reverse



Kang ouen do Province.

Coins, face value five small cash, minted at the town of Chyon sun 春川.

No. 35
Obverse



Reverse



No. 36
Reverse



No. 35 was minted between A.D. 1877 and A.D. 1883. The metal is inferior brass. The No. 八 is the No. of the die. There were at least eight dies used for this issue.

No. 36 was minted from 1883 to 1893 by machinery bought in Japan. The metal is fine gun-metal. The figure 十二 (12) is the No. of the die. Consequently there must have been at least twelve dies employed.

King ki do Province.

General Provincial Mint.

A.D. 1790 to 1830 *circa*.

No. 37 *Obverse* *Reverse*



No. 38 *Reverse*



No. 39 *Reverse*



No. 40 *Reverse*



No. 41 *Reverse*



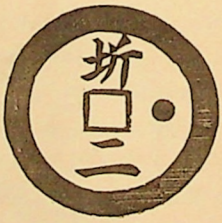
Two-Cash Pieces.

A.D. 1830 to 1877 *circa*.

No. 42 *Reverse*



No. 43 *Reverse*



These coins, Nos. 37 to 43, are somewhat rare. The character 圻 is a short way of writing 畿, the second character of King *ki* do. Probably there was a series of issues with the character 竟* on them, but I have not seen any such coins.

The character 二, at the bottom of Nos. 37 and 38, is an index of the No. of the issue. The first issues were probably without a No. at the bottom. The second issue would have No. 1 at the bottom, and so on. The Nos. at the sides represent the No. of the die used in minting the coin of the issue.

In Nos. 39, 40 and 41 天 stands for one, being the first character in the Thousand Character Classic. The Nos. at the sides represent the number of the die used.

Söul.—Poor Board.

Various officers of State in Söul have been permitted to mint money. The following are coins issued by the President of the Board for the Relief of the Poor.

No. 44
Reverse

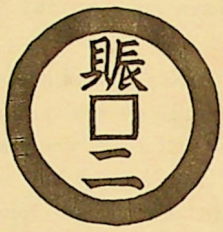


No. 44 was issued between 1790 and 1830. The No. 十 is the No. of the die used.

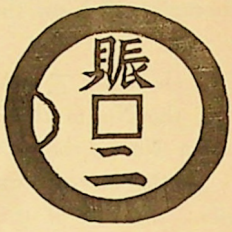
* Query: 京?—[Ed.]

Two-Cash pieces—A.D. 1830 circa.

No. 45
Reverse



No. 46
Reverse



No. 47
Reverse



No. 48
Reverse

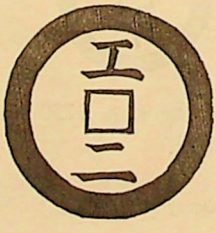


Nos. 45 to 48—issued also by the above Board—are made of good Corean light copper.

Board of Works.

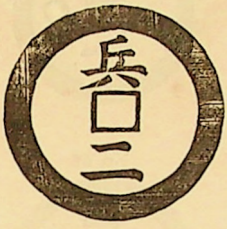
A.D. 1830 *circa.*

No. 49
Reverse



Board of War.

No. 50
Reverse



Board of Revenue.

Of the Board of Revenue there are several Departments. The heads of the following Departments of the Revenue Board at Söul have at sundry times been authorized to mint money: the 戶 or Treasury Department, the 均 or Land Tax Department, the 向 or Revenue Department, and the 宣惠府 or the Treasury Department for rice and clothing.

Board of Revenue: 戶 Department.

One-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1790 to 1830.

No. 51



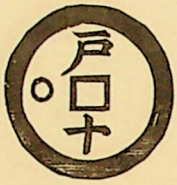
No. 52



No. 53



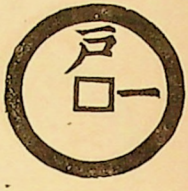
No. 54



No. 55



No. 56



No. 57



No. 58



No. 59



No. 60



No. 61



No. 62



Subsequent to the above there were issued coins using the characters of the Thousand Character Classic as numerals.

No. 63



No. 64



No. 65



No. 66



No. 67



No. 68



No. 69



No. 70



No. 71



No. 72



No. 73



No. 74



No. 75



No. 76



No. 77



No. 78



No. 79



The numerals on Nos. 51 to 79 are the Nos. of the dies used. I have coins of other dies, but I have depicted in each issue the highest-numbered coin :—

In No. 51 the Nos. run from...	...	...	1-16
„ 52 „ „ „ „ ...	...	...	1-11
Nos. 53, 54, 55, & 57 run from	...	...	1-10
No. 59 the Nos. run from	...	...	1- 5
„ 60 „ „ „ „	...	...	1- 3
„ 61 „ „ „ „	...	...	1- 8

In Nos. 63 to 79 the numerals invariably stop at 10. It would therefore appear that after using up ten dies, a variety of issue was minted. The coins depicted bear on them the first 20 characters (with the exception of the 8th, 10th, 11th, 14th, 16th and 18th) of the Thousand Character Classic. At the right hand of No. 72 appears the character 丁. This is the year of the cycle and might be A.D. 1797, 1807 or 1817. (I imagine it was probably issued in 1807).

Of the following twelve issues of coins in my possession, I have not yet grasped the significance of the inscription; as in the coins Nos. 63-79, ten dies seem to have been used for each issue.

No. 80



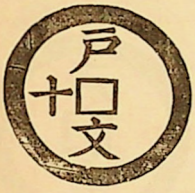
No. 81



No. 82



No. 83



No. 84



No. 85



No. 86



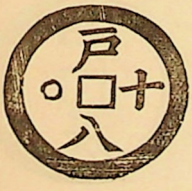
No. 87



No. 88



No. 89



No. 90



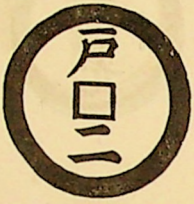
No. 91



Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1830 to 1877.

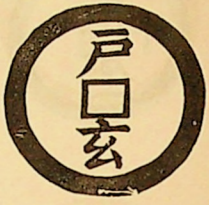
No. 92



No. 93



No. 94



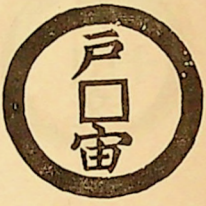
No. 95



No. 96



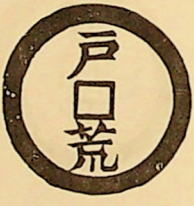
No. 97



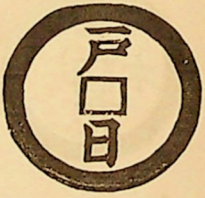
No. 98



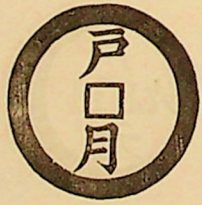
No. 99



No. 100



No. 101



No. 102



No. 103



No. 104



No. 105



No. 106



No. 107



No. 108



No. 109



No. 110



No. 111



No. 112



No. 113



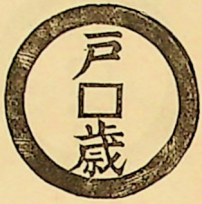
No. 114



No. 115



No. 116



The characters at the base of coins Nos. 93 to 116 are the first 28 characters (excepting the 1st, 16th, 23rd and 25th) of the Thousand Character Classic.

Five-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1877 to 1894.

No. 117



No. 118



Of No. 117 I have coins minted from each of the eleven dies.

Of No. 118 I have coins minted from each of the ten dies.

One-Hundred Cash Piece—issued 1883.

No. 119
Reverse

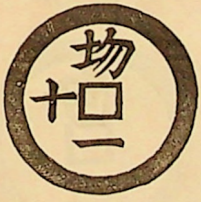


This coin is well minted and is made of good gun-metal. It was minted by the present king's father (TAI WEN KUN).

Board of Revenue : 均 Department.

One-Cash Pieces.

Reverse. A.D. 1790 to 1830.
No. 120



I have coins issued by all the dies of this coin, except by the first.

Five-Cash Pieces.

Reverse. *A.D. 1877 to 1894.*
No. 121



I have coins issued by each of the ten dies for this coin.

Board of Revenue: 向 *Department.*

Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverse. *A.D. 1830 to 1877.*
No. 122

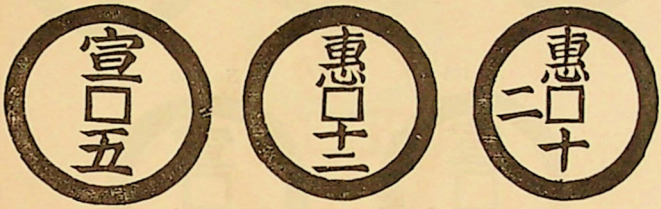


Board of Revenue: 宣惠府 *Office of Rice and Clothing.*

One-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1790 to 1830.

No. 123 No. 124 No. 125

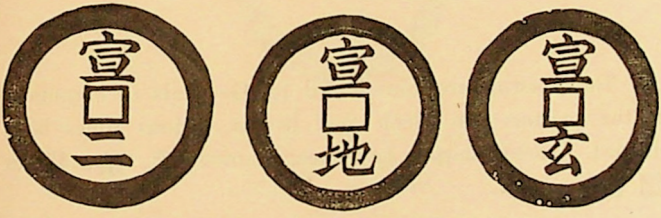


I have coins from the 27 dies of these coins, with the exception of Nos. 8 and 9 of No. 125.

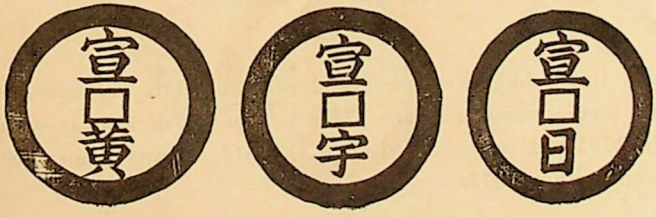
Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1830 to 1877.

No. 126 No. 127 No. 128



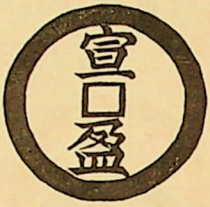
No. 129 No. 130 No. 131



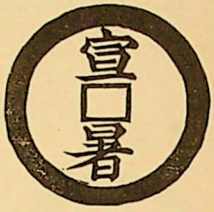
No. 132



No. 133



No. 134



No. 135



No. 136



The characters at the base of these coins are the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 19th, 21st and 26th characters in the Thousand Character Classic.

The following are coins issued by Generals in command of the quarters into which *Söul* has at various times been divided. These quarters have been named 武, 禁, 松 or 總, 訓, and 統.

General of the 武 *Division.*

In the old 武 Division of Söul was situated the old palace—the present Summer Palace. This quarter was done away with in 1794 and re-established in A.D. 1814, it was again done away with in 1877.

One-Cash Pieces.

Reverse. *A.D. 1814-1830.*

No. 137

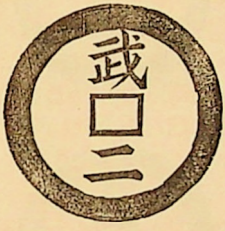


I have coins from nearly all the dies numbered 1 to 20.

Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverse. *A.D. 1830 to 1877.*

No. 138



General of 禁 *Division.*

One-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. *A.D. 1790 to 1830.*

No. 139



No. 140



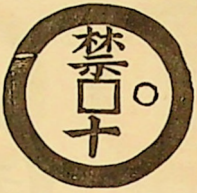
No. 141



No. 142



No. 143



Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1830 to 1877.

No. 144



No. 145



No. 146



No. 147



No. 148



No. 149



No. 150



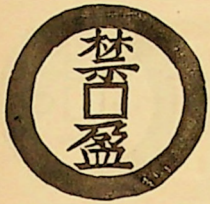
No. 151



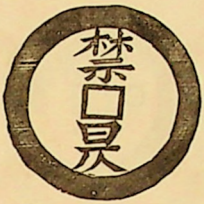
No. 152



No. 153



No. 154



No. 155



No. 156



No. 157



No. 158



No. 159



The characters at the base of Nos. 145 to 159 are the first 17 characters (except the 3rd and 10th) in the Thousand Character Classic.

General of 松 *Division.*

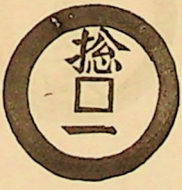
One-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1790 to 1830.

No. 160



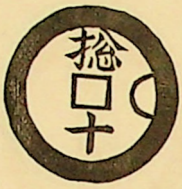
No. 161



No. 162



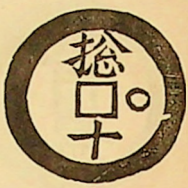
No. 163



No. 164



No. 165



Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1830 to 1877.

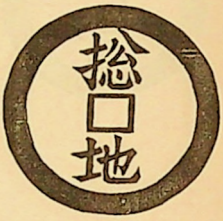
No. 166



No. 167



No. 168



No. 169



No. 170



No. 171



No. 172



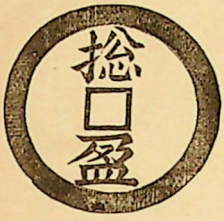
No. 173



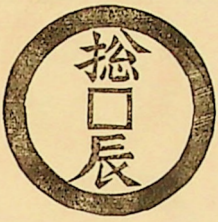
No. 174



No. 175



No. 176



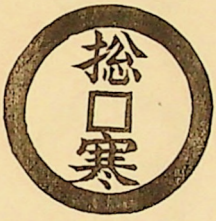
No. 177



No. 178



No. 179



No. 180



No. 181



The 松 Division ceased to exist in 1883. The characters at the base of coins Nos. 167 to 181 are the first 20 characters (except the 6th, 9th, 12th, 15th and 19th) of the Thousand Character Classic.

General of the 訓 *Division.*

This Division ceased to exist in 1883.

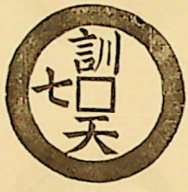
One-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1790 to 1830.

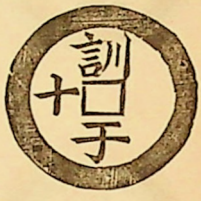
No. 182



No. 183



No. 184



No. 185



No. 186



No. 187



No. 188



No. 189



No. 190



No. 191



No. 192



No. 193



外交部藏書

No. 194



No. 195



No. 196



No. 197



No. 198



No. 199



No. 200



No. 201



No. 202



Of No. 182 I have coins numbering 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6. As to coins Nos. 183 to 202 I have not ascertained the significance of the character at the base. As I have coins issued by nearly all the dies, I infer that for the moonless coins the character at the base was changed after using up ten dies, and for the moon coins after using up five dies.

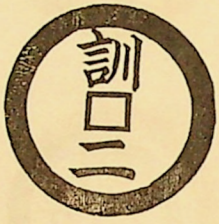
Two-Cash Pieces:

Reverses. A.D. 1830 to 1877.

No. 203



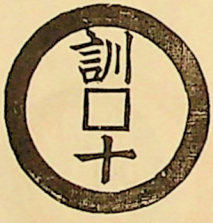
No. 204



No. 205



No. 206



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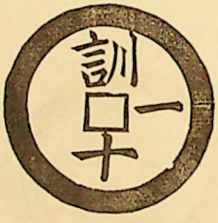
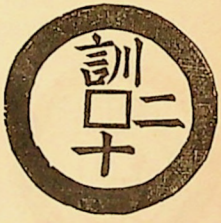


No. 208



No. 209



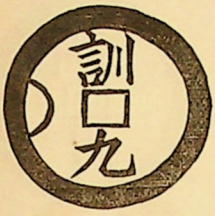
No. 210



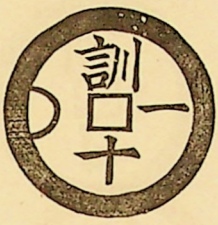
No. 211



No. 212



No. 213



No. 214



No. 215



No. 216



No. 217



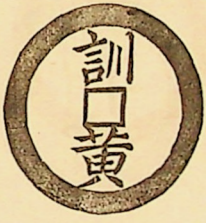
No. 218



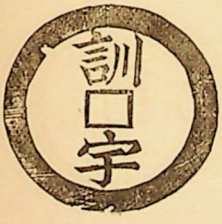
No. 219



No. 220



No. 221



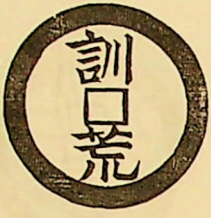
No. 222



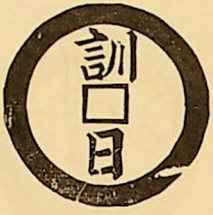
No. 223



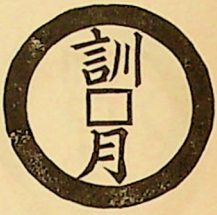
No. 224



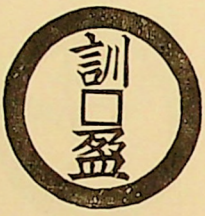
No. 225



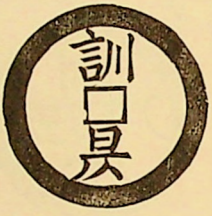
No. 226



No. 227



No. 228



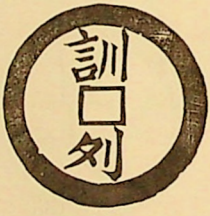
No. 229



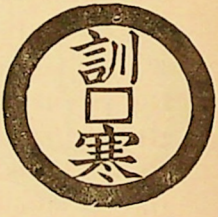
No. 230



No. 231



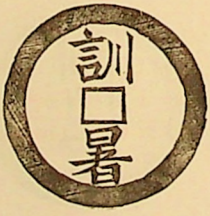
No. 232



No. 233



No. 234



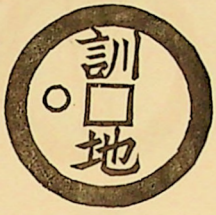
No. 235



No. 236



No. 237



No. 238



The following are possible dates for above coins.

203	...	1830	215	...	1842	227	...	1857
204	...	1831	216	...	1844	228	...	1858
205	...	1835	217	...	1845	229	...	1859
206	...	1839	218	...	1846	230	...	1860
207	...	1840	219	...	1847	231	...	1861
208	...	1841	220	...	1848	232	...	1863
209	...	1843	221	...	1849	234	...	1864
210	...	1844	222	...	1850	235	...	1866
211	...	1830	223	...	1851	236	...	1867
212	...	1838	224	...	1854	238	...	1867
213	...	1840	225	...	1855			
214	...	1841	226	...	1856			

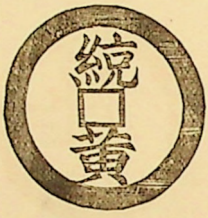
The characters at the base of Nos. 217 to 235 are the first 20 characters (except the 16th) of the Thousand Character Classic. The characters at the base of Nos. 236 to 238 are the first three characters of the same book.

General of the 統 *Division.*

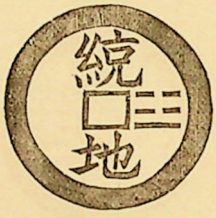
Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1830 to 1877.

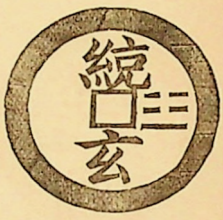
No. 239



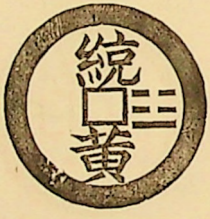
No. 240



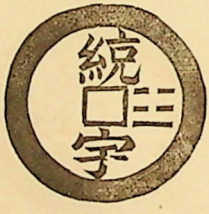
No. 241



No. 242



No. 243



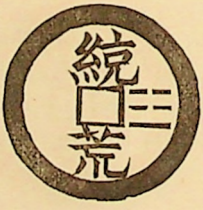
No. 244



No. 245



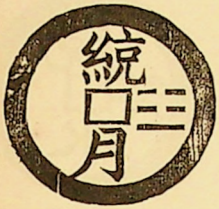
No. 246



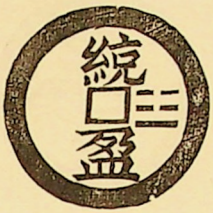
No. 247



No. 248



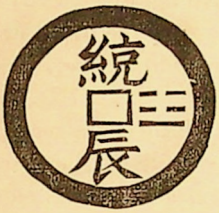
No. 249



No. 250



No. 251



No. 252



No. 253



No. 254



No. 255



No. 256



No. 257



No. 258



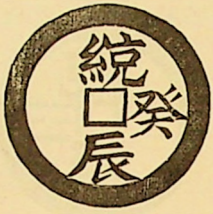
No. 259



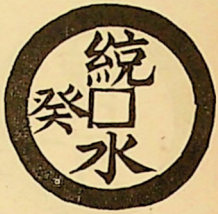
No. 260



No. 261



No. 262



No. 239 has on it the 4th character of the Thousand Character Classic and Nos. 240 to 254 have the first 20 characters of the Thousand Character Classic except the 1st, 15th, 16th, 17th and 19th. They also contain in addition the 4th of Fuhi's diagrams.

Nos. 255-258 have on them the cyclical character 壬 and Nos. 259 to 262 the cyclical character 癸. These are probably dates: 壬 stands for 1832, 1842, 1852, 1862, etc., 癸 stands for 1833, 1843, 1853, etc.

Five-Cash Pieces.

Reverse. A.D. 1877 to 1894.

No. 263



There have been at least 18 dies used for minting this coin. I have specimens from almost all the dies.

Sundry Coins of Söul.

Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverse. A.D. 1839 to 1877.

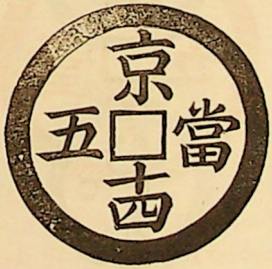
No. 264



Five-Cash Pieces.

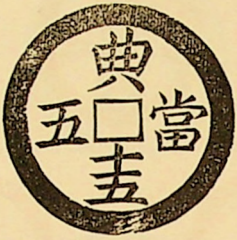
Reverse. A.D. 1877 to 1894.

No. 265



Reverse. A.D. 1883 to 1894.

No. 266



No. 266 is made of good gun-metal and minted by machinery bought in Japan.

Other Towns of King ki do Province.

Town Song do 開城.

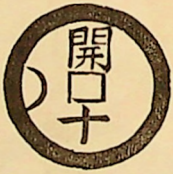
One-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1740 to 1877.

No. 267



No. 268



No. 269



No. 270



No. 271



No. 272



No. 273



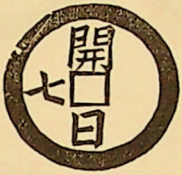
No. 274



No. 275



No. 276



No. 277



No. 277 was issued by the Treasury Office, Song do. The numbers on these coins represent the dies used.

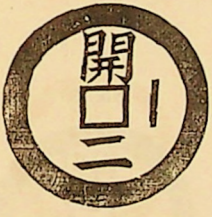
Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1830 to 1877.

No. 278



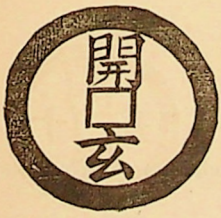
No. 279



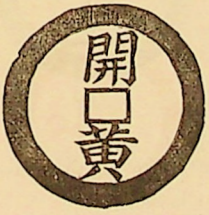
No. 280



No. 281



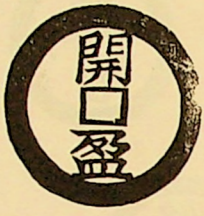
No. 282



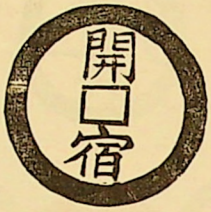
No. 283



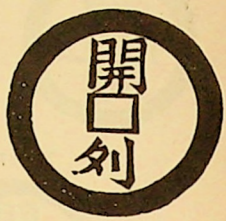
No. 284



No. 285



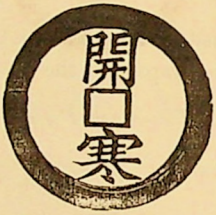
No. 286



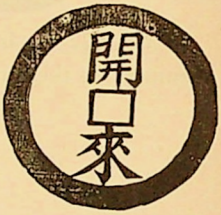
No. 287



No. 288



No. 289



No. 290



Nos. 280 to 290 have at the base characters from the Thousand Character Classic.

Town Ri ch'yen 利川.

Reverse. A.D. 1790 to 1830.

No. 291



Town Kang hoa 江華

Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverse. A.D. 1830 to 1877.

No. 292



Town Sin yang 沁陽.

Five-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1877 to 1894.

No. 293



No. 294



No. 295



No. 296



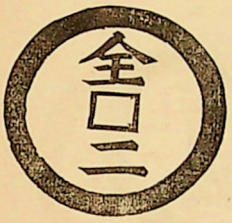
The figures below are the numbers of the dies used.
Of the Tsiong tsieng do province I have no coins.

CHUEN LO DO *or* SUI LO DO PROVINCE.

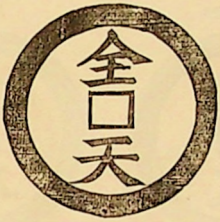
Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1830 to 1877.

No. 297



No. 298



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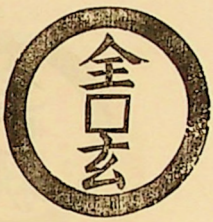

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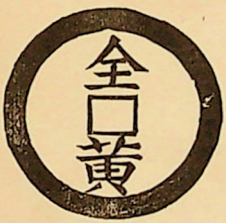

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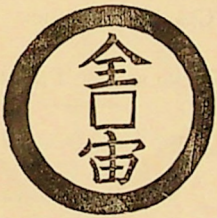

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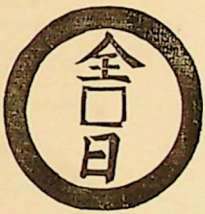

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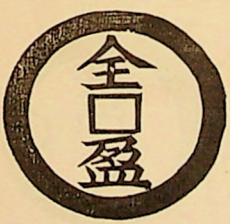

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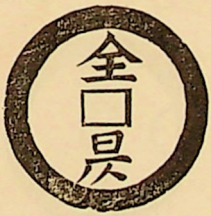
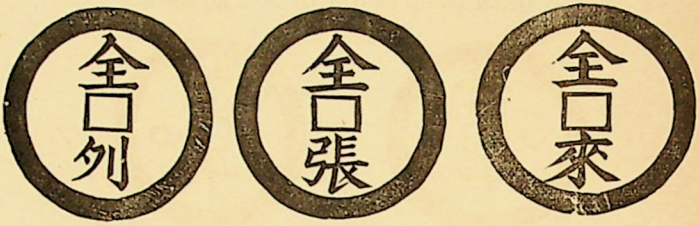


No. 305



No. 306 No. 307 No. 308



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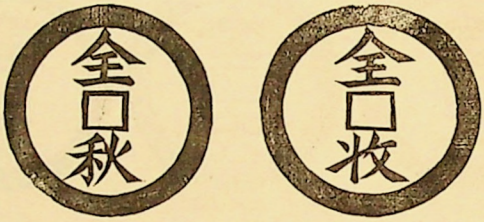


The characters at the base of Nos. 298 to 310 are characters from the Thousand Character Classic.

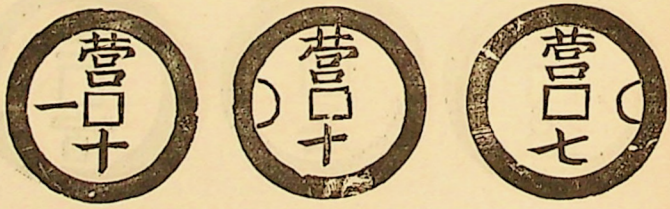
KYENG SAN DO PROVINCE.

Town Tong yeng 統營.

One-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1790 to 1830.

No. 311 No. 312 No. 313



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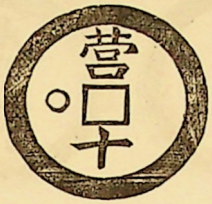

No. 315



The numbers at the base represent the numbers of the dies used.

Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1830 to 1877.

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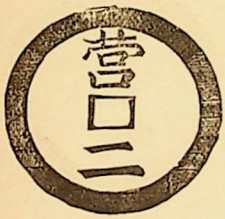

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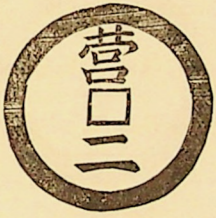

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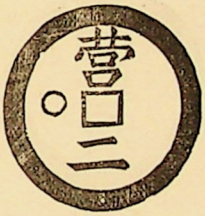

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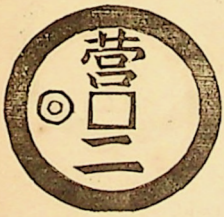

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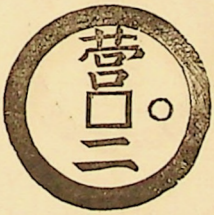

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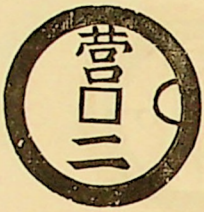
No. 322



No. 323



No. 324



No. 325



No. 326



No. 327



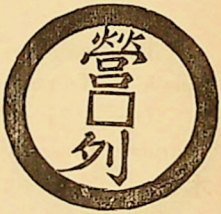
No. 328



No. 329



No. 330



No. 331



No. 332



No. 333



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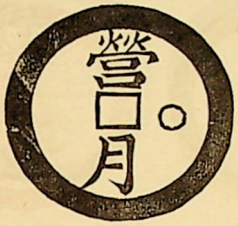
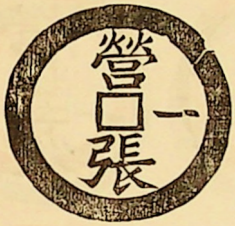
No. 334



No. 335



No. 336



No. 337



The characters at the base are from the Thousand Character Classic. We now come to a new series.

The 五行 or 5 Element series. According to the Three Character Classic there are five elements—水 water, 火 fire, 木 wood, 金 metal, 土 earth.

水 *Series.*

No. 338



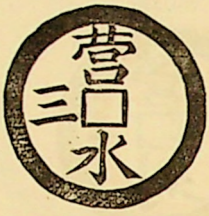
No. 339



No. 340



No. 341



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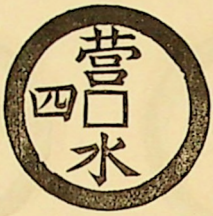


No. 343



火 *Series.*

No. 344



No. 345



No. 346



No. 347



No. 348

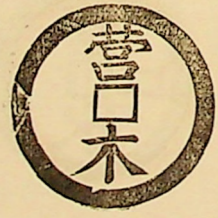


No. 349



木 *Series.*

No. 350



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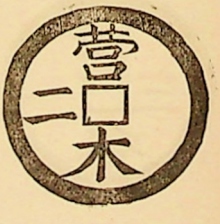


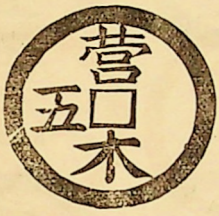
No. 353



No. 354



No. 355

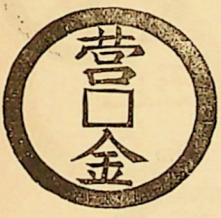


No. 356



金 *Series.*

No. 357



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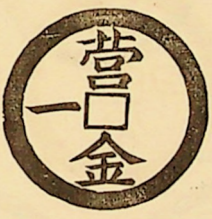


No. 359



No. 360



No. 361

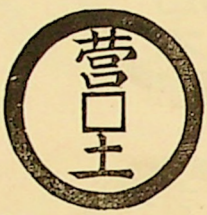


No. 362



土 *Series.*

No. 363



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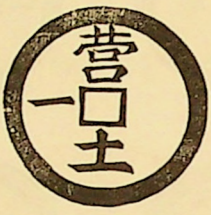

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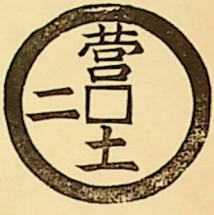

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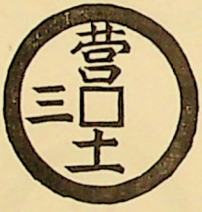

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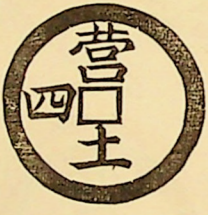


No. 368



No. 369



No. 370

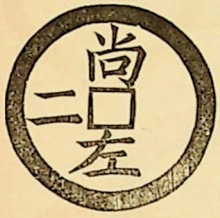


For Provincial Use.

Two-Cash Pieces.

Reverses. A.D. 1830 to 1877.

No. 371



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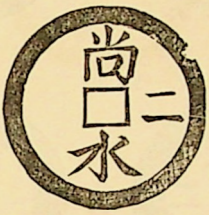

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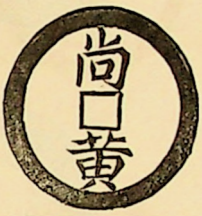
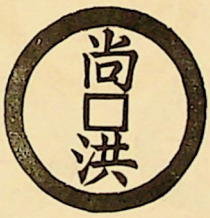


No. 374



No. 375



No. 376

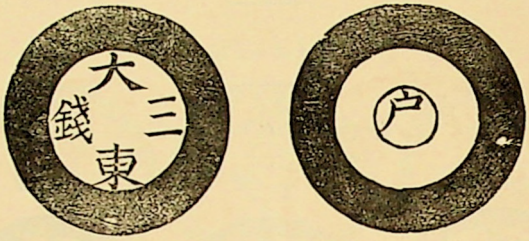


Modern Coins minted but not put in circulation.

In A.D. 1883, silver coins of three denominations were minted. On the face of these coins appeared a new title for Corea, namely 大東, or the Great Eastern Kingdom, and on the obverse the one character 戶 (Treasury).

No. 377

Obverse *Reverse*



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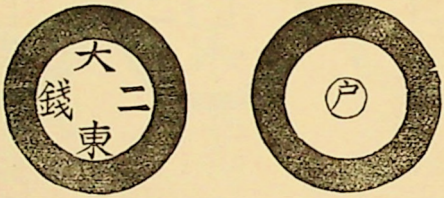

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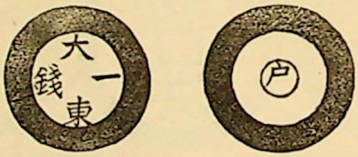

In the centre of each coin is a circle of blue enamel; there is no hole through the coin. It was found that the cost of putting on the blue enamel was so great that the minting of the coins would entail a loss instead of conferring a profit on the Treasury.

In 1893 a series of silver and copper coins were struck by machinery partly bought in Germany and partly in Japan.

No. 380

One Dollar

(*Silver*)





No. 381

Twenty Cents

(*Silver*)





No. 382

Five Cents

(*Nickel*)





No. 383

Two Cents

(*Copper*)





No. 384

One Cash ($\frac{2}{5}$ cent).

(*Brass*)





The issue of these coins was not proceeded with and it is difficult now to obtain them.

THE FAMILY LAW OF THE CHINESE.

By P. G. VON MÖLLENDORFF.

PREFACE.

In 1878 I read an essay on the Family Law of the Chinese before the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society at Shanghai, which appeared in the Society's Journal [N.S. vol. XIII (1879) p. 99–121]. I had been largely indebted to Mr. E. H. PARKER, H.B.M.'s Consul, for valuable notes relating to my subject, and in a lengthy review of my essay in the *China Review* [vol. VIII (1879) p. 67–107] that gentleman again added a number of suggestions and observations. These together with new investigations of my own have made it desirable to republish the old essay, with the necessary alterations and additions.

Of the legal literature of China I have principally consulted the Statute Law and the Ordinances of the present dynasty 大清律例 (*Ta-ch'ing-lü-li*), of which the laws relating to the present subject have been translated by Mr. G. JAMIESON in the *China Review* [vol. X (1881) p. 77–99].

In the arrangement of the subject before me I have taken as a basis the Roman law, which, owing to its logical structure and general completeness, has become a typical system, and has formed the foundation of the jurisprudence of all European nations. I have chiefly consulted the works of PUCHTA, MACKELDEY, DERNBURG [*Privatrecht*, 2nd ed., vol. III, 1881] and others, for the Canon law WALTER'S *Kirchenrecht*.

For the Jewish law the interesting work [in German] of S. MAYER on the *Laws of the Jews, Athenians and Romans*, furnished comparisons, ideas and suggestions. Since the first edition of my essay, the *Realencyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud* [by Dr. HAMBURGER, 2 vols. and 3 Supplements (1870–1892)] has become a standard work, to which I am much indebted.

Some sentences have been quoted from MAINE'S *Ancient Law*, 6th ed. 1876, and from J. F. MCLENNAN'S *Studies in Ancient History*, 1876, specially chapter II, p. 13 ss. I have also made use of C. N. STARCKE, *The Primitive Family in its Origin and Development*, London, 1889.

The frequent comparisons with Jewish and Roman Law have been made with the object of proving that the Chinese laws and customs are pervaded by the same spirit of common humanity as those of other ancient peoples.

I have constantly consulted the valuable *Chinese-English Dictionary* by H. A. GILES, Shanghai, 1892, and the excellent *Nederlandsch-chineesch Woordenboek* by G. SCHLEGEL, 4 vols. 1886–90. The latter is a mine of information and far too little known. The trouble of having to use it with the help of an English-Dutch pocket-dictionary is too slight to stand in the way of its general use.

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INTRODUCTION.

As in the ancient Jewish state, the family is the unit of the Chinese ; on its model the state is governed, and from the social conditions of the families the family law received its foundations. In this sense the state is called the family of the nation (國家 *kuo chia*) and prefects and magistrates are popularly styled 父母官 (*fu mu kuan*), parent officials.

The Chinese family life, with its sexual purity coupled with filial piety, has greatly contributed towards the maintenance of the Chinese nation. Everything revolves round the family as the centre, and the family circle with its natural conservatism has had a beneficial influence towards the outside world. The Chinese family life compares favourably with the somewhat too loose bonds of the occidental,—in fact, in family life China presents herself at her best.

In the Chinese mind law[1] (律例 *lü li*) and general custom (規矩 *kuei chü*) are mixed up and cannot be kept separated. A Chinese judge will always modify the rigour of the law if local usage differs from it ; and a Chinese will invariably be in favour of 情理 *ch'ing li* (the application of special circumstances) in each case. In this sense the term "family law" is to be understood not merely as a statement of the Chinese family laws (*leges*) but including also general usages, which will have to enter largely into a future codification of the Chinese law, especially private law.

Tradition tells us very little of the family life of the Chinese in antiquity. Its foundations can be clearly recognised in the classical writings ; in the *Shiking*, or Book of Odes, we even find traces of marriage by capture.

[1] Generally speaking the *lü* have been superceded by the *li*, but in the marriage laws the *lü* are still mostly in force.

The Chinese family (家 *chia*) embraces, like the Attic οἶκος and the Jewish *mishpachah*, all members of the same household which stand under one head or *pater familias* (家長 *chia chang*, 家主 *chia chu*, 家君 *chia chūn*), without distinction, whether they have entered the family through marriage or adoption, and including servants and slaves.[2] It is obligatory that all members of the family bear the same family name (姓 *hsing*) as in India, Greece, and Rome.[3] Even with adoption a kind of *quasi* relationship is formed.

In the oldest time of Chinese history the number of families may have been the same as the number of clans; the ancient term 百姓 *po hsing* (the Hundred Family names, the people) occurs in the *Shuking* [I, 2 and frequently].[4] The idea that there exists a kind of relationship between families bearing the same name has lived up to the present time [*see below*—"Impediments to Marriage"].

Within the family the Chinese distinguish four grades of relationship, which follow according to the proximity of descent, without distinguishing thereby between consanguinity (內親 *nei ch'in*) and affinity (外姻 *wai yin*). Genealogical tables are given in the 大清律例 (*ta ch'ing lü li*), vol. I, fol. 1-6. Compare W. H. MEDHURST, *Journ. Ch. B.R.A.S.*, 1853, "Marriage, Affinity, and Inheritance in China" [see also Dr. LEGGE's *Liki*, vol. I, p. 202-209]. C. N. STARCKE [*The Primitive Family*, p. 201-3, 206, 298] discusses the different terms of Chinese relationship, but his authorities

[2] The Prussian *Landrecht* [I, 1, § 3] also includes the servants in the family.

[3] MCLENNAN, *l.c.*, p. 217.

[4] *See* VON DER GABELENTZ, *Chinese Grammar*, p. 360.—S. WELLS WILLIAMS [in his *Syllabic Dictionary*, p. 1242] dates back the beginning of family names to over 3,000 years, without, however, quoting any authority in support of this statement. *See also* H. A. GILES, "The Family Names," *Journal Ch. B.R.A.S.*, vol. XXI (1887) p. 256. G. JAMIESON, "Note on the Origin of the Family Names," *Ch Rec.*, vol X. (1881), p. 89-93.

were not free from error. The Relationships are presented by G. SCHLEGEL in his *Woordenboek* [vol. I, p. 1343] in a tabular form, in which, however, the relationships by adoption are omitted, the others are given in the Tsiang-tsiu (Amoy) dialect of the lower classes. A. J. MAY has compiled a list of all relationships in the *China Review* [vol. XXI (1894), p. 15–39], which also is not quite complete and expressed in Cantonese. G. JAMIESON [*China Review*, vol. X (1881), p. 199–200] gives also a table of the 宗 kindred on the male side only.

The above-mentioned four grades of relationship, with the legal time for mourning, given hereafter, are taken from the useful little letter-writer 宦鄉要則 (*huan hsiang yao tsé*, Important Rules for the Officials and the People), by LU JUN-HSIANG (陸潤庠), Shanghai, 1892, 2 vols. 16°.

1*st grade.*—Term of mourning three years (usually reduced to 27 months). Called 斬衰 *chan ts'ui* (mourning garments with frayed edges). *For man* and *wife:* the husband's parents. *For wife and concubine:* the husband.

Term of mourning one year. Called 期年 *chi nien*. *For man:* sons, wife of eldest son, grandsons (descended from wife), uncle and his wife, daughters if unmarried, brothers, sister if unmarried, nephew (brother's son), niece (brother's daughter) if unmarried. *For wife:* her parents and grandparents. *For concubine:* wife of husband, husband's parents, sons (her own and those of the wife and of other concubines). This term of one year is also kept by a man of double *sacra* (一子雙祧 *i tzŭ shuang t'iao*) on the death of his own parents.

Term of mourning five months. Called 齊衰 *tzŭ ts'ui* (mourning garments with unhemmed, but even cut edges), with the addition 杖期 *chang ch'i*, *i.e.* in the lifetime of the parents. *For man:* the great-grandparents, the great-great-

grandparents, the grandparents, the wife. If the parents are already dead, the term of mourning is only three months (不杖期 *pu chang ch'i*). *For wife:* her great-grandparents and great-great-grandparents.

2nd grade.—Term of mourning nine months. Called 大功 *ta kung* (the greater merit). *For man:* the wives of sons (others than the eldest), grandsons (others than from first wife), married daughters, male and (unmarried) female cousins (children of paternal uncle), married sisters, wife of nephew (son of brother), married nieces (brother's daughters). *For wife:* husband's grandparents, husband's uncle, husband's daughter-in-law (wife of a younger son or of a concubine's son), husband's nephew's wife, husband's married niece, grandsons.

3rd grade.—Term of mourning five months. Called 小功 *hsiao kung* (the lesser merit). *For man:* grandson's wife, granduncle (brother of grandfather) and his wife, unmarried grandaunt, granduncle (son of great-granduncle) and his wife, brother's wife, male cousins (of the same surname), married female cousins (daughters of elder paternal uncle), unmarried female cousins (of the same surname), nephew and unmarried niece (grandchildren of paternal granduncle), son and unmarried daughter of nephew (brother's son), mother's parents, mother's brother, mother's sister. *For wife:* husband's aunt, husband's brother and the latter's wife, husband's sister, husband's second cousin, unmarried female second cousin of husband, husband's grand nephew and unmarried grand-niece.

4th grade.—Term of mourning three months. Called 緦麻 *ssŭ ma* (coarse hemp garments). *For man:* wives of grandsons, grandsons of more distant relations, the married female relations which come under the 3rd grade if unmarried, the wives of relations of the 3rd grade, etc. etc.

For a complete list of all relationships and to illustrate the five kinds of mourning (五服 *wu fu*) seven tables would be required :—

1.—A man mourning for his kinsfolk.
2.—A „ „ „ „ mother's kinsfolk.
3.—A „ „ „ „ wife's „
4.—A wife „ „ her husband's „
5.—A married woman mourning for her own kinsfolk.
6.—A concubine mourning for her husband's „
7.—Mourning for step-fathers and fathers by adoption and for step- and foster-mothers.

Tables 1 to 6 are printed in English in Legge's *Liki* [vol. I, p. 209].

Slaves (奴才 *nu ts'ai*) are also counted as belonging to the family ; under the name of 家身子 *chia shên tzŭ* are designated those which have been bought ; 家生子 *chia shêng tzŭ* or 家產子 *chia ch'an tzŭ* are those born in the family, children of slaves, *vernae*, οἰκέται, and the Jewish *yelîd bayith* (Jerem., 2, 14). Slaves are generally well treated, and their position in the family is more like that of the Jewish *ebed*, not like that of the slaves amongst the Greek and Romans.[5]

The Chinese master may punish his slave, but not excessively. In ancient times criminals were made slaves as a punishment (官奴 *kuan nu*, slaves of the state).[6]

The Manchu family names are not publicly known. The Manchus, whose Emperors reign over China since 1644, do not use their family names (姓 *hsing*, Manchu : *hala*) since the reign of the Emperor Kanghi (1662-1723), but only their personal names (名 *ming*, Manchu : *gebu*). The surnames are, however, known within the clans, and the law concerning them is, with some modifications to be indicated later on, the same for the Manchus as for the Chinese.

[5] E. J. Eitel, "Slavery in China," *Ch. Rev.*, vol. X (1881), p. 283-284.
[6] *Liki*, XXXVI, 48, Legge, vol. II, p. 363.

A.—ON MARRIAGE.

1.—General.

The ancient Roman conception of marriage was "uxorem habere liberorum quærendorum causa," and the same one-sided view was accepted by the so-called "enlightened epoch" of last century, seeing in marriage nothing but the aim for the procreation and bringing-up of children.

Fundamental institutions like marriage cannot be defined, but can only be approximately described. Better than the old conception is the definition given in l. 1 *D. de ritu nuptiarum*, 23, 2: "nuptiæ sunt conjunctio maris et feminæ, consortium omnis vitæ, divini et humani juris communicatio." The sentiment is here decisive, and as the means at the disposal of law have little influence of the sentiment, the influence of law over marriage can only be a limited one.

The highest moral standpoint was reached by the Jews, who took marriage as "covenant" [Mal., II, 14] to which God is a witness.

How and when marriage became a recognised institution with man is perhaps an idle question. Some take it that the communion of women in prehistoric times had to be conquered by the exogamous marriage by capture, and that the later endogamous marriage by capture formed a transition stage towards marriage by contract.[7] Others again deny that primitive man ever lived in promiscuous intercourse. C. N. Starcke[8] quotes Darwin [*Descent*, II, p. 362] and Maine [*Early Law*, p. 206, 216]:—"It is improbable that sexual intercourse was ever

[7] H. Paul, *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*, vol. II, 2, p. 142.
[8] *The Primitive Family*, p. 242.

perfectly free, since the passion of jealousy is so strong in the whole animal kingdom that it cannot be supposed to have been dormant in primitive communities of men."

Of the primitive condition of the Chinese, when the founders of the Chinese empire entered in the north-western part of China, we know next to nothing. Previously to the Chou dynasty (1122-255 B.C.), according to the commentators of the *Shiking*, a general laxity of morals prevailed, and it was not until the Chous laid down proper rites regulating marriage that promiscuous intercourse (淫奔 *yin pen*, lewdness) ceased. But this judgment of the modern commentators is altogether unjust, and has no other foundation but the wish to excessively glorify the Chous. According to our idea the home life as depicted in the *Shiking* is a moral and happy one ; it may be contrary to the present Chinese ideas of a life surrounded by all sorts of rites and usages, but it is altogether decent and morally irreproachable.

"By the united action of heaven and earth all things spring up," says the *Liki* [LEGGE, vol. I, p. 439], "thus the ceremony of marriage is the beginning of a [line that shall last for a] myriad ages." The importance of marriage is thus emphasized [*Liki*, vol. II, p. 264]:—"Marriage is the union of the representatives of two different surnames in friendship and love, in order to continue the posterity of the former sages, and to furnish those who shall preside at the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth," and [p. 266]:—"Yes, the ceremony of marriage lies at the foundation of Government."

Marriage is thus regarded by the Chinese as necessary and indispensable,[9] and the best proof of this is furnished by the fact that, excluding priests and nuns who are not allowed

[9] Two proverbs express it: 大禮有三千婚姻最重 *ta li yu san ch'ien, hun yin tsui chung* (Of the 3,000 rites marriage is the most important), and 寧可成一房不可敗一戶 *ning k'o ch'êng i fang, pu k'o pai i hu* (Better establish a home than cut off one).

to marry, it is scarcely possible to find an old bachelor, and an old maid is a rarity.

Chinese law further recognises the importance of marriage by giving a long list of marriage laws.[10] We must add, however, that marriage is not absolutely compulsory, nor is celibacy punished, as was the case under the Jewish law and the Attic code of Solon.[11]

The Chinese distinguish between two kinds of marriage which, not incorrectly, may be termed *connubium* and *concubinatus*. In the first case they are obliged to be content with one wife[12] (妻 *ch'i*), who, like the Jewish and Roman, unlike the Greek, wife, shares the rank and honour of the husband. This wife is almost invariably chosen by the *pater familias*[13] from a family of equal position and circumstances; but the latter is not a *conditio sine qua non* and the requirement of equality of rank which led in Europe during the Middle Ages to the absurdity of marriages on the left hand (*matrimonium ad morganaticam*)[14] has been almost unknown in China. The wife is generally a woman with small feet.

Concubinage is, however, at the same time permitted, and marriage with several concubines (妾 *ch'ieh*) is allowed. The number of these, besides the one wife, is not limited by law, but only one wife is permitted.

The better classes do not give their daughters to a man already married; Manchu girls are not allowed to become concubines.

[10] G. JAMIESON, "Translations from the *Lü-li*, or General Code of Laws," *China Review*, vol. VIII, vol. IX, vol. X, p. 77-99 (the Marriage Laws).

[11] Among the Israelites each man was obliged to marry, and could be forced by the authorities to fulfil his duty until he had a son or a daughter; compare *Pollux*, III, 48; VIII, 40 (MAYER, *l.c.*, vol. II, p. 286).

[12] Like the Romans, § 7 *J. de nuptiis*, 1, 10.—l. 2 *C. de incestis et inutilibus nuptiis*, 5, 5. — l. 1 *D. de his qui not. inf.* 3, 2. — There is an exception when a man is a *filius familias* for two families [see below under "Adoptions"].

[13] As in Biblical antiquity, Gen. 24, 21; Exod. 21, 9.

[14] In Germany finally abolished by Reichsgesetz of 6th Feb. 1875.

Whilst the marriage with the wife (妻 *ch'i*) is concluded by the parents of the two parties, the man is allowed to choose the concubines himself. These may be of low rank, even slaves, and have, without regard to priority of marriage, equal rank among themselves, but are subjected to the authority of the wife.

The husband has not the right of degrading his wife, without sufficient reason,[15] to the rank of a concubine, nor of raising a concubine to the rank of a wife whilst the wife is alive.

The wife is considered the mother of all the children born in the family[16] and is honoured by the latter as their mother.

The reason for the greater number of marriages with concubines is barrenness of the wife.[17]

2.—Requirements for concluding Marriages.

A.—*Absolute Impediments to Marriage.*

The attainment of puberty required by the Roman[18] and Canon[19] law, of a certain age, as prescribed by modern legislation, as a pre-requisite for concluding marriage, is not known to Chinese law. It is, however, an established custom, that men marry when over twenty years of age, and that girls are rarely given in marriage before their fifteenth year. But as there are many exceptions in the laws in favour of persons

[15] See below, "Impediments to Marriage."

[16] The same in Jewish law [see Mayer, *l.c*, vol. II, p. 339] and in Mohammedan law [see G. Rosen, in *Ztschrift D. M. G.*, vol. XXII, p. 543].

[17] This is probably the case with all polygamic peoples.—The ancient Jewish custom was [Mayer, *l.c.*, vol. II, p. 339]—as it was considered a disgrace to have no children—the wife in such case induced her husband to take a maid-servant as concubine, the children born by the latter were considered hers and she was no longer childless.

[18] *Pr. J. de nuptiis*, 1, 10.—l. 14, *D.* 23, 1.—l. 4 *D.* 23, 2.

[19] *Tit.*, X, 4, 2 *Lib. sext. Decret.*, 4, 2.

under fifteen years of age, we may consider the latter as the age required for marrying. Very early marriages are not as common in China as is generally believed: the common practice is to provide early in life a suitable wife for the son and a husband for the daughter, and to marry them when their character is formed.[20] In China puberty commences at the same age as in Europe. The old idea that puberty arrives earlier in hot than in temperate climates is exploded by modern investigations.

Suitability of age is generally recommended, as also that a young girl should not be married to an old man.[21] But an early marriage in China is understood in the sense of an early settlement in life.[22]

Non-attainment of puberty, disease, or other defects (as insanity, deafness and dumbness, etc.) are considered impediments, if no notice of them has been given in the marriage contract.

The defect of eunuchs naturally debars them from marrying. The right of having eunuchs (太監 *t'ai-chien*, 老宮 *lao-kung*) is an Imperial prerogative, and is also granted to the highest members of the Imperial family. It is also a prerogative of the king of Corea, who ranked with, but before, Imperial princes of the 1st order (親王 *ch'in-wang*). As eunuchs have to serve and to live in the palace (內官 *nei kuan*), it is for this reason alone impossible for them to marry.[23]

There are, however, eunuchs at Peking who had children before their mutilation and who may obtain permission to visit their families from time to time. Cases may occur

[20] Cp. Sirach, 7, 27; 42, 9-10.

[21] The same in the Talmud.

[22] Compare the German proverb "jung gefreit, hat keinen gereut."

[23] See *Shiking*, I, 11, 1 and II, 5, 6 [LEGGE, vol. III, p. 157 and 239].

where a eunuch, who by intrigues in the palace has risen to a position of honour, takes a wife *pro forma* and adopts a son for the succession.[24]

B.—*Relative Impediments.*

1.—On Account of Relationship.

Marriage between relations of all grades of agnatic relationship is prohibited; "cognates cannot marry any one of the generation above or below, but may marry any one of the same generation, not being agnate."[25] For the relationship by adoption the prohibition does not remain in force after the first adoption has been dissolved by a new one.[26]

It may be here observed that there exists in China no relationship between the husband and his wife's sister, as is the case according to the Canonical, and after it the English law.[27] In fact, since the Emperor SHUN married the two daughters of YAO [2357–2255 B.C.],[28] such marriages are of frequent occurrence in China, probably because a wife finding that a concubine will be taken prefers to share the affection of her husband with her sister rather than with a stranger.

[24] *See* G. C. STENT, "Chinese Eunuchs," *J. of N.C.B. of R.A.S.*, vol. XI (1877), p. 142.

[25] G. JAMIESON, *l.c.*, vol. X, p. 82.

[26] This was contrary to Roman law.

[27] Based, as far as I can see, on Lev., 18, 18: "neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister to vex her, beside the other in her lifetime;" which can only apply to marrying two sisters at the same time, and not to marrying the sister after the wife's death.

[28] *Mengtzŭ*, V, I, 4 [LEGGE, II, p. 220]. From the *Liki* [vol. I, p. 132] it would appear that SHUN had three wives.

Altogether, there is no relationship between the relatives of the husband and those of the wife (called 姻親 *yin-ch'in*).

Relationship is always implied by the fact of bearing the same family name:—同姓不爲婚姻 *t'ung hsing pu wei hun yin* (those of the same family name do not intermarry).[29] Considering that for a population of 400 millions only about 438[30] family names exist, this impediment appears severe in the highest degree. In the course of ages[31] it happened that whole communities were composed of people with the same surname, so that men desirous of marriage had to look elsewhere for wives, and often to undertake for this purpose expensive voyages. Where a surname has two distinct origins, persons of the same surname may intermarry, provided that their line of ancestry can be traced from the separate stock, 同姓不同宗 *t'ung hsing pu t'ung tsung* (of the same surname but of different ancestry),[32] *e.g.* persons of the name of 車 *ch'ê*. On the other hand, families of the same ancestry have branched off under a different name and do not intermarry, as 徐 and 余, both pronounced *hsü*, who were one family until the reign of YUNG-CHÊNG [1723-36].[33] It is the same with 沈 *ch'ên* and 葉 *yeh*, and with 楊 *yang* and 易 *yi*. An expedient to mitigate this

[29] Endogamic marriage is excluded. In the *Institutes of Manu* it is laid down that a "twice-born" man (*i.e.*, one belonging to the sacerdotal, military, or commercial class [*Manu*, X, 4]) might elect for nuptials "a woman not descended from his paternal or maternal ancestors within the sixth degree and who is not known by her family name to be of the same primitive stock with his father" [*see* MCLENNAN, p. 84].—The American Indians profess to consider it highly criminal for a man to marry a woman whose *totem* (family name) is the same as his own, and they relate instances where young men, for a violation of this rule, have been put to death by their own relatives [*see* MCLENNAN, p. 97; C. N. STARCKE, p. 32].—The Australians are also divided into branches (*murdoo*), within which marriage is forbidden.

[30] 408 simple and 30 double ones [*see* H. A. GILES, "The Family Names," *J. of N.C.B. of R.A.S.*, vol. XXI (1887), p. 256].

[31] The prohibition occurs in books as early as the *Tso chuan* (左傳) and the *Lun yü* (論語).

[32] H. A. GILES, *l.c.*, p. 256.

[33] H. A. GILES, *l.c.*, p. 265, 283.

law has also been found. During the reign of YUNG-LO [1403-25] those families who took part in the grain transport were called military families (軍家 *chün chia*), the others being called families of the people (民家 *min chia*). Since that time the distinction between 軍 *chün* and 民 *min* has been maintained, and marriages between a *chün* and a *min* family bearing the same surname are permitted,—almost the only exception to the above-mentioned prohibition.

Amongst the Manchus, Mr. PARKER says, cousins descended through male ancestors and having the same surname may intermarry after the fifth generation; but I have not been able to verify this statement.

It will thus be seen that in China, as throughout America and Australia, the clan is exogamous, that is, marriage within the clan is forbidden.[34]

2.—On Account of Affinity.

Marriage is not allowed with sisters of the wives of ascendants or descendants, with the father's or the mother's sister-in-law, or with the sister of the son-in-law.

Further, marriage is forbidden with the step-daughter and with female relations within the fourth degree of relationship,[35] with a widow of a relative of the fourth degree, or with the sister of the widowed daughter-in-law. Marriages with widows of relatives of a nearer degree are considered incestuous.

Decapitation is the punishment of marriage with the father's or grandfather's former wives,[36] or with sisters of the father.

[34] C. N. STARCKE, *l.c.*, p. 44.

[35] As in Canonical law, cap. 8, X, 4, 14; WALTER, *Kirchenrecht*, § 310.

[36] Reuben lost his right of primogeniture for such incest [Gen., 35, 22].

Whoever marries his brother's widow is strangled.[37] The re-marriage of the childless widow to her deceased husband's brother, the so-called levirate,[38] was of common occurrence with many nations in ancient times[39] and is still in vogue in the Caucasus.[40] Among the Jews this custom existed before Moses, but was confined to the case of the widow being childless [Deut., 25, 7].

In China, as already mentioned, the levirate is prohibited, but some assert that the Mohammedans in Peking practise it, and that it also occurs in the district of Huai-an in the province of Kiangsu. A writer in the *China Review* [vol. X (1881), p. 71] asserts its practice for the provinces of Kiangsi, Hupeh and Szechuan. I have not been able to find the slightest trace of it, and it can never be of the same importance with the Chinese as with other people (*e.g.* to keep the family property), as posthumous adoption, the Chinese substitute for it, fully meets the object.[41]

3.—On Account of other Reasons.

To marry during the legal time of mourning is prohibited [*see above*, p. 7].

Marriage with concubines is, however, not punished in this case, unless either the bride or the bridegroom is in

[37] Decapitation, *i.e.* mutilation of the body, is a heavier punishment than strangulation.

[38] Or the dispensation from it through the ceremony of taking off the shoe (*chaliza*) of the Jews [Deut., 25, 7; Ruth, 4, 7].

[39] In India [BOHLEN, *Indien*, vol. II, p. 182], Persia [KLEUKER, *Zendavesta*, vol. III, p. 226], the Gallas [BRUCE, *R.*, II. p. 223], and many other peoples [*see* C. N. STARCKE, *l.c.*, p. 165]. It existed amongst the Huns and in ancient Corea [*see* E. H. PARKER in *Transact. of As. Soc. of Japan*, vol. XVIII, part II (1890), p. 169].

[40] BODENSTEDT, *Die Völker des Kaukasus*, p. 82.

[41] G. JAMIESON [*China Review*, X, p. 83] says: In view of the severe penalty for it, it is scarcely possible that the levirate can be practised in any part of China.

mourning for a parent, or the bride for her late husband,[42] even if the marriage had never been consummated. It is considered to be a time of mourning for children or grandchildren if father or mother or grandparent is confined in prison for a capital offence. In accordance with the principle of Chinese marriage—*i.e.*, that the *pater familias* makes the marriage contract,—marriage is in this case permitted if the head of the family in prison gives his assent. The usual ceremonies and festivities are, however, to be omitted.

Marriage is forbidden with a woman who has committed a crime and has fled for fear of punishment. In this prohibition is included marriage between an adulteress and her seducer.[43]

Whoever forces the wife or daughter of a free man to marry either with himself or with a son, grandson, younger brother, or nephew, *i.e.*, with a *filius familias*, is to be strangled.

According to Roman law marriage could not be concluded between persons who stood to each other in the relation of guardianship, as *tutor* and *pupilla*.[44] In China these are near relations, as only relatives or adoptive parents are able to exercise the right of guardianship and to acquire through it the *patria potestas*. A runaway female slave is not allowed to marry, as she can be lawfully given into marriage by no one except her master.

Popular opinion is against a widow (寡婦 *kua-fu*) marrying again. The *Liki* [LEGGE, vol. I, p. 439] says:—"Once mated with her husband, all her life she will not

[42] The same as in Roman law, according to which widows and their new husbands were punished if remarried before the end of the time of mourning [l. 1, 11-13, *pr. D. de his qui not. inf.*, 3, 2.—*Const.* 2, C. 5, 9].

[43] Also prohibited by Roman law [l. 26, *D. de ritu nuptiarum*, 23, 2.—l. 13, *D. de his quæ not. inf.*, 34, 9.—l. 29, § 1, *D. ad legem Jul. de adult*, 48, 5.—*Nov.* 134, *si quis autem*, c. 12]; also by Attic law [l. 11, § 11, *D. ad leg. Jul. de adult.*, 48, 5], and by the Jews [MAYER, *l.c.*, vol. II, p. 320].

[44] l. 66, *D. de ritu nupt.*, 23, 2.—C. 5, 6.

change, and hence, when the husband dies, she will not marry again." If after the death of her husband she remains under the power of her husband's father or brother, whose power over her is, however, of the slightest, she will be prevented by them from tying a new matrimonial knot. There are even cases in which a widow instead of remaining in the family of her former husband successfully repudiates any connexion with it and disregards its wishes. The proverb expresses the popular mind in this respect: if heaven wants to rain or your mother to marry again, nothing can prevent them (天要下娘要嫁無法可制 *t'ien yao hsia niang yao chia wu fa k'o chih*). It is, however, not considered decent for a widow to marry again, and one who refuses all offers in this respect (or who does not want to add another fiddle-string 沒心續弦 *mei hsin hsü hsien*) may receive for her faithfulness an imperial reward in the form of a gateway (牌坊 or 樓 *p'ai-fang* or *p'ai-lou*), which is erected in the place where she lives. After the bestowal of such reward she is not allowed to change her mind.[45] Should the head of the family try to force her into a new marriage, she is not obliged to obey. If she commits suicide—the common expedient of the unprotected female in China—the head of the family is punished. If, however, the marriage be concluded, she shall live with her new husband, the marriage presents, or rather the purchase-money paid for her, being forfeited.

It is a rule that, in order to secure greater impartiality, officials cannot hold office in their native province. For the same reason they are not allowed to marry a woman

[45] It was considered decent, according to the national feeling of the Romans, that a widow should remain single. *univira* meant the same as *castissima*. Such a one was highly esteemed and received the wreath of chastity [*Val. Max.*, II, c. 1; *Prop.*, IV, eleg. 12; *Puchta*, Inst. III, p. 177].—The Jews, on the contrary, were much in favour of a second marriage of young widows [MAYER, *l.c.*, vol. I, p. 322].

under their jurisdiction, or out of a family that has an interest in the performance of their official duty. An official who is related to one of the parties is not even allowed to sit as judge.[46]

On account of inequality of rank, marriages between officials and actresses or singing girls are not allowed. Such marriages are also forbidden to the sons or grandsons of nobles with hereditary rank (*disparagium*, *mésalliance*), the punishment in such cases being degradation to a lower class of nobility and eventually loss of it.[47]

A widow of a man of rank may not remarry.

Buddhist priests (和尙 *ho-shang*) and nuns (尼姑 *ni-ku*), and those Taoist priests (道人 *tao-jen*) and nuns (道姑 *tao-ku*) who do not shave their heads, but bind the hair in a net or head-band (網巾 *wang-chin*[48]), are not allowed

[46] A similar thought prohibited in Rome marriage between a *præses provinciæ* and a woman of his province [*l.* 57, *pr. D. de ritu nupt.*, 23, 2.—*Cod. Theod.*, 3, 11.—*Cod. Just.*, 5, tit. 2, 7].

[47] There are in China 9 classes of hereditary nobility: 5 爵 (*chio*) and 4 尉 (*yü*). The 5 *chio* are: 公 *kung* duke, 侯 *hou* marquis, Fürst (often called marquis), 伯 *po* count or earl, 子 *tzŭ* baron, 男 *nan* baronet. When the nobility conferred is not "hereditary in perpetuity" (世襲罔替 *shih hsi wang t'i*), each descendant takes one rank lower than his father; so that the son of a *kung* becomes *hou*, the son of a *hou* becomes *po*, and so forth, nobility ceasing altogether with the son of a *tzŭ*. The 4 *yü* are military nobility.

In Corea the nobility is divided into four political parties (四色 *ssŭ sê*, Cor. *sa säk*). These were formerly called 北人 *pei jen*, Cor. *puk in* (northerners), 南人 *nan jen*, Cor. *namin* (southerners), 東人 *tung jen*, Cor. *tongin* (easterners), 西人 *hsi jen*, Cor. *sie-in* (westerners). After splitting into factions they are now called (1) 老論 *lao-lun*, Cor. *noron*, the most powerful party, a branch of the former 西人 *sie-in*, (2) 南人 *namin*, the largest, which has completely absorbed the 東人 *tongin*, (3) 小論 *sioron*, the inconsiderable remaining portion of the 西人 *sie-in*, which at present has joined the *noron*, (4) 小北 *siopuk*, the only remaining branch of the *pukin* and in league with the *namin*.

The members of each party do not intermarry with those of another.

[48] The old Chinese fashion, still in use in Corea [called *mang-ken*].

to marry. Only Taoist priests (道士 *tao-shih*, or 門祝 *mên-chu*) who shave their head and plait their hair like other Chinese, in fact lay brothers, may marry.

A priest who obtains a woman under the pretence that she shall marry another, and who then marries her himself, is severely punished.

Marriage is impossible between male slaves and free women.[49]

Any impediment to marriage renders the marriage already concluded null and void;[50] the *impedimenta* are always *dirimentia*. Ignorance of them exempts the parties from punishment, but the marriage is dissolved. In accordance with the sense of the marriage contract the parties who signed it are punished if the marriage laws are transgressed, the go-between only if he was aware of the illegality; but husband and wife are not punished unless they are *sui juris*. If the father, grandfather, or uncle signed the contract, they alone are punished; if it was another relation, he is punished as principal, and husband and wife as accomplices. The purchase-money is in each case forfeited, except when the parties were ignorant of the existence of of the impediment.

A dispensation in cases of impediments to marriage is not admissible.[51]

In China difference of religion has no influence upon marriage.

[49] According to the laws of the Lombards, parents had the right o killing or selling their daughters, if they married one in socage [MAYER, *l.c.*, vol. II, p. 301]; in earlier times marriage between a free woman and a slave was not sanctioned, and the slave was put to death if he took the free woman by force [GRIMM, p. 324. *See* C. N. STARCKE, *l.c.*, p. 106].

[50] As in the time of JUSTINIAN [§12, *J. de nuptiis*, 1, 10; C. 5, 8]. Modern legislation distinguishes between *impedimenta juris publici* which render a marriage null and void—*e.g.*, incest, bigamy, and adultery—and *impedimenta juris privati* which make the marriage invalid, if only private interests are involved.

[51] Also unknown to the Jews [*see* MAYER, *l.c.*, vol. II, p. 315].

The law says[52] that it is forbidden to intermarry with some of the savages; but this is not carried out in practice. In Formosa the Chinese constantly intermarry with the savages; that is to say, arriving singly they readily take savage girls as wives, chiefly from the settled tribes (熟番 *shu-fan*), who have adopted Chinese surnames.

3.—Betrothal.

A.—*The Contract.*

The mutual promise of marriage formed with the Romans an act of social and moral importance as a preparation for marriage. In China the parties concerned are not the principal ones. The conclusion, however, of a *justum matrimonium* has to be preceded by a contract,[53] in which the amount of presents (*arrhæ sponsalitiæ*) and the latest day for concluding the marriage are fixed. When made, the contract, if in writing (禮書 *li-shu*), is signed by those persons in whose *patria potestas* bridegroom and bride stand; the latter never sign it, unless both have no older relations. This last condition, and the fact of the son holding office, being the only cases in which a *filius* or a *filia familias* becomes *sui juris*. This is the chief distinction between the Chinese and the Roman marriage.

Before the contract is signed presents are sent to the family of the bride (納彩 *na-tsai*, in common parlance 落定 *lo-ting*, giving of earnest). Then cards, with the names, birthdays, etc. inscribed thereon, are exchanged (通庚 *t'ung-*

[52] G. Jamieson, *China Review*, X, p. 88.

[53] Known by the Romans [*l.* 2, *D. de sponsalibus*, 23, 1] and by the old German law [Eichhorn, *Rechtsgeschichte*, §51, §183, §321].

kêng, spoken of as 問名 *wên-ming*, asking of names). When the parties are satisfied with all this, agreement is expressed by sending proof (納徵 *na-chêng*, commonly called 文定 *wên-ting*, settling the language), when the contract (禮書 *li-shu*) is exchanged.

Thus the *animus matrimonii*, the intention of husband and wife to form a connexion for life, can, with the above-mentioned exceptions, have no place in China. In Rome the assent of the *pater familias* was required, but could only be refused for special reasons; husband and wife, however, were allowed free choice. Among the Chinese the heads of the families alone choose, and the inclination of the principal parties is never consulted.

If the son is absent from home, or if by mere chance a love match does happen, the assent of the parents has to be obtained: 娶妻如何必告父母 *ch'ü ch'i ju ho? pi ku*[4] *fu mu* (how do we proceed in taking a wife? announcement must first be made to our parents).[51] [*Shiking*, I, VIII, Ode VI, 3.]

The preliminary negotiations are carried on by go-betweens (媒人 *mei-jen*, 媒媾 *mei-kou*, 中人 *chung-jen* and 媒婆 *mei-p'o*), who, mostly women, form an important part in the whole transaction. Male and female, says the *Liki* [vol. I, p. 78, LEGGE], without the intervention of the matchmaker, do not know each other's name. Although the proverb asserts that nine out of ten go-betweens are swindlers (十媒九誑 *shih mei chiu k'uang*), still as without clouds in the sky it cannot rain, so without go-betweens a match can never be made (天上無雲不下雨, 地下無

[51] Emperor SHUN married without thus informing his parents, fearing they might prevent him from doing so [*Mengtzŭ*, IV, XXVI, 2. LEGGE, II, p. 189]. He considered that obtaining posterity was the higher duty.

媒不成親 *t'ien shang wu yün pu hsia yü, ti hsia wu mei pu ch'êng ch'in*).[55]

Before the signature of the contract by the heads of the families, both parties convince themselves of the truth of the statements regarding the persons of the bride and the bridegroom, that they are sound in body and mind, and that they are not older than stated. The festivities of the betrothal then commence. As lies in the nature of the case, the age of the betrothed parties — except that it be too great — is of no consequence.[56] It often happens that a betrothal is entered upon by friendly families at a time when bride and bridegroom are not over three or four years of age. The betrothal of unborn children is forbidden.

B.—*Effects of Betrothal.*

The contract of betrothal gives both parties a right to sue for the conclusion of marriage.[57] The party who refuses to keep the contract is punished with fifty blows, and the court enforces the marriage. Where the contract

[55] Other proverbs are: 娶妻如何匪媒不得 *ch'ü ch'i ju ho, fei mei pu tê*, how is it taking a wife? without go-between it cannot be done [*Shiking*, I, VIII, Ode VI, 3–4. Compare *Liki*, I, 78, LEGGE, II, p. 297]. Or 娶必通媒 *ch'ü pi t'ung mei*, marriage must be negotiated through a go-between.

The Jews also use go-betweens (*shadchân*), the Greeks had female go-betweens προμνήστριαι; in Rome a *nuptiarum conciliator* was similarly employed, who, if present at the marriage, was called *auspex nuptiarum*.

[56] Compare the Roman law [*l.* 14, *D. de spons.*, 23, 1]: in sponsalibus contrahendis aetas contrahentium definita non est, ut in matrimoniis — si non sint minores quam septem annos.

[57] The same according to the Canonical, but not according to the old Roman law [l. 2, §2, *D. de divers. repud.*, 24, 21; l, 2, *D. de spons.*, 23, 1; l. 134, *D. de verb. obl.*, 45, 1; Const. 2, *C. de inutil. stipul.*, 8, 39. It was not until the time of the Christian Emperors that loss was entailed by repudiation without proper cause [l. 5, *C. de spons.*, 5, 1]. Compare the English breach of promise cases.

is not made in writing, the acceptance of presents is taken as proof of the agreement.[58]

The betrothal may even be maintained if the family of the bride enters into a second betrothal;[59] and only in case the family of the first bridegroom waives its claim may the bride marry the second bridegroom. The presents are in this case to be returned.

A forcible abduction of the bride before the time fixed for the marriage is punishable, as is also any delay on the part of the bride's family beyond that time.[60]

A singular situation arises if a *filius familias* is betrothed during his absence from the family, his grandfather, father, uncle or older cousin, *i.e.*, a person in whose *potestas* he stands, having, in the meantime, chosen a bride for him, and having signed the contract. If the son has married, the betrothal made by the head of the family is dissolved. Otherwise the contract made by his family takes precedence over the one made by himself.

c.—*Dissolution of the Betrothal.*

If after signing the contract it appears that false statements have been made by the family of the bride, then the contract is void, the presents are returned, and the *pater familias* of the bride receives eighty blows. The punishment for a like fraud on the part of the bridegroom's family is more severe, and the bride keeps the presents. Should the

[58] In ancient times the Jews celebrated betrothal and marriage at the same time; considerably later, in the 3rd century A.D., the betrothal consisted in sending the bride something valuable or a document, declaring at the same time that he took her to be his wife. By this she became so far his wife that any breach on her part was punished with death.

[59] The Roman law punished this with infamy [l. 1, l. 13, *D. de his qui not. inf.*, 3, 2; Const. 18, *C. ad legem Jul. de adult.*, 9, 9].

[60] Roman law allowed an action for delay of marriage where without sufficient reason the delay extended over two or three years [Const. 16, *C. de episc. aud.*, 1, 4; Const. 2, 5, *C. de sponsal.*, 5, 1; Const. 2, *C. de reprod.*, 5, 17].

fraud be discovered after the marriage, an action for divorce can be entered.

If the betrothal be dissolved before marriage, either through the death of bride or bridegroom, or through withdrawal of both parties (*repudium voluntarium*), or through a delay on the part of the bridegroom's family for over five years, or through an impediment to marriage just arisen or only just discovered, then the presents have to be returned. If the marriage be not concluded, through the *repudium* of one party, the party innocent of the dissolution of the betrothal gets back or keeps the presents.

The fact of bride or bridegroom having been punished for theft or fornication gives a right to the other party to cancel the contract.

4.—Conclusion of Marriage.

"The ceremony of marriage," says the *Liki* [Legge, vol. II, p. 428], "was intended to be a bond between two [families of different] surnames, with a view, in its retrospective character, to secure the services in the ancestral temple, and, in its prospective character, to secure the continuance of the family line. Therefore the superior man set great value on it. Hence, in regard to the various [introductory] ceremonies,—the proposal with its accompanying gift [always a goose]; the inquiries about the [lady's] name; the intimation of the approving divination; the receiving the special offerings; and the request to fix the day;—these all were received by the principal party, as he rested on his mat or leaning-stool in the ancestral temple."

When the parties desire to conclude the marriage, presents of silks (納幣 *na-pi*, spoken of as 大禮 *ta-li*, the

great ceremony) are sent to the father of the bride, and a further document (禮書 *li-shu*, like the first one, also called 婚書 *hun-shu*, the horoscopes of the betrothed couple) passes.[61] This is the marriage contract stipulating the sum for the bride, which sometimes amounts to thousands of taels. The marriage is therefore preceded by a purchase, which is no mere sham transaction like the Roman *coëmtio*, but corresponds to the purchase of the ancient German laws and to that of the Jewish law.[62] By accepting the purchase-money, the father[63] of the bride sells and manumits his daughter to the bridegroom's family, to which she henceforth belongs. Then a date is fixed (請期 *ch'ing-ch'i*, commonly called 送日 *sung-jih*, sending the day), and on that day the presents, together with her furniture, boxes of clothing, eatables, etc., are paraded through the streets to the bridegroom's house, and the bride herself is brought in a closed red chair with music to her new home, where she is personally welcomed (親迎 *ch'in-ying*).[64] The bride and bridegroom then kneel together before the ancestral shrine (拜堂 *pai-t'ang*, 拜天地 *pai-t'ien-ti*, to worship heaven and earth) of the latter's family. They next drink together the nuptial cup (巹 *chin*)—usually two cups tied together by a red string[65]—and the marriage ceremony terminates (成禮 *ch'éng-li*).

[61] The Jewish *kethubah* ἐνγραφή Tobias 7, 14) and the Roman *conscriptio*, contained the obligations undertaken by the husband. The Roman contract itself was called *pactio nuptialis*. γαμικαὶ ἐνγραφαί, the document itself *tabulæ nuptiales*.

[62] *See* MAYER, *l.c.*, II, p. 353.

[63] The Talmud says: The matrimonial purchase-money belongs to the father [MAYER, *l.c.*, II, p. 326].

[64] The conclusion of the Jewish marriage consists in the bride being led by the bridegroom into the nuptial chamber or being received into the bridegroom's house. The latter ceremony is to-day represented by the *chuppah* or canopy, under which betrothal and marriage are celebrated at the same time [*vide* M. SACHS, *Gebetbuch der Israeliten* (Breslau, 1892), p. 466].

[65] According to the *Liki* [LEGGE, vol. II, p. 429] two halves of a melon.—This bridal drink [Brauttrunk] was also known to the Germans [*v.* WEINHOLD, *Die deutschen Frauen im Mittelalter*, pp. 225, 264].

The wife leaves her family for ever (出家 *ch'u chia*)[66] and belongs to the family of the husband,[67] *i.e.*, she considers the parents of her husband as her own, and mourns for them legally a longer time (three years) than for her parents (one year).[68]

In China, then, the church has nothing to do with marriage; neither are the usual ceremonies and festivities absolutely necessary for the conclusion of a *justum matrimonium*, as long as the *consensus matrimonialis* exists between those persons who sign the marriage contract. In fact when the bride has been brought up in the family of her future husband, as sometimes happens,[69] the red chair and the parading of presents through the streets become useless.[70] But, like the Jews, the Chinese invite guests, relations, and friends,[71] who keep up the festivities for three days. During these three days the bride is accompanied by bridesmaids (大妗 *ta-chin*), who constantly attend on her. A peculiar custom is the so-called brawl-room (鬧房 *nao-fang*). During the first three nights the newly married couple are constantly disturbed by practical jokes executed by relations (in some provinces even by complete strangers), everybody trying

[66] The same expression is used for a man who becomes a priest or a maiden who joins a nunnery.

[67] The Chinese custom requires a man to cleave to his father and mother and to compel his wife to do the same. Christianity by requiring a man to leave his father and mother and to cleave to his wife [Matth., 19, 5; Gal., 4, 22-28; Eph., 5, 31] has not expressed the popular sentiment and is not in accordance with Roman and modern law precepts. The beautiful words addressed by Ruth, the Moabite, to her Jewish mother-in-law Naomi [Ruth, 1, 16. Comp. 2 Sam., 15, 21] are often quoted in marriage sermons, but only mean that Ruth, the ancestress of the house of David, joins the Jewish faith.

[68] According to the Jewish law, the family of the mother is not called family [MAYER, *l.c.*, II, 283].

[69] See later on, under "Adoption."

[70] *See* SMITH, *Chinese Characteristics*, p. 116.

[71] Thus giving due importance and sufficient publicity to the ceremony [*Liki*, I, p. 78 (LEGGE)].

to obtain clothes or other objects of necessity or value from the bridal chamber, which the bridegroom has to redeem on the following day with wine, cake, etc.

Marriage, therefore, as we have seen, is concluded in China by the will of the parties concerned being expressed in a public manner. So it was according to Roman law[72] and, closely following it, the Canonical law,[73] until the *Concilium Tridentinum* (1545-63) introduced a formal act and made marriage a religious institution. This led to the doctrine of the indissolubility of the marriage bond, and the church arrogated to itself the exclusive right to decide in matrimonial cases. From that time began the differences between state and church which are only now on the point of being settled.

In the ordinary course of events the Chinese wife brings no dowry (嫁粧 *chia-chuang*, 粧奩 *chuang-lien*) to her husband. Still she may inherit, or she may be *sui juris* and possess money, land, or houses. In this case she can have her rights protected in the marriage contract.[74]

Whilst the acquisition of a wife is called marriage (娶妻 *ch'ü-ch'i*, 成親 *ch'êng-ch'in*, 成婚 *ch'êng-hun*), the ceremonies of which have a sacramental character, the expressions for the acquisition of a concubine (立 *li* or 買 *mai* or 置 *chih* 妾 *ch'ieh*) point to the inferiority of the action. The union is concluded without music and without the red chair.[75] The punishment for transgressions against the marriage laws in

[72] l. 22, *C. de nuptiis*, 5, 4.

[73] Cap. I–X, *de spons. et matr.*, 4, 1.

[74] Compare the special dowry contract of the Romans, *pacta dotalitia* (the document itself being called *dotis tabulæ*). The Jews also mentioned the dowry (*nedunya*. Compare Ezech., 16, 33) in the *kethuba*; the dowry, whether consisting of movable or immovable goods, but in most cases comprising female slaves, was called *ssôn barzel (pecus ferreum)*.

[75] The same with the Jews: wives with nuptials and with marriage contract, concubines (*pilegrsh*) without either; the same with the Greek πάλλαξ; different, however, with the Roman *pellex* [l. 144, *D. de verb. signif.*, 50, 16; *Nov.*, 18, c. 5].

the case of a concubine are less severe than in the case of a wife.

Marriage is called 婚姻 *hun-yin;* to marry a husband is 嫁夫 *chia-fu* for wife and concubine alike (男婚女嫁 *nan hun nü chia*, the man marries, the wife takes a husband). [Compare the Italian *casare*].

5.—Relation of Husband and Wife to each other.

Through the marriage the wife becomes, as was the case according to the law before Justinian,[76] not only *uxor* but comes also into the *manus mariti*. She ceases to be *sui juris*, if she ever was it, and leaves the *patria potestas*, if she stood under it.[77]

It is in consequence of the way in which the wife comes into the power of her husband that she acquires very few rights with the marriage. Though she shares the rank and honours of her husband,[78] she has no right to demand conjugal fidelity from him,[79] whilst she, by sinning against it, commits a heinous crime.

It is a cause for divorce if the wife beats her husband [a case probably as rare in China as with us, and, when it happens, more likely to be quietly endured than brought into court], but the husband has the right to inflict corporal punishment on her. He is, however, punishable if by doing this he inflicts a wound; but he escapes with a fine if he and his wife are willing to be divorced.

[76] See Mackeldey, *Lehrb. des röm. R.*, 14th ed., II, p. 266; compare *Gaji Instit.*, § 49, § 108 ss., II, § 86 ss.

[77] Mackeldey, *l.c.*, II, p. 274, note; *Gaj. Inst.*, III, § 14, 24.

[78] As the Roman *uxor* shared the *dignitas mariti*.

[79] Unlike the Romans [*Nov.*, 117, c. 9, § 5: liceat mulieri propter hanc etiam causam matrimonium dissolvere]. In ancient times the Chinese husband's adultery was punished by castration (腐刑 *fu-hsing*).

The wife owes the husband implicit obedience, and is not allowed to leave the house without his permission. If she disobeys, her husband may sell her to another as a concubine.

The wife belongs to her husband's family even after his death ;[80] if she leaves it, either to return to her own or to marry again, she has to leave behind her husband's estate, including what she brought with her. But her husband may have been the oldest member of his stock ; in that case, after his death his power is transferred to his wife, and one not unfrequently hears of an old lady managing the family estate with only one son assisting her, the others living in other provinces and receiving their orders from her. After her death the family property is divided (分家產 *fên chia ch'an*) amongst the sons, who then become *sui juris* and register themselves as new families or households (戶 *hu*).

The wife cannot possess property of her own as long as her husband lives ; everything she possessed before entering into the *manus* passes into the hands of her husband,[81] so that even property inherited by her remains with the husband after the marriage has been dissolved,[82] unless it had been otherwise stipulated in the marriage contract. Although, therefore, the questions of *dos*, *paraphernæ*, *pacta dotalitia*, and *donatio inter virum et uxorem* do not really exist in Chinese law any more than they existed in the ancient Roman law, still a divorced wife or a widow will always take her jewellery and silks away with her. And it is in such that any *donatio* of the husband is invested.

[80] Similar to the Roman law [l. 22, § 1, *D. ad municip. et de incol.*, 50, 1 : vidua mulier amissi mariti domicilium retinet].

[81] *See* MACKELDEY, *l.c.*, vol. II, p. 275 ; *Gaj. Inst.*, II, § 86, III, § 82 ; *Ulp.*, XIX, § 18.

[82] *Gaj. Inst.*, II, § 98 : si quam in manum ut uxorem reciperimus, ejus res ad nos transeunt.

The husband is not liable for debts contracted by his wife before marriage, unless she was *sui juris* and had no family when he married her.

If the husband changes his residence, the wife is obliged to follow him if he wishes it.[83] Poor people change their *domicilium* only to emigrate to another province; people of the better classes generally leave their first wife at home, to educate the children and to look after the family property, and take a concubine at the new place. The emigration of females to foreign parts is prohibited.

With all his power the husband is not allowed to hire out his wife to prostitution,[84] although it does occur that a man whose wife has not borne a son, and does not allow him to purchase a concubine, hires for a time the wife of another to get a son by her. This is unlawful and not considered decent.[85] But it is lawful for a man to enter into a contract with a widow and hire her for a certain number of years, until he gets a son by her. In this case the woman need not leave her former husband's family.

6.—Dissolution of Marriage.

Marriage is naturally dissolved by the death of either husband or wife. Another cause for the dissolution is divorce.[86] This may be either enforced by law or be a voluntary act.

[83] The question is a disputed one with us [*see* Dernburg, *l.c.*, vol. II, p. 10].

[84] The same in Jewish law [Lev., 18, 20].—In Rome *lenocinium facere* was punished with infamy [l. 1, l. 4, § 2, 3, *D. de his qui not. inf.*, 3, 2—l. 43, § 6-9, *D. de ritu nuptiarum*, 23, 2].

[85] The Hindu in such cases will have recourse to "*nigoya*," *i.e.*, hand over his childless wife to another man to obtain a child. *See* Starcke, *l.c.*, p. 142.

[86] 分家 *fên chia*, 分妻 *fên ch'i*, 分鴛 *fên yüan*, which expressions are also used for a one-sided divorce, when the husband sends his wife away, the Greek ἀποπεμψις.

a.—A divorce *must* take place if there exists an impediment to marriage, or if the wife commits adultery. The husband has in the latter case the right to kill both adulterers, if he surprises them *in flagrante delicto*.[87] If he does not kill the wife, she is punished and sold as a concubine, the purchase-money for her being forfeited. If the adulterer kills the husband, the wife is strangled.[88]

b.—A divorce may take place—

1.—If both husband and wife are willing to dissolve marriage (owing, *e.g.*, to incompatibility of temper).

2.—If the wife leaves the house against the will of the husband ;[89] should she marry whilst absent, she is strangled.

3.—If the wife beats her husband.

4.—If the marriage contract contained false statements.

5.—If the wife has one of the following seven faults: barrenness, sensuality, want of filial piety towards the husband's parents, loquacity, thievishness, jealousy and distrust, or an incurable disease.

The husband, however, is obliged to keep her in spite of one or several of the above-mentioned faults if she has kept the full term of mourning for three years after the death of

[87] Comp. Lev., 20, 10. The husband who kills both and thus maintains the purity of the family is invariably rewarded by the local official and praised by the people. A correspondent from Ts'ing-kiang-p'u describes such a case in the *North-China Daily News* of 19th Nov. 1894, and, evidently dissatisfied with the morality of the transaction, adds: "the most deplorable feature of the case is the fact of the official's letting the murderer go scot free, and public opinion justifying him fully in winking at such brutality."

[88] Compare l. 43, § 12, 13, *D. de ritu nuptiarum*, 23, 2.

[89] On account of the suspicion of adultery ; the Canon law required more than mere suspicion, *e.g.*, cap. 12 X, *de præsumptionibus* : witnesses who *solum cum sola, nudum cum nuda in eodem lecto jacentem ea ut credebant intentione, ut eam cognosceret carnaliter, viderunt.*

his parents; or if his family, having been poor at the time of the marriage, have since become wealthy; and, lastly, if the wife has no other relations to whom she may return after the divorce.

When the divorced wife leaves the house, the husband may give her a bill of divorce (休書 *hsiu shu*, 分書 *fên shu*), a specimen of which is printed in G. SCHLEGEL'S *Woordenboek* [vol. I, p. 1053].

According to Roman law the action for divorce was a private one, open to wife and husband alike.[90] The Chinese wife may only bring an action if she thinks her husband is willing to give her her liberty, or if her husband has beaten her cruelly, or if she was deceived by false statements in the marriage contract, or if her husband was or has become a leper.[91]

The effects of the dissolution of marriage are the following: the marriage is considered as having never been concluded; the wife returns to her family, if the latter will receive her, the children remaining with the father, and the purchase-money being given back to the husband, except when the latter was the cause of the divorce. If the family will not receive her back, she becomes *sui juris*. All relationship through the wife ceases with the divorce.[92]

A third way of dissolving a marriage is the official declaration of death, if the husband has absconded and has not been heard of for three years. The wife abandoned can

[90] l. 2, *C. de inut. stipulat.*, 8, 39.—l. 14, *C. de nuptiis*, 5, 4.

[91] The Canon law has made marriage indissoluble [*Conc. Trid. sess.*, 24, *de sacramento matrimonii*, cap. 7. Compare also Matth., 19. 6]. During the so-called enlightenment of last century the facilities for divorce were carried almost as far as in China and had to be considerably reduced. In the United States the most frivolous rules as to divorce seem to exist, and it appears to be granted from arbitrary motives.

[92] The same in Roman law [l. 3, § 1, *D. de postulando*, 3, 1.—*J. de nuptiis*, 1, 10].—The Canon law is of course different.

then demand such a declaration, especially if the family of her husband will not or cannot pay for her maintenance.

The time within which, after dissolution of marriage, a legitimate child can be born is fixed by Roman law at from 182 to 300 days, or 10 months, by modern legislation at from 210 to 302 days. In China a pregnant wife is rarely or never divorced, but after she has left the house of her husband for good the child she bears cannot be claimed by him.

7.—Bigamy (雙室 *shuang shih*).

As before mentioned, the wife who maliciously leaves her husband and marries another during the lifetime of her first husband is strangled.

If the husband, in the lifetime of his first wife (妻 *ch'i*), marries another (妻 *ch'i*, not a concubine 妾 *ch'ieh*; he is allowed to have as many of the latter as he likes), the marriage is null and void; the wife returns to her family, and her father keeps the purchase-money, unless he knew of the existence of the first wife. In this case the money is forfeited.

A man who does double *sacra* is excepted (一子雙祧 *i tzŭ shuang t'iao*); his marriage with a second wife (妻 *ch'i*) is not considered bigamous.

8.—Polygamy and Polyandry.

In ancient times we find no people strictly monogamous. Polygamy was universally practised, generally without distinction between the wives, but sometimes a kind of monogamy existed side by side with permitted polygamy, *i.e.*, one wife and several concubines. In this case the latter

were slaves and subjected to the wife.[93] Sensuality did not always lead to it, frequently the barrenness of the wife and the tendency to strengthen the family influence by having many sons was the guiding motive. Amongst the Jews it was an ancient custom which the Mosaic legislation neither cancelled nor sanctioned, expecting that time only could effect a change in a custom of such antiquity. In the Old Testament [Deut., 21, 15] it is rarely mentioned:— Abraham took Hagar as a concubine and divorced her when his wife bore a son.[94] But he had other concubines beside Hagar [Gen., 25, 6]. Jacob had two wives, Leah and Rachel, and besides two concubines, Bilha and Silpa, whose sons were all legitimate. Esau had many wives. King Solomon's polygamy, which probably sprung from his love of splendour, is severely censured [1 K., 11, 1. Comp. Matth., 18, 25; Luke, 1, 5].[95] In the 11th century polygamy was finally abolished, at least for the Jews in Europe, by R. GERSCHOM, of Worms, in consultation with several other authorities.

In China the case stands similarly. If the first wife is barren, a concubine is purchased, but almost always with the consent of the wife. Filial piety demands that the family be continued, so that there be worship at the ancestral graves.[96] The concubines stand under the authority of the wife, their children regard her as their mother, for whose death they go into mourning for three years. It is self-evident that this is only an external form and that a child will always love its own mother. The statement of

[93] *See* C. N. STARCKE, *l.c.*, p. 261.

[94] Ishmael was his legitimate son, and that Abraham, instigated by Sarah's jealousy, sent him away too, was wrong.

[95] In Talmudic times the concubine *(pilegesch)* was a legitimate wife, but without the contract *(kethuba)*, given only to the first wife.

[96] *Mengtzŭ*, IV, XXVI, 1 [LEGGE, II, p. 189]:—不孝有三無後爲大 *pu hsiao yu san wu hou wei ta* (having no descendants is the greatest of the three undutiful acts).

T. UNGER, in his book on marriage,[97] that the children of a concubine treat their mother with contempt, is based on some misunderstanding.

Amongst the lower classes in China polygamy is not the rule. In the better classes the first wife is frequently but slightly younger than her husband, and fades, in consequence of nursing her children too long—sometimes five or even six years,—earlier than her European sister. She remains at home to look after the children and the property, whilst her husband—official or merchant—is often absent for years. It is then that a concubine is taken, though rarely as long as the first wife is young.

Polygamy has been called the "fruitful source of so much anguish and death by suicide." This is a sweeping statement. Most cases of polygamy occur in well-to-do families, whose means permit to them the maintenance of separate establishments for each wife, and the family life is not always disturbed.[98]

Though undoubtedly a great evil, polygamy is so deeply rooted that reform cannot readily be effected. Even Christianity has no direct prohibition against it,[99] and Bishop COLENSO was of opinion that a convert with a plurality of wives was not required to put any of them away.[100]

In Corea, where practically the same family laws are in force as in China, the children of concubines do

[97] *Die Ehe in ihrer welthistorischen Entwickelung*, quoted by C. N. STARCKE, *l.c.*, p. 158.

[98] Although a proverb says :—婢美妾嬌非閨房之福 *pi mei ch'ieh chiao fei kuei fang chih fu* (beautiful maids and lovely concubines are not a blessing of the ladies' apartments) ; or 娶妻娶德娶妾娶色 *ch'ü ch'i ch'ü tê ch'ü ch'ieh ch'ü sê* (we marry a wife for her virtue, a concubine for her beauty).

[99] Only a bishop was required to be the husband of *one* wife [1 Tim. 3, 2 ; Tit. 1, 6, 7 : μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἀνήρ.

[100] Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury : Cambridge, 1862.

not inherit the noble rank of their father (they are called *ilmiöng*).

Polyandry, which has to be treated in this chapter, is in China proper found exclusively in the prefectural city of T'ing-chou (汀州府), in the province of Fukien, whose inhabitants speak the Hakka dialect. This polyandry of Fukien, carried by emigrants to Formosa, is of local origin, being caused by the extreme poverty of the above-mentioned district, in which, again, only the very poorest practise it. Here the brothers, who are the husbands of one wife, live with her alternately for some period. In the same place child murder is of common occurrence, so that infanticide and polyandry seem both to spring from poverty. McLennan asserts that infanticide took its rise from the nomadic life of the primitive hordes, and that polyandry was the natural consequence of it, because women were scarce [*Studies*, p. 131, 134]. This was certainly not the cause of the Fukienese polyandry.[101]

9.—Second Nuptials (媾 *kou*) and Violation of the Time of Mourning.

After the death of the first wife, remarriage by the husband is permitted without any delay. The requirements of the household may often render it absolutely necessary. The widow, however, against whose remarriage custom is

[101] Polyandry is practised in Tibet, Kunawar, and among the Todas [C. N. Starcke, *l.c.*, p. 163]; it is described as follows:—Should there be more brothers, and they agree to the arrangement, the juniors become inferior husbands to the wife of the elder; all the children, however, are considered as belonging to the head of the family [*see* Moorcroft & Trebek, *Travels*, I. p. 321. C. N. Starcke, p. 134].—C. R. Markham [*Narrative of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet* (London, 1876), p. 336] quotes Horace della Penna [1730] as an authority for saying that the wife attributes the offspring to him by whom she says she was with child.

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-ON PATRIA POTESTAS.

1.—General Remarks.

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generally opposed, has to mourn three years for her husband, in which time she is not allowed to marry.[102]

The widow of a man of rank is not allowed to marry again.

If the husband has left his wife, she may claim a divorce, or rather permission to marry again, but she has to wait for three years, as if the husband were dead.

A peculiar custom exists in some parts of China, *e.g.*, at Ningpo a marriage between a widow and a widower, usually both of advanced age, is concluded with the understanding that the widow belongs spiritually to her former husband, *i.e.*, when she dies her body is claimed by his family and is buried with him.

To marry a widow is called 娶後婚 *ch'ü hou hun*, to take a second husband 改嫁 *kai chia*, or 反頭嫁 *fan t'ou chia*.

B.—ON PATRIA POTESTAS.

1.—General Remarks.

As was the rule according to the Roman law of the time before Justinian, all persons who depend on a *pater familias*, either grandfather, father, uncle, mother, or husband, stand in China under *patria potestas*. Such persons are therefore either the wives of the *pater familias* or his sons

[102] The Roman term of mourning ended after 10 months, the breach of which was punished [*l.* 1, C. 11, §1, and §3, *D. de his qui not. inf.*, 3, 2. *Nov.*, 22, c. 22]. The sense of cap. 5, X, *de secundis nuptiis*, 4, 21, is slightly different.

and daughters or more distant descendants on the male line, or slaves. The *patria potestas* is the same as the *domini potestas*, the power of the master over his slaves, according to the ancient Roman law.

The children of a *pater familias* are either legitimate or illegitimate.

If a man has got a girl with child, he must marry her; if he has a wife already, he must take her as a concubine. But in any case, even if he is prevented by death from marrying her, the child is considered his legitimate offspring.

The master may dispose of the children of his slaves in marriage (主婚 *chu hun*), but has to obtain the consent of the child's parents if he wants to dispose of them in any other way.

Illegitimate children whose father is known but who are not made legitimate *per subsequens matrimonium* or adoption (私子 *ssŭ tzŭ*), and children of prostitutes (雜種 *tsa chung*, mixed seed, *vulgo quæsiti*),[103] stand under the power of the mother, whose family name they bear.

Where many individuals of the same surname live close together a clan (族 *tsu* or *ts'u*) is formed with a patriarchal constitution, which consists of individuals, not of families. The oldest and most respected of the fellow-clansmen (族隣 *ts'u lin*, 族人 *ts'u jen*) is elected elder of the clan (族長 *ts'u chang*, 族老 *ts'u lao*, 族兄 *ts'u hsiung*). By him the genealogical register of the clan (族譜 *ts'u p'u*) is kept, and the ancestral temple of the clan is under his management. If the clan is poor, the elder determines the contributions for the spring and autumn festivals to be paid by each household, and divides the sacrificial meat (胙肉 *tsu jou*) amongst them. But frequently there is clan property (族田 *ts'u t'ien*), left by a wealthy clansman. In that case the different

[103] Compare the Jewish *mamzer*, *spurius*, *nothus*, the child of adultery or incest [Deut., 23, 3; Sach., 13, 6, bastard].

households have nothing to pay, and any surplus is divided amongst them. Sometimes there exist endowments for a clan school, and from them candidates of the clan who are successful at the public examinations receive handsome rewards.

Where a clan has thus been organised the greater part of the father's power passes into the hands of the clan elder. Meetings of the clan are frequently held, in which clan affairs, family questions, business matters, politics, etc., are freely discussed. Members of the clan who misbehave themselves are punished, a common punishment being to debar a man from joining in the ancestral worship and from sharing the sacrificial meat for the space of one year (停胙一年 *t'ing tsu i nien*). A more serious punishment is to be turned out of the clan altogether (出族 *ch'u ts'u*); but on those who continually disgrace the clan by crimes, capital sentence is passed and carried out by drowning (淹死 *yen ssŭ*) or by burying alive (活埋 *huo mai*).

The officials hardly ever interfere with clan decisions, but out of this *imperium in imperio* sprung during the Ts'in dynasty [秦 *ch'in*, 255–202 B.C.] a law called 夷三族 *i san ts'u*, by which the whole clan was made responsible for the crime of a single clansman. This law, to all appearances cruel and brutal, is after all but a natural consequence of the unity of the clan, claimed whenever it is advantageous to the clan interests. In modern times it is only applied in cases of rebellion, high treason, and similar crimes.

2.—On the Rights of both Parents with regard to their Children.

The *patria potestas* over children, whether legitimate or adopted, is unlimited. The father (or after his death the

mother)[104] can do with them as he likes; he may not only chastise, but even sell, expose, or kill them.[105] The latter occurs often enough, especially with girls, if the family is too poor to bring them up. Infanticide is not prohibited, but whenever it spreads too far (especially in the province of Fukien)[106] the officials issue proclamations against it. Moreover, it is generally considered blameable, and the voice of the people is raised against persons who carry the abuse of the father's power thus far.[107]

The power of the father over his son does not cease as long as the father lives, unless the son enters the government service,[108] when the father, desiring to exercise his rights over him, has first to obtain the consent of the Emperor.[109] Over the daughter the father's power exists until she comes into the *manus* of a husband.[110] If her marriage is dissolved, she may return into the power of her father; as a widow, however, she remains in the family of her former husband.

The duty of the parents is expressed in the proverb 兒成雙女成對一生大事已完 *êrh ch'êng shuang nü ch'êng tui i shêng ta shih i wan* (when sons are paired and daughters mated the principal business of life is accomplished).

[104] Therefore not like *Gaj. Inst.*, I, § 104.—§ 10, *J. de adopt.*, 1, 11: feminæ—nec naturales liberos in sua potestate habent; but the same as the law of the Visigoths, MAYER, *l.c.*, II, p. 416.

[105] The same power was given the father by the Romans [§ 2, *J.*, 1, 9; *Gaj., Inst.*, I, § 55], by the Gauls [CÆSAR, *de bello Gall.*, VI, 19], and by the Visigoths [*lex Wisig.*, IV, 2, § 13], MAYER, *l.c.*, II, p. 416.

[106] Infanticide was not wholly suppressed in Guzerat [*see* SCHLAGINTWEIT, *Reisen in Indien, etc.* (Jena, 1869), I, p. 60].

[107] CH. PITON, *L'Infanticide en Chine*, Bâle, 1887.

[108] In publicis locis atque muneribus atque actionibus patrum jura cum filiorum qui in magistratu sunt potestatibus collata interquiescere paululum et connivere, etc. AULUS GELLIUS, *Noctes*, II, 2. *See* GIBBON, *Rome*, chap. XLV (ed. 1815), vol. 8, p. 54.

[109] The same according to the ancient German law [MAYER, *l.c.*, II, p. 443].

[110] As in Jewish law [MAYER, *l.c.*, II, p. 440].

3.—On the Rights of the Husband with regard to his Wife.

The wife follows her husband wherever he likes to go, and may not leave the house against his will. The husband has the right to chastise her, but not to inflict a wound [*see above*, "Causes for Divorce"]. He has not the right to kill her, except where he surprises her *in flagrante delicto*.

He cannot, without sufficient reason, degrade his wife to the rank of a concubine. He may not hire her out to another man.

4.—On the Duties of Children towards their Parents.

As long as the parents are alive, it is the duty of the children to show them reverence and obedience (孝順 *hsiao shun*) and, if necessary, to nurse and support them.[111] The son shall, if father, mother, or grandparents are over eighty years old, or feeble and ill, remain at home,[112] unless another son over sixteen years old lives with them. Officials especially are bound by this command, but should anyone use this as a pretence in order to quit his post, he is severely punished.

[111] Filial Piety is called the fundamental virtue [*Lunyü*, I, 2. Legge, I, p. 2. *See also* E. Faber's *Systematical Digest*, and the essay "What is Filial Piety?" by various authors, in the *Journ. of the N.C.B. of R.A.S.*, vol. XX (1886), p. 115–144. Compare the Jewish *kibbud aw waem*, reverence for father and mother].

[112] See *Lunyü*, IV, 19 [Legge, I, p. 35].

As long as parents, grandparents, or husband are in prison on account of a capital crime, the children, grandchildren, and wife are not allowed to participate in festivities and amusements of any kind. Disobedience towards parents or neglect to supply proper support is, on the motion of the parents concerned, severely punished[113] by the officials.

Descendants are not allowed to enter an action against ascendants; they are not obliged to denounce crimes committed by them or to appear as witnesses against them, except in cases of high treason, rebellion, etc. This exemption extends to all members of the same household, even to servants and slaves.

In fact the whole of Chinese life is theoretically based on filial piety;[114] on it the well-being of the family is built, and on this again society in general, and even the Empire itself, relies.[115]

After the death of the parents the descendants take their place and see that their memory is kept unsullied.[116] It is their chief duty to strictly keep the term fixed for mourning and to rigorously perform the sacrificial ceremonies at the ancestral shrines and at the graves.[117] The coffin has to be buried, if at all feasible, in the native soil,

[113] According to Lev., 20, 9; Deut., 21, 20–21; 27, 16; Prov., 30, 17, even disrespect to parents was to be punished by death.

[114] 萬善孝爲先 *wan shan hsiao wei hsien* (of all the virtues filial piety is the foremost).

[115] Comp. Exod., 20, 15; Deut., 5, 16; *see also* PLATO, opera [ed. Didot] vol. II, p. 327; *Jalkut*, I, § 830: who has parents and does not reverence them has disgraced God.

[116] The son is responsible for the father's debts to the amount of his inheritance, 父產子得父債子還 *fu chan tzŭ tê fu chai tzŭ huan*.

[117] See *Lunyü*, II, 5 [LEGGE, I, p. 11].

and only then are the funeral ceremonies completed (成殮 *ch'êng lien*).[118]

All ancient nations regarded it as a sacred family duty to bury the dead with honours and to preserve their memory; filial piety towards the departed was considered a general duty of humanity (仁 *jên*).[119] On the ideas of the Greeks and Romans, BOECKH [*l.c.*, p. 422] says: the whole of the cult of the dead is based on belief in the immortality of the soul, which belongs to the highest antiquity. In the popular belief of the Greeks the souls of the departed were reduced to unsubstantial shadows through the Homeric conception of the world turned to a sensual life. In contradistinction to this, old cults were maintained, by which the dead were honoured as heroes and blessed spirits, as by the early Italians in the cult of the *dii manes*.

Belief in the immortality of the soul is very ancient, and with it came the natural wish to let the deceased participate in the family feasting; hence a cult of the dead sprung up.[120]

The Egyptians held a similar belief.[121] Just as uncivilised people of our times, especially on the Dark Continent, reverence their dead and believe in the invisible existence

[118] The onerous nature of this duty may be gathered from the case of a former Customs Taotai of Shanghai, FÊNG CHÜN-KUANG (馮竣光), who in 1878 went as far as Kansu, in the north-west of China, to fetch the coffin of his father and to bring it overland to Canton, his native province. The difficulty of the voyage, on which many ceremonies had to be performed, exhausted the dutiful son to such an extent that he succumbed when only half the voyage was completed. His brother took his place and continued the voyage with the two coffins.

[119] *See* BOECKH, *Encycl. & Methodol. der philol. Wissenschaften*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1886), p. 421.

[120] H. PAUL, *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie* (1891-93), vol. I, p. 998.

[121] H. BRUGSCH, *Die Ægyptologie* (Leipzig, 1891), p. 180.

of the departed and in their influence for good or evil on the surviving, so also with the Egpytians was the dead the subject of special reverence. In Egypt the cult of the dead was exaggerated. They believed in a second life, which was assumed to be on the pattern of the temporal. They gave the dead all sorts of things - in the beginning, perhaps, the proper ones, later on common and worthless imitations.

Dim and hazy as was the conception of a future life with the Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians, so is it with the Chinese. In fact, like the Egyptians, the Chinese consider the departed as taking the same interest in family matters as when alive, and serve them as such.[122]

The religious belief of the Chinese is not very profound, and their worship at different temples is influenced not so much by a belief in the special efficacy of a particular idol as by the unpoetical hope of reward for offerings—all too charily made,—a hope somewhat akin to that of a man who stakes his money—and his faith—on a number in a lottery. In this sense they believe that the invisible spirits of the departed are hovering round their old homes and may benefit those who appeal to them, but might also be revenged on those who disregard and neglect them. Filial love is the moving spirit; habit and an indistinct fear are, however, closely allied with it.

This cult of the dead has been called Ancestral Worship, and stamped as idolatrous by the decennial Missionary Conference of 1890.

Now what is this cult?

Each Chinese house contains an ancestral shrine (祧 *t'iao*, 家祠 *chia ssŭ*, 家堂 *chia t'ang*), in which the wooden tablets of the ancestors (神牌 *shên p'ai*, 神主 *shên chu*, 神木 *shên mu*, also called 家神 *chia shên*) are placed, with the names, rank, and dates of birth and decease of the various ascendants

[122] See *Liki* [LEGGE, II, p. 311].

inscribed thereon. Before these incense is daily offered with prostrations (拜 *pai*), and twice a month offerings of eatables are spread, again with prostrations. Besides this house-shrine, each clan possesses an ancestral temple (宗廟 *tsung miao*), in which also tablets are placed, either of wood (神木 *shên mu*) or of stone (神砫 *shên chu*).[123] In spring and autumn periodical rites are performed by the clan, accompanied by sacrifices of meat (胙 *tsu*), at this temple, together with ceremonies at the graves of the ancestors.

Ancestral Worship is called 拜神[124]主 *pai shên chu*, to "*pai*" the tablet of a deceased parent or ancestor, or 拜祖宗 *pai tsu tsung*, to "*pai*" the ancestors. 拜 *pai* means [GILES] to pay one's respects to, to make obeisance, to worship, to visit (*e.g.*, 拜客 *pai k'o*, to make calls). All family affairs should be announced (告 *ku*[4]) to the spirits [see *Liki*. LEGGE, I, p. 78] and their blessing invoked (祝宗 *chu tsung*). The offerings (祭祀 *chi ssŭ*) should be made in a sincere spirit to all ancestors, however remote (祖宗雖遠祭祀不可不誠 *tsu tsung sui yüan chi ssŭ pu k'o pu ch'éng*).

At the Ch'ing-ming festival,[125] in the spring, the ancestral graves are visited and swept (拜墳 *pai fên*, 拜掃 *pai sao*).[126] Then meat is offered (胙 *tsu*), and paper money (金銀紙

[123] For an illustration of their arrangement, see *China Review*, vol. IV (1875), p. 296.

[124] 神 *shên*, spirits, gods, divine, supernatural, mysterious [GILES], should, on account of the use of the word in the sense as here, never stand for God. That this is the true and only standpoint to take the author endeavoured to show in the *China Review* [vol. VI (1877), p. 273] by translating the articles on 上帝 *shang-ti* and 神 *shên* from the great Manchu Dictionary, the highest authority on the point, having been published with Imperial assistance. The term *shang-ti* exactly corresponds to the Hebrew *Él 'eljôn* in Genesis, ὁ ὕψιστος Θεός.

[125] 清明, one of the 24 terms into which the year is divided, the 16th of the 2nd moon, about March.

[126] Greeks and Romans also honoured the memory of the dead by periodical sacrifices at the graves [BOECKH, *l.c.*, p. 422].—The Jews also have a yearly visit to the grave, the so-called "Jahrzeit." Their service in memory of the dead (*hazkarat neshamot*) is part of their synagogical liturgy. The All Souls Day of the Church is the same, when supplications are made for the souls of the faithful deceased.

chin yin chih) and different articles for the use of the departed, also made of paper, are burnt in front of the tombs (墳前燒紙 *fen ch'ien shao chih*).[127] The following is a prayer recited on this occasion: We have come to sweep your tomb, to show our gratitude for your protecting care, and now we beseech you to accept our offerings and make our posterity prosperous and happy.[128]

A funeral repast, at which the sacrificial meat is eaten, concludes the ceremony.[129]

This, then, is the form the so-called Ancestral Worship takes in China. The subject in its bearing on Christian converts was first discussed as early as the 17th century. The Jesuits saw nothing idolatrous in this form of worship, and, perceiving the strong hold it had taken on the Chinese mind, allowed their converts to continue its practice. Christianity was then on the point of conquering China. Subsequently rival sects set up a cry and accused the Jesuits of too great leniency towards heathen practices. Pope and Emperor were appealed to. The former at last gave a final verdict against ancestral worship, which the Emperor resented; in consequence of this dispute the cause of Christianity was blighted. The Roman Catholics have ever since disallowed ancestral worship.

The Protestant missionaries have for a long time been in doubt about this cult. Many voices had already been raised against it, when at the last Missionary Conference (1890)

[127] The heathen custom of burning clothes and other articles at the funeral of the dead was permitted to the Jews, as this custom is also mentioned in the Bible [*see* Sanhedrin, p. 52*b*]; it is called "*serēphah*" [*see* HAMBURGER, *Suppl.*, II, p. 83]. It was evidently an old Egyptian rite [*see* BRUGSCH, *l.c.*, p. 180]. One of the oldest customs of all Germanic tribes was to place in the tomb of the dead something which had been treasured or regarded as indispensable by him while living [*see* H. PAUL, *l.c.*, vol. I, p. 999]. Even in this century it is customary in Sweden to place in the coffin tobacco-pipes, knives, and even a full bottle of whisky [WEINHOLD, *Altnord. Leben*, p. 493. H. PAUL, *l.c.*, vol. I, p. 1000].

[128] W. A. P. MARTIN, *Hanlin Papers*, Second Series (1894), p. 346.

[129] *See* H. PAUL, *l.c.*, vol. I, p. 998.—The idea that the dead invisibly participate in the meal we find everywhere. Compare the Irish wakes.

the question was put to the vote and it was decided "that this Conference affirm the belief that idolatry is an essential constituent of ancestral worship." The Conference condemned all idolatrous customs, all customs that recognise any being as worthy of worship aside from the true God. Dr. YATES, a well-known missionary, says [p. 612] that three evils come from ancestral worship:—

1.—"Betrothal of children at an early age, by which millions are made miserable for life."

Now it is well known how much our line of thought is influenced by general custom. What appears to us as want of freedom and even severity does not appear so to the Chinese mind. The Chinese consider marriage as a business, in which the erotic element need not enter at all or is perhaps considered troublesome. This was also the view taken in Europe in former ages[130] and the betrothal of children was a common practice. The romantic love in marriage is a thing of modern times. But even now it is not considered a necessary factor; equal aims and equal interests are more conducive to a happy union than mere love.

We cannot hold ancestral worship responsible for early betrothals.

2.—"Polygamy, the fruitful source of so much anguish and death by suicide."

Polygamy, as we have already said, is certainly an evil, but it is still practised by the great majority of mankind. "Anguish and death by suicide," said to be provoked by polygamy, are, in my opinion, not of frequent occurrence in China, because the evil is firmly established and the Chinese woman hardly considers it as baneful. In the majority of cases, but not in all, barrenness of the wife and the desire to have children lead to polygamy. Love of splendour, the wish to have a large family (and

[130] PAUL, *Grundriss*, vol. II, 2, p. 217.

hence greater influence), and carnal considerations have as much to do with it as ancestral worship. But before we judge others, ought we not to inquire into our own position? Have we realised the ideal of marriage of one man with one woman? or have we, to use the words of a modern author, rounded Seraglio Point, but not passed Cape Turk yet?

3.—"The heavy tax in support of this worship."

The daily expenditure of 360 millions in joss-sticks alone[131] certainly comes to a respectable total at the end of the year, and the spending of so much money may be called an utter waste, but it can hardly be called an evil, and is not a heavy tax on the individual.

A paper by Dr. MARTIN [*Record of Conf.*, pp. 619-631] pleads for tolerance; Dr. H. BLODGET [*ib.*, pp. 631-654] condemns ancestral worship as antagonistic to Christianity; Dr. E. FABER has given a concise and terse *résumé* of the whole question [pp. 654-655].

Now religious Conferences and Councils have invariably been failures when absolute truth was to be ascertained, and I am afraid this last Conference was no exception to the rule. It is more than doubtful whether idolatry is really an essential constituent of ancestral worship. Idolatry is "the worship of idols, images, or anything made by hands, or which is not God" [Webster]. If the Chinese "worship" their dead as idols, they also worship their living parents in the same way, for the ancestral rites are but a continuation of the filial love shown to the living. In such rites there is no "worship" in our sense of the term, and by substituting "cult" the baneful spell of the word is broken.

Ancestral worship is only external religion, but it has taken deep root in the hearts of the Chinese. Only thorough teaching can undermine it. A true convert to Christianity

[131] As W. WILLIAMS [*Middle Kingdom*, vol. II, p. 279] has done; he computes the yearly expenditure at one dollar per head.

will soon give up the superstitions closely connected with ancestral worship, and we have for this a good example in the Chinese Mohammedans, who with their better creed soon gave up the superstitious practices. The early church acted more wisely than our modern missionaries, for old customs which appeared dangerous to the new creed, but the sudden prohibition of which would have been unwise, were changed into Christian festivals. England and Germany offer many examples of this practice [comp. BEDA, *Hist. eccl.*, I, 30, ed. HOLDER].

The difference between the sacrifices to God and those offered to ancestors is well drawn in the *Liki* [LEGGE, vol. I, p. 413]:—"In the sacrifice to God we have the utmost expression of reverence, in the sacrifices of the ancestral temple we have the utmost expression of humanity."

In India a somewhat similar cult of the dead existed,[132] but as to its present state I have no authorities.

5.—ACQUISITION OF PATRIA POTESTAS.

Patria potestas may be acquired (*a*) through marriage, (*b*) through procreation, (*c*) through adoption, and (*d*) through purchase, the last method differing in nowise from (*a*) and (*c*). If the person who acquires *patria potestas* in one of these four ways stands himself under *patria potestas*, then he acquires it for his *pater familias*:—

(*a.*) *By Marriage.*—The wife belongs after marriage to the family of her husband, and stands in his *manus* or in the *patria potestas* of that person under whose *patria potestas* the husband stands.

(*b.*) *By Procreation.*—Children come under the *patria potestas* of their father, whether born by a wife or by a concubine.

[132] W. CALAND, *Altindischer Ahnencultus.* Das Çradda, nach den verschiedenen Schulen dargestellt. Leiden, 1893.

(*c.*) *By Adoption.*—To explain this institution, most important in Chinese law, we take the Roman law as a type.[133]

A man may adopt a person as son or daughter, or, if he formerly had sons, as grandchild, but not as brother, wife, or concubine.[134] In China nearly all adoptions take place in childless families, and among these the greater part are adoptions of sons. Five per cent of all families in China possess adopted children [E. H. PARKER].[135] What is said with regard to adoption among the ancient Greeks holds good for the Chinese:—The dying out of a family was to be prevented, as by the desolation of the house the dead lost their religious honours, the gods of the family their sacrifices, the hearth its flame, and the forefathers their name among the living.

The oldest recorded instance of adoption in China is that of SHUN being received into the family of Emperor YAO [2200 B.C.]

Adoption, like marriage and the acquisition of slaves, rests in China upon purchase, concerning which a contract is made, with the difference that the word "wife," "son," "daughter," or "slave" is specifically mentioned in it. The most frequent case is the adoption of a nephew by a childless uncle. This nephew is generally a younger son, who then leaves his father's family and his son becomes the grandson of the adopting uncle. If there is only one nephew whose duty it is to continue the line of his father, he has to marry another wife (妻 *ch'i*), whose male issue is considered that of the uncle. The nephew has thus to perform double *sacra* and is called "one son with two ancestral halls" (一子雙祧 *i tzŭ shuang*

[133] G. JAMIESON, "The History of Adoption and its Relation to Modern Wills" [*China Review*, XVIII (1889), pp. 137-146].

[134] Compare *l.* 37, *pr. D. de adopt.*, 1, 7.

[135] Compare the law of *Manu*, IX, 127, 159: the Hindu considers it a religious duty to have a son, by whose means he may pay off his debt to his forefathers. If without offspring he must adopt a child.

t'iao). He mourns the three years' term for his adoptive father and only one year for his parents. If he leaves only one son, the latter has, like his father, to marry two wives; the issue of the one is that of his grandfather, that of the other continues the uncle's family. When two sons are obtained the ancestral hall is completed (成祧 *ch'éng t'iao*). This, then, constitutes the only case where a Chinese may have two wives (妻 *ch'i*) at the same time.

Where there is no son or nephew, but only a daughter, a son-in-law may be taken into the family, who leaves his own family without being actually adopted. This is called 招壻 *chao hsü*, inviting a son-in-law.

It being prohibited in China for officials to hold office in their native province, adoption becomes the means of avoiding this restriction. The official in question is adopted into a family of another province, acquires thus a right of domicile (*chi* 籍) in the province of his adopted parents, and may now hold an office in the province originally his native one. In the same way confiscation of property is prevented by adoption, if such confiscation is imminent on account of the crimes of near relatives.

The general reason for adoption is to continue the stock, 接宗子 *chieh tsung tzŭ*. Adoption of agnates is called 承繼 *ch'éng chi* (taking over the succession), 過嗣 *kuo ssŭ* (going over to be heir), or 過祀 *kuo ssŭ* (going over to the *sacra*). There is a distinction between this and the adoption of a stranger:—義子 *i tzŭ* (or 女 *nü*) and 契子 *ch'i tzŭ* (or 女 *nü*) godchildren or *filii lustrici*, or 養子 *yang tzŭ* (rearing a child). As long as the former is possible, few will resort to the latter fiction. The adoption of cognates is called 歸宗 *kuei tsung* (returning to the stock).

A.—*General Requirements of Adoption.*

As the main idea of Chinese adoption, it may be stated

that only children out of families who bear the same family name may be adopted, as otherwise, according to the Chinese, the difference between families would soon cease to exist.

No special requirements are prescribed for the adopter, and the law fixes no age limit under which one may not adopt,[136] although it is usual for the adopter to be older than the person to be adopted. Foundlings under three years' old may be adopted without further ceremony.

An adopter may emancipate the adopted, and adopt him a second time.[137]

The wife, acquiring after the death of her husband his *patria potestas*, has therefore the right of adopting;[138] she has, however, to ask the consent of the nearest male relation of her late husband, for adoption as well as for *datio in adoptionem*. She has further the right of preventing the legitimate or adopted sons of her former husband from giving themselves into arrogation against her wish.

The adoption of one's younger brother or one's uncle, even if the latter is younger than the nephew, is not allowed; for the same reason the uncle may not adopt a nephew who is older or of the same age as himself.

An interesting case is that of a foreigner desiring to adopt the two illegitimate children he had by a Chinese woman who had subsequently absconded. According to the law of his

[136] As is the case in Roman law [§ 4, *J. de adopt.*, 1, 11 : minorem natu non posse majorem adoptare placet; adoptionem enim naturam imitatur et pro monstro est, ut major sit filius quam pater. Debit itaque is qui sibi per adoptionem vel arrogationem filium facit, plena pubertate, id est xviii annis præcedere. *L.*, 40, § 1, *D. de adopt.*, 1, 7].

[137] Not so in Roman law [*l.*, 37, § 1, *D. de adopt.*, 1, 7 : eum quem quis adoptavit emancipatum vel in adoptionem datum iterum non potest adoptare].

[138] The same in ancient Egypt [*see* MAYER, *l.c.*, II, p. 427], but not so in Rome [§ 10, *J. de adopt.*, 1, 11 : feminæ quoque adoptare non possunt. Const., 5, *l. de adopt.*, 8, 48 : mulierem quidem quæ nec suos filios habet in potestate, arrogare non posse certum est].

country he could only legitimise his children, so long as their mother was living, by *subsequens matrimonium*. This was impossible, as the woman could not be found. The Chinese authorities were then asked to allow these children to take the foreign nationality of their father; and after obtaining this permission, the children were adopted by the father.

B.—*Special Requirements of Adoption and Arrogation.*

Whoever wants to give himself into arrogation must ask for the consent of the nearest relations of his former *pater familias*. If he has elder brothers alive, their consent also must be asked. In the lifetime of his father the son may give himself into arrogation, even without the consent of his father or his relations, if the father is insane and poor, so that the son by the arrogation acquires the means of supporting him. If the father is far away the son is allowed to be arrogated, but the father may, on his return, claim back his son.

According to its nature, the *datio in adoptionem* is, properly speaking, a sale (*venditio*), to which only the consent of the *pater familias* is required; the person to be adopted is not asked except he be a son holding office. In practice, however, it never happens that an adult married son is sold into adoption against his own free will. The wife of the adopted follows her husband, but the children remain in the family of the *pater familias*.[139]

A man having sons of his own may not adopt a stranger as their elder brother, but he may adopt grandchildren, as

[139] According to Roman law the children of an arrogated person followed their father, while the children of an adopted person remained with their grandfather [C. 2, § 2, *D. de adopt*, 1, 7 : is qui liberos in potestate habet, si se arrogandum dederit, non solum ipse potestati arrogatoris subjicitur, sed et liberi ejus in ejusdem fiunt potestate tamquam nepotes. *L.*, 40, *pr. D. de adopt.*, 1, 7 : quod non similariter in adoptione contingit, nam nepotes ex eo in avi naturalis retinentur potestate.—*L.*, 26, 27, *D. ibid.* : ex adoptivo natus adoptivi locum obtinet in jure civili].

sons of his legitimate or adopted sons. After his death the latter have the right to dissolve such adoptions.

Brothers may, after the death of their parents, give their elder or younger sisters into adoption, but not without the consent of the latter.

Even after death a *filius posthumus* may be adopted for a man by his relations or friends, in case he died without any male descendants; preference is given, in such cases, to a nephew of the deceased. By special grace the Emperor may do this for princes of the blood or high dignitaries, but in all cases with the consent of the male relatives of the deceased.[140] By this means the levirate, as stated above, becomes unnecessary.

c.—*Effects of Arrogation and of Adoption.*

In China the effects are in either case the same.[141] The adopted becomes agnate of all agnates of the arrogater or of the adopter. Altogether, the adopted son (or daughter) has a better position than the natural one, as he cannot be sold without the consent of his natural parents, unless a second adoption be of real benefit to the child. He has all the rights of a son (or daughter). In the case of inheritance, natural as well as adopted sons take precedence of all daughters.[142] Should the adopter have sons born after the adoption, so that the original cause for the adoption no longer exists, he may cancel the adoption, if the parents are willing to take back the child. The child, however, must be kept if no member of his family lives to whom he can return; only officials may thus be left without family.

[140] This adoption after death was also known to the Greeks [*see* MAYER, *l.c.*, II, 429, who quotes Demosth. and Isæus].

[141] Not so in Roman law [l. 1, l. 23, *D. de adopt.*, 1, 7.—§ 2, *J. de adopt.*, 1, 11.—Const. 10, *pr.*, § 5, *C. de adopt.*, 8, 48.—§ 13, *J. de hered.*, 3, 1].

[142] *See* CH. ALABASTER, "The Law of Inheritance," *China Review*, vol. V (1876), pp. 191–195.

The adopted child being regarded as the real child of his adopted parents, these must give their consent if the child wants to commence a three years' mourning after the death of his natural parents. An official is not allowed to mourn two terms of three years, but only one term for his adopted father, as mourning means in this case withdrawal for the time from official life.

6.—Termination of the Patria Potestas.

With the death of the father his power passes to the mother, and after her death to the eldest son, who then has also power over his younger brothers and elder and younger sisters.

The father's power does not cease throughout his lifetime, except with his own free will or where the son holds office. Unless with the special permission of the Emperor, the father cannot in the latter case exercise power over his son. As already mentioned, the son becomes *quasi sui juris* if the father is insane and at the same time poor.

Excepting where the father gives himself into arrogation, so that his children come under the power of his arrogater, the father's power may cease with his will :—

1.—By sale into adoption, by which the son acquires agnate rights in the family of his adopted father.

2.—By sale of a daughter into marriage, she becoming an agnate in her husband's family and entering his *manus*.

3.—By permission to the children to enter a religious order. They then lose their family name and leave the family connexion altogether (出家 *ch'u chia*).

4.—By exposing the children in tender age. The finder may lawfully adopt them if under three

years of age.[143] If older, they are not allowed to be exposed, and only the ways mentioned under No. 1 and No. 3 are left to the father to rid himself of his child.

In contradistinction to the Roman law,[144] the father may relinquish his power even against the wish of his children.

An emancipation in the Roman sense, by which the emancipated person becomes *sui juris*, does not exist in China. After the death of the father the daughter becomes *sui juris*, if a widow and having sons, the son only in case he has a family.

C.—ON GUARDIANSHIP.

If at the time of the parents' death the children are still very young (under seven years), and no head of the family exists who has *ipso jure* a right to the *patria potestas*, the father's power devolves upon one of the male relations of the same surname (同姓親戚 *t'ung hsing ch'in ch'i*), if no *testamentaria tutela* has been ordered. If no such relation exist, then one among the male relations of a different surname (外姓親戚 *wai hsing ch'in ch'i*) is chosen. To be without any such relationship is in China an impossibility. If after the father's death no relation is willing to take the responsibility of the *patria potestas* upon himself, such guardian has to be appointed (託孤 *t'o ku*, to confide an orphan to any one, 受託孤者 *shou t'o ku chê*, a guardian).

[143] Const. 2, 4, *C. de infant. expos.*, 8, 52. *Nov.* 153, c. 1 (non gloss.).

[144] *Nov.*, 89, c. 11, *pr.*: solvere jus patriæ potestatis invitis filiis non permissum est patribus.

The guardian has the full *patria potestas* and, like the father, retains it, with the above-mentioned exceptions, as long as he lives. The property of the child, of which the guardian has the full usufruct, continues to be the child's.

When a widow remarries, the children by her first husband come under the power of the second. But if a son of her first husband returns, with the consent of the second husband, to his father's family (孤子歸宗 *ku tzŭ kuei tsung*, an orphan returning to his ancestors), a guardian has to be appointed.

Between *tutor* and *pupilla* a marriage is impossible; it would be considered incestuous.

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COUNCIL'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1892-3.

1.—The following members of Council and office-bearers were elected at the annual meeting held under the presidency of Consul-General Hannen on the 11th May 1892 :—

Messrs. N. J. Hannen, *President;* P. G. von Möllendorff, J. Edkins, *Vice-Presidents;* Z. Volpicelli, *Hon. Secretary;* J. Ritter von Haas, *Hon. Librarian;* D. C. Jansen, *Hon. Curator of the Museum;* Thos. Brown, *Hon. Treasurer;* T. W. Kingsmill, R. E. Bredon, Rev. E. Faber, G. M. H. Playfair, *Councillors.*

During the course of the year we have been singularly unlucky in losing either temporarily or definitively some of the most valuable members of the Council. The indefatigable Vice-President, Dr. Edkins, has been absent for almost the whole time, dedicating his energy to the service of sinology at home; and from official reasons of different kinds Messrs. Bredon, Playfair, and Faber have been called away from Shanghai and we have lost their services in the Council. The absence of the latter gentlemen having occurred only lately their places were not filled up, this being reserved for the coming annual meeting.

2.—*Members of the Society.*—Eight new members joined the Society during the year, and four have retired.

3.—*Meetings.*—Four Meetings were held during the year, when papers with the following titles were read :—

Early Growth of Language in Asia, by Dr. Edkins.

Abstracts from the papers received on Inland Communications in China, and Remarks on the so-called Runes of the Yenisei Valley, by T. W. Kingsmill.

Early Portuguese Commerce in China, by Z. Volpicelli.

Arab Trade in China during the T'ang dynasty, by Z. Volpicelli.

4.—*Journal.*—The following papers read at former meetings were published during the year :—

1.—The Fish-skin Tartars, by M. F. A. Fraser.

2.—A Comparative Table of the Ancient Lunar Asterisms, by T. W. Kingsmill.

3.—Wei-ch'i, by Z. Volpicelli.

4.—Militant Spirit of the Buddhist Clergy in China, by J. J. M. de Groot.

The delay in publishing the papers read during the year, besides a valuable paper received from A. von Rosthorn on the Salt Administration in Szechuan, is explained by the fact that the Council have desired to give precedence to a very long and bulky series of papers which require most careful revision in the press,—the papers received from all provinces on Inland Communications in China. Such a preference is justified, because the series is a most important one, throwing great light on an interesting subject which one may say is of great present and future value, because the contemporary history of all other countries has taught us that railways always follow in the main lines the roads already employed for thousands of years by men, pack-horses and vehicles. This useful collection, which Mr. Kingsmill has kindly undertaken to see through the press, will be prefaced by a lucid introduction by the same gentleman which will greatly assist the reader in grasping the general features of the question worked out in detail by many different papers.

5.—*Library.*—During the year a slow but valuable work has been going on, the compilation of a new catalogue. The Council feel it a duty to point out the debt the Society owes to its Hon. Librarian for the patience and assiduity he has shown in this work, the fruits of which will only be apparent to all when the new catalogue is published; it will then be seen how many new volumes have been catalogued and how necessary it was to adopt a new method of arrangement.

6.—*Museum.*—There is no report from the Hon. Curator for this year, because during almost the whole period the Museum has been

closed. This measure was rendered necessary by the discharge of the Taxidermist in the expectation that a Paid Curator would shortly be put in charge of the Museum. During the whole period under review the Council has been in correspondence with a Taxidermist in Australia, highly recommended by Mr. Carl Bock and other authorities, and it was led to expect that the Naturalist would arrive in Shanghai at the beginning of 1893. Unexpected circumstances, amongst which was the financial crisis in Australia, rendering it difficult for the gentleman in question to liquidate his affairs, have delayed his arrival, and the present Council being at the end of its term of office did not think it advisable to settle the question by sending him an ultimatum. It is, however, a question which the future Council will have to settle at once.

BALANCE SHEET

Dr. *For the year ended April 30th, 1893.* *Cr.*

INCOME.	Tls.	cts.	EXPENDITURE.	Tls.	cts.
To Balance from last account	97	95	*By* Printing and Binding Journals	314	52
„ Subscription from Members	525	70	„ Postage and Carriage of Parcels	27	64
„ Rent of Rooms	18	35	„ Stationery	29	75
„ Interest allowed by Bank	10	52	„ Advertising	41	74
„ Sales of Society's Publications	136	56	„ Taxes	33	59
			„ Insurance	28	60
			„ Wages	109	44
			„ Coals and Gas	22	71
			„ Repairs and Gas Fittings	40	88
			„ Shroffs for Collecting	7	30
			„ Balance in hand	132	91
Taels	789	08	Taels	789	08

E. & O. E.

SHANGHAI, *April 30th*, 1893.

Compared with Vouchers and found correct,

A. W. DANFORTH.

J. P. DONOVAN.

THOMAS BROWN,

Hon. Treasurer C.B.R.A.S. & Museum.

Dr. MUSEUM. *Cr.*

Income.	Tls.	cts.	Expenditure.	Tls.	cts.
To Balance from last account	578	82	*By* Wages of Taxidermist and Coolie	104	12
„ Donation from the French Municipal Council .	100	...	„ Stationery	1	47
„ Grant from the English Municipality	1,000	...	„ Cork Mounting Boards	16	61
			„ Interest on Loan from the Recreation Fund .	75	...
			„ Balance in hand	1,481	62
Taels	1,678	82	Taels	1,678	82

E. & O. E.

Shanghai, *April 30th*, 1893.

Compared with Vouchers and found correct,

A. W. Danforth.

J. P. Donovan.

THOMAS BROWN,

Hon. Treasurer C.B.R.A.S. & Museum.

Librarian's Report.

Shanghai, 16th May 1893.

Gentlemen,

My report for the past year is only a short one. The Council having decided that a new catalogue of our Library should be published, your Librarian was during the tenure of the second year of his office busily engaged in arranging and classifying the Library, a task not easily and speedily performed if you take into consideration that there are about 2,000 numbers comprising nearly 20,000 volumes.

The catalogue will soon be in the press, and I hope the same will be published in the course of this year.

As I stated in my last year's report, the books referring more especially to Natural History have been separated from the Library and handed over to the Museum Branch. It affords me special pleasure to inform you that this part of the Library is as extensive and up to the last researches of Natural History as an expert could desire. It requires now only to be classified and catalogued.

In view of the approaching festivity of the Shanghai Jubilee year, the Council might take into consideration the advisability of our handing over the Museum with the Library attached thereto to the Municipal Council in particular and to the Shanghai Public in general.

Another part of our Library forms the books which do not deal with subjects on China or the Far East. The catalogues of these sections will appear later on.

It is highly gratifying to note the very lively interest Societies abroad take in our working and in our publications. Over fifty of such Societies are exchanging with us their publications; Part F. "Transactions of Learned Societies and Periodical Publications" forms the most important part of our Library.

Again I have to express my regret that we find less sympathy with authors on Chinese subjects, who very rarely think of presenting to our Library a copy of their publications.

Concerning the working of the Library, the number of books which were lent out in the course of last year amounted only to 320. The rule V., *viz.* "Works of reference and certain rare and valuable books are not to be taken out of the Library building," was strictly enforced.

A classified index to the articles published in our Journals from the foundation of the Society to the end of 1892 will also soon appear.

I have the honour to remain,
Gentlemen,
Your obedient servant,
JOSEPH HAAS,
Hon. Librarian.

To the President
and Members of the Council
of the China Branch of the
Royal Asiatic Society.

PROCEEDINGS.

MINUTES *of* PROCEEDINGS *at a* GENERAL MEETING *held at the Society's Library, Museum Road, Shanghai, on Wednesday, 28th December 1892, at 9 p.m.*

Mr. N. J. HANNEN (President) occupied the chair.

Mr. HAYASHI, the Japanese Consul, and a number of his fellow-nationals were present.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said that Mr. T. W. Kingsmill had consented to read abstracts from the papers on Inland Communications in China, sent to the Society, and extracts from a paper on the so-called Runes of the Upper Yenisei, read before the Canadian Institute by Professor Campbell of Montreal, with reference to the early connection of the Kitans with Japanese Buddhism.

Mr. KINGSMILL then proceeded to read extracts from the paper on Inland Communications in China, which is printed *in extenso* at pp. 1-213 of this volume.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that he must take the opportunity of thanking those gentlemen who had assisted the Council by sending in replies to the queries set forth in the circular. He also wished to thank Mr. Kingsmill for the trouble he had taken in compiling the interesting paper which had been read to them. The papers would be of great service, and when printed would form as valuable a volume as any the Society had ever had. He quite understood that a summary like Mr. Kingsmill had read did not permit of any discussion or even of questions being usefully asked of the person who summarised them. He was therefore inclined to think that their simplest way would be to thank Mr. Kingsmill and those who had contributed the papers in the warmest manner, and to proceed to the other subject which Mr. Kingsmill had undertaken to bring before them that night.

Mr. KINGSMILL then said that in a meeting of the Society held there in March last, Dr. Macgowan, who had just returned from a tour in the North of Asia, told them some stories with regard to certain inscriptions which occurred on the waters of the Upper Yenisei, and one of which it seemed he had seen himself. He described those remains as Runes, which led to a very interesting discussion, more especially as it was known that the regions about the upper waters of the Jaxartes had been peopled about the dawn of history by certain Gothic tribes, and it was supposed that these remains certainly found on the Yenisei were really allied with the Runic inscriptions so common in the Northern parts of Europe, and more especially in Scandinavia. He (Mr. Kingsmill) had found amongst the transactions of the Canadian Institute a highly interesting account of those inscriptions by Dr. John Campbell, Professor in the Presbyterian College of Montreal, portions of which he proceeded to read as follows:—

"A wonderfully interesting class of inscriptions, hardly known beyond scientific circles within the bounds of the Russian Empire, is that of the so-called runic monuments of Siberia, and notably of that part of it which is watered by the Yenisei and its tributaries. Several years ago, Mr. Youferoff, of the Imperial Geographical Society at St. Petersburg, made, from all available sources published and unpublished, a collection of trustworthy copies of these documents, which I have in my possession, translations of which will be found in my forthcoming book *The Hittite Track in the East*. But, in the winter of 1889, I had the satisfaction of receiving, from the Archæological Society of Finland, a folio volume consisting of 52 pages of letterpress and 8 photographs of inscriptions. Of the first part, 17 pages are taken up with a historical account of the discovery of the monuments, illustrated with 14 well-executed engravings; the rest is a representation by the formulated syllabary of 32 complete documents awaiting the zeal of the epigrapher. Such a treasury of ancient Siberian lore never before lay open to the gaze of the historical explorer. The preface may be trusted to tell the tale of the book, which, I may say for the comfort of students, is written in French.

"The importance, for the archæology and history of Central Asia, of the inscriptions discovered upon raised stones and upon the rocks of the Upper Yenisei, has given to the Archæological Society of Finland the thought of taking the initiative in collecting these inscriptions and in publishing them for scientific ends. Although the work of collection is not yet completed, the Society has been unwilling to deprive orientalists of the inscriptions already brought together by the expedition formed for this purpose. This will also explain the incomplete state in which this publication appears. At the time of the work's preparation, the need of possessing photographs taken directly from the inscriptions was deeply felt, for the squeezes made with prepared moist paper could only be made use of in the absence of anything better for the photographic reproduction of the inscriptions. For the same reason, in the text edited by Mr. J. R. Aspelin, State Archæologist, who took the initative in collecting the inscriptions, and has taken part, as their chief, in the two expeditions, the writer has limited himself to speaking of the interest which the inscriptions have so far excited. After a first copy of the squeezes, a work in which Mr. Aspelin was able to take part prior to setting out upon the third expedition, Professor O. Donner has kindly undertaken to charge himself with the task of publishing these inscriptions. . . .

"Exceedingly valuable as is Mr. Aspelin's historical introduction, the most complete thing of its kind ever undertaken, its numerous details can hardly be of interest to the general student. The first inscription discovered was on an upright dressed stone, sixteen feet in height, two feet wide and a foot thick, found on the borders of the Ouibat, a tributary of the Abakan, by D. G. Messerschmidt in 1781. Messerchmidt, a young naturalist of Dantzig, was then making a tour of exploration in Siberia by order of Peter the Great. In the course of his travels, he feel in with Captain Tabbert, better known by his later title of nobility, Strahlenberg, and it is to the latter's work on the northern and eastern part of Europe and Asia that the world is indebted for an account of Messerschmidt's labours. This work, containing

representations of a few other inscriptions, was published in 1790. Little more was effected in the field of Siberian written monuments till the end of the century, when the Empress Catherine II ordered search to be made for inscriptions, several of which were found and copied by Pallas in the editions of his *Neue Nordische Beitrage*. From 1818 onwards, George Spassky, Superintendent of Mines, betook himself seriously to the task of collecting these documents, new copies of which he published in the *Siberian Messenger*, and more lately and correctly in the *Journal of the Imperial Geographical Society* at St. Petersburg. Klaproth, Castren, and Prince Kostroff continued the work of exploration, but zeal finally died away; and, according to Mr. Aspelin, from 1860 to 1870 nothing at all was done to rescue the ancient records. Since 1870, Siberian studies have revived in the hands of Messrs. Popoff, Adrianoff, Potanin and other explorers, through the museum of Minousinsk, founded in 1874 by Martianoff; through the Russian Archæological Commission and Geographical Society; and, far from least, through the Archæological Society of Finland, and its indefatigable Director, Mr. Aspelin, whose published work brings the story of Siberian explorations almost to date.

"The Yeniseian, or, more generically, the Siberian, inscriptions are, with one obscure exception, that on a fragment of bronze plate supposed to have been a Chinese mirror, engraved upon stones and rocks, the latter almost always overhanging rivers or streams. They are written or unwritten, the first consisting of regular lines of apparently alphabetic characters, the second being pictographs differing little from those depicted in many parts of the American continent. To the pictorial class, which has no hieroglyphic connection whatsoever, the rock inscriptions chiefly belong; but innumerable stones scattered over the once habitable area of Siberia contain representations rudely executed of men and animals, of hunting and pastoral scenes. Acts of individual warfare are sometimes portrayed, and illustrations of copper cauldrons with human figures dancing round them are supposed to connect with northern magic. A finer kind of sculpture, sometimes intaglio, but oftener in bold relief approaching the statuesque,

appears generally in connection with the written character. When it represents the human features it was evidently intended as a portrait of the occupant of the grave mound over which the stone that bears it was originally reared. Some sepulchral stones are void of ornament; on others there are reindeer and other animal effigies; and on others the portrayed face is so barely and grotesquely human that it may be regarded as an object of idolatrous worship. The number of stones engraved with written characters, accompanied or unaccompanied with other ornamentation, is probably but little over forty, of which Mr. Aspelin figures thirty-two. It does not necessarily follow that all of these, whether found in a standing position or lying flat upon the surface of the ground, are sepulchral in character. Some contain Buddhist emblems, and, were I to anticipate the results of personal decipherment, it would appear that several of them are inscribed with proclamations relating to the worship of Gotama, which were probably engraved on portions of religious buildings that have fallen to decay.

"The Yenisei country is one of thick strewn mounds, mounds by no means so ambitious in size and variation of outline as many of those which are scattered over the Ohio and Mississippi valleys; but, in so far as they are sepulchral, of the same nature, the chambered tumulus of Asia being identical with that of America, even to its cinder layers, its log walls, and its birch bark coverings. The Russian archæologists trace the continuity of the Siberian mounds and sculptures from the ancient Scythic region north of the Black Sea, through the Caucasus and the shores of the Caspian, onward to the Yenisei. Their conjectures as to the origin of the old civilisation these represent, and especially as to the derivation of the Siberian runes, have been numerous and varied. Much of Mr. Aspelin's introduction is taken up with the history of these diverse theories.

"The language of the inscriptions being *a priori* unknown, the history they record a blank, without the aid of a bilingual, however brief, no guess work, ever so brilliant, could lead the student to a consistent lexical and grammatical interpretation of them in a well-known oriental tongue. That tongue is the Japanese, in a dialect

varying but little from the written or literary speech of the present day. The suggestions of Strahlenberg and other writers, that the Siberian characters are related to those of the Sinaitic and Etruscan, of the Parthian and Devanagari, inscriptions, and that they were carried by the Kitan in a modified form into Corea, are justified by the linguistic and historical facts which all of these documents unfold, when the key that unlocks the door of long Siberian silence is applied in turn to them.

"*Literal translation of No. XX, according to M. Youferoff's version:—*

"Part I. *Mekuba tobai: mito Metome: iku Mekuba*
Mekuba's consort: king Metome: buries Mekuba.
Kado: mi: toji tachi: abatta ba imi doku buji tsuka
door: behold: shut stands: defended may malice injury safe tomb.
Sagota Yobakame chijitashita: mo Shidzuta
Sagota Yobakame ruler under: even Shidzuta
Raba mame Buda: bai to gukumomi
Raba people Budha: priest company learned
Keiku kudatta
grand has committed.

"Part II. *Ta: giri ga fuju*
who: righteousness of bereft
toji tsuka: saido tojiku
closed tomb: a second time uncloses
yame tobai: mito Sagota tsu—
widow's consort: King Sagota's successor
gi: mito Shidzuta kubiri beku de
King Shidzuta hang should not.

"Freely: 'Mekuba buries king Metome, Mekuba's consort. Behold: the door stands shut; may the tomb be kept free from injury, Sagota's subordinate ruler of Yobakami, even Shidzuta, has committed the guardianship to the learned company of Budha's priests of the Raba people.

'He, who, bereft of righteousness, forces open the closed tomb, the consort of the widow, the successor of King Sagota, King Shidzuta, ought he not to hang?'

"The full text of over twenty Siberian inscriptions, including those under consideration, will be found in my forthcoming work *The Hittite Track in the East*, accompanied by an account of the discovery of the phonetic values of the characters, and ample grammatical notes. I have, however, thought it wise to forestall the information therein contained, by appending lexical and grammatical notes to the inscriptions dealt with in this paper, using for that purpose Dr. Hepburn's *Japanese Dictionary* and Mr. Aston's *Grammar of the Japanese Written Language*. As the writers of the Siberian character were really the most important element that subsequently, in their descendants, occupied the Japanese Islands, it almost necessarily follows that their history has a place in the Japanese annals, which, however, like most ancient documents dealing with the period of a nation's infancy, are silent concerning the story of migration, although Japanese writers are not wanting to derive their race from Northern India. For the history, therefore, I make use of Titsingh's translation of the *Nipon O Dai Itsi Ran*, or *Annals of the Emperors of Japan*. In *The Hittite Track in the East*, this history will be farther elucidated by chronologically anterior data furnished by Indian Buddhist inscriptions and native histories, and by materials contributed in the annals of the Chinese dynasties, and in the *San Koki Tsu Ran To Sets*, so far as it relates to the peninsula of Corea.

"The oldest and most important royal name in the inscriptions which have been under consideration is that of King Sagota. In other inscriptions, he and his successors are called Kings of the Kita in various divisions, such as the Raba-kita and the Yoba-kita. These are the Khitan of the Chinese historians, who are said to have occupied Northern China from before the middle of the tenth century until 1123 A.D. One of the earliest Khitan emperors of China, from whose dynastic title Marco Polo picked up the name Cathay, was She-King-Tang, the founder of the sub-dynasty of the How-Tsin in 936. His successor was Tse-wang or Chuh-Te, and

his, Le-Tsung-e, who is called a prince of How. She-King-Tang, a brave general and a wise administrator, adopted the name of Kaou-Tsoo. In more than one Siberian inscription, the successor of Sagota is called Dzuta or Shidzuta, a name sufficiently like that of Chuh-Te, the successor of Shi-King-Tang, to demand attention. The ancestry of Shekingtang or Sheketang is not given by the Chinese historians, who represent him as a man of low extraction, but his immediate predecessors were Mingtsung and his son Minte. It is very evident that the Leaou, Hows, and Khitan, under Sheketang and Chuhte, are the people who, in the end of the fifth century, dwelt between the Obi and the Yenisei in Siberia; but Sheketang and Chuhte belong, according to the Chinese annals, to the first half of the tenth century. Yet the Khitan were in Liaou-Tung long before, for the historians of Corea state that they took possession of the northern part of that peninsula between 684 and 689, or 250 years earlier, although still 200 years later than the dated inscription of Sagato. The Khitan were strangers, invaders, and conquerors of China, whither they brought not only their customs, language, and religion, but also their annals, including the names of their former kings, Sagota and Dzuta. The Chinese historians, without question, copied the names of these and other kings, buried under Siberian tumuli, with some facts of their reigns, as if they had been rulers in the Celestial Empire, equally with their successors of four centuries later. There may, of course, have been a later Sagota with a son or successor Dzuta, named after those of Siberia, for the tendency of the Khitan is to repeat names of illustrious persons from generation to generation, but the probability is that these Siberian kings are the Chinese Sheketang and Chuhte of the Khitan.

A discussion took place in which Mr. C. H. Dallas and Mr. Hayashi discussed the probabilities of the identity of Genghis Khan with the Japanese hero Mianomoto, and Mr. von Möllendorff contested the idea that the Hittites were identical with the people who left these runic inscriptions.

The proceedings then terminated.

MINUTES *of* PROCEEDINGS *at a* GENERAL MEETING *held at the Society's Library, Museum Road, Shanghai, on Monday, 27th February 1893, at 9 p.m.*

Mr. N. J. HANNEN (President) occupied the chair. There was a large number of members and visitors present.

Mr. Z. N. VOLPICELLI read a Paper entitled "Early Portuguese Commerce and Settlements in China."

The Lecturer commenced by remarking that the early Portuguese settlements in China form an interesting study, as they mark the farthest advance of that European nation which led the way in the continuous movement of colonial and commercial expansion which has been going on for the last four hundred years, and which forms such an important factor in the modern history of the world. The cause of Portuguese expansion he ascribed to her geographical position in the West of Europe, pointing out that the other nations which had formed or attempted to form colonial empires—England, Spain, Holland, and France—were all similarly situated, but at the same time there was a difference in the origin of the Portuguese colonial empire compared with that of other nations. The others, even when most successful, as in the case of England, had expanded unconsciously, either seizing opportunities which presented themselves or being driven to conquest by circumstances: they had never carried out a plan elaborated for years and persevered in against every discouragement and difficulty, though with the certainty that immense wealth would be the reward of success. Portugal started with a clear plan, though fraught with many difficulties,—the discovery of a new trade route, which she saw must give her for a long time the monopoly of Eastern commerce. This was a new departure in history. Hitherto all the products of further Asia had been brought to the European markets through the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and the wealth and prosperity of the Italian maritime cities during the Middle Ages was owing to their monopoly

of the carrying trade of these products in the Mediterranean. The genius of Prince Henry the Navigator inspired him with the bold plan of reaching India by direct sea-route round Africa, thus securing for Portugal not only the monopoly enjoyed by the Italians in the Mediterranean, but also that of the Arabs and Indians in the Indian Ocean. To this purpose nearly a century of unceasing exertion was sacrificed. Slowly but unceasingly they crept along the African coast, until at last the end of the continent was reached, and in 1486 the Cape of Good Hope was doubled. The curious alliance which the zeal of Portuguese explorers brought about between their own country and Abyssinia having been noticed,—the Lecturer remarking that he drew attention to it in a series of articles in the Italian papers about three years ago,—he proceeded to trace the rapid growth of Portuguese influence which reached Malacca in 1509, and in 1516 Cochin-China and Siam. The Portuguese were too flushed by success to care for casual losses incurred by local hostility, and too well trained by their trials of a century to fear any enemy they might encounter, and they continued their explorations and mercantile adventures. Their possession of Malacca, which was thoroughly conquered by Dalboquerque in 1511, at once opened up relations with China, both private and public. The sagacity of Dalboquerque arranged matters in such a way that the first reports about the Portuguese in China should be of the most favourable description; they had shown great valour against their powerful enemies, and a generosity towards weak strangers which must have seemed extraordinary to the Chinese accustomed to the violence and hostility of the Malays. Events that followed soon proved the wisdom of Dalboquerque's conduct. When the Portuguese took Malacca, the king fled to the kingdom of Pão and sent an ambassador to the Court of Peking asking for succour from China on account of the sincere friendship between the two countries. The fall of Malacca, then the great commercial port of the East, had caused an immense sensation throughout all the neighbouring States, so that when the ambassador reached Peking, after a long journey overland from Canton, he was subjected to long questioning about the Portuguese,

their great Viceroy, and their mode of fighting. He was able to give a full account of the whole war, as he had been an eye-witness; but all his eloquence in describing the affronts his master had received from the Captain of the King of Portugal was insufficient to obtain an army and fleet to reinstate his sovereign. The Emperor of China determined to keep on good terms with the Portuguese, because they had treated his merchants kindly, and intended to allow them to trade in Malacca. As time went on the intercourse between the Portuguese and Chinese in China became of the most friendly nature, and would have continued but for the inconsiderate actions of men whose conduct destroyed all the good effects of the policy of Dalboquerque. In 1518 Simão de Andrade arrived at Tomao, and the end of his conduct was that the Chinese fleet blockaded the Portuguese force, and would have starved them into submission if a gale had not enabled the latter to run the blockade in 1521. The bad conduct of this official ruined negotiations which if carried out would have obtained official sanction from the Emperor to trade between China and Portugal.

After narrating the nature of the negotiations which the representatives of Portugal sought to carry through at Peking, the Lecturer said that the bad conduct of Simão de Andrade at Tamao and the sea-fights which ensued did not prevent Portuguese vessels from frequenting it at a later date. The Portuguese were impelled to open settlements at Chinchew and Ningpo. They did this not only from the desire to open new channels of trade, but also to remove at such a distance from Tamao that they should not be affected by the reports of the past misconduct of their own countrymen. The principal trading stations at that time were three—in the South, successively Tamao, Lampacao, Macao; in the north Liampo (Ningpo); and about half-way between them, Chinchew.

The remainder of the paper was occupied with a description of life as it was in China, and an attempt to show that although more than three centuries had passed yet many things were unchanged. The principal authority discussed was

F. M. Pinto, whose reputation for veracity was described as very bad. On the ground that even works of fiction are often of some historical value, as they show the current of thought of the time, the Lecturer went carefully through the extraordinary story of Pinto, teeming as it did with tales of piracy, land and sea-fights, and adventures romantic to a degree. Pinto describes the settlement of Liampo (Ningpo) in glowing terms. He says there were 3,000 people in it, among which were 1,200 Portuguese; that 300 were married to Portuguese and half-caste wives, that there were more than 1,000 houses, some of which cost 3,000 or 4,000 *crusados*, and seven or eight churches; two hospitals, on which they spent every year 30,000 *crusados*. Japan had only been discovered two years, and Liampo monopolised the trade with that country, which was very profitable, in fact money employed in it was doubled three or four times over. He estimates the trade at three millions of gold. A regular administration was established, and he gives the titles of a lot of officials. The Portuguese were so independent that Pinto is astonished, and remarks that the public scriveners in their acts used to write "And I, so-and-so, Public Notary in this city of Liampo, in the name of the King, our Lord," just as if they were living between Santarem and Lisbon. If Pinto's description is correct, Liampo must have been the Shanghai of the sixteenth century. In fact he says it was considered a nobler and more wealthy place than any in India or all Asia. Now all this, according to him, was wiped out by the Chinese in five hours. But it is strange that although he says he was an eye-witness of the disastrous end of this flourishing place, and he describes minutely so many other of his personal adventures, he gives us no particulars of what he was doing on that occasion. It is only more than fifteen years after that time, while he is describing the flourishing state of Macao, that he reverts to the subject as a moral lesson to those who might feel too confident in their new settlement at Macao.

In conclusion the Lecturer said:—Though we cannot believe that F. M. Pinto was present at the burning of the Portuguese settlement at Liampo, nor accept his version of it, yet it looks likely

that there may be some kernel of truth in it. Da Cruz says that a fleet was sent in 1548 to drive away the Portuguese, and probably later on they achieved their purpose; it was quite sufficient to stop trade to render the place an undesirable residence to the merchants, and we may believe that though there was some bloodshed, no such carnage took place as Pinto wishes us to believe. As we know that the mandarins agreed to concentrate foreign trade in 1554 at Lampacao, and in 1557 at Macao, it is probable that the Portuguese were driven away from Liampo and Chinchew some time before these dates. Such events would cause sensation among the traders and adventurers of the Far East, and F. M. Pinto felt probably that he must be present at such an important event, and therefore assigns it to the year 1542. When he was so long at Liampo, it would not do for him to miss such an adventure, and he worked up a dramatic description of the catastrophe. The adventures of F. M. Pinto, marvellous as some of them are, must be considered to have generally a small substratum of truth, and to be based if not on what he saw or did on what he heard others had seen or done. Taken in such a light he gives us a picturesque view of the life of those times, and if we reflect we shall find that in most cases we can find a modern parallel to all he describes. Even the last mad enterprise of A. de Faria, which cost him his life—his expedition to rifle the tombs of the Emperor of China—has something to match it in our times, for not many years ago here in Shanghai, at the instigation of pious missionaries, with the assistance of princely hongs, Oppert fitted out his expedition to rob the tombs of the Kings of Corea.

MINUTES *of* PROCEEDINGS *at a* GENERAL MEETING *held at the Society's Library, Museum Road, Shanghai, on Wednesday, 26th April 1893, at 9 p.m.*

Mr. N. J. HANNEN, who presided, announced that the only business to transact, before calling upon the Lecturer, was to announce that Mr. Schomberg had been elected a member.

Mr. Z. H. Volpicelli delivered a lecture on "Arab Trade in China during the T'ang Dynasty" (9th century), with an account of the country as given by those early travellers.

The Lecturer, speaking extemporaneously, reminded his audience that a short time ago he gave an account of the early Portuguese traders in China, and he now proposed to go back and speak of a much earlier period, when the Arabs traded with China. We were apt sometimes to think that we were almost the first who had been in China, just as we sometimes thought when we came across a fact unknown to us, that we were the first to discover it. The first proofs of Arab trade with China dated back to the 5th century, the principal port from which it was conducted being on the Euphrates at a point now no longer navigable. Afterwards the starting-point of Arabian trade shifted successively to Basrah, Al Siraf, and later on to Ormuz. The trade eastwards rapidly extended, and the accounts we had of the trade in the 9th century were from an interesting manuscript in two parts, which was translated by the Abbé Eusebius Renaudot in 1718. It was a fairly good translation, but, as the manuscript could not be found for a long time, people began to doubt its existence, until it was discovered some fifty years later: another translation was compiled in 1845 by Reinaud. Of the first part of the manuscript we could not tell the author, but the second part we knew was written by Abu Zeid Hassan of Siraf. The Lecturer then proceeded to endeavour to locate the ports of call mentioned in the manuscript, contending that if attention were paid to the statements as to the time occupied in passing from one to the other, we could gain a very fair idea of their approximate positions. The ports of call extended along to Cochin-China and then northwards, and he thought they might identify Khanfu, the great Arabic trade port in China, with Hangchow Fu. The travellers give a very detailed account of China, as well as of India and the islands of the South Indian Archipelago. The first author, speaking of the climate of China, says it is very good and far healthier than India. The country is more populous, and whilst he found many desolate places in India he did not notice the same in China. He speaks of

the large rivers, and the moisture of the climate, matters which would naturally strike a native of the dry atmosphere of Arabia. He says the people are very fine-looking, and very white, an impression which the traveller might have formed as a result of his wanderings amongst the darker natives of India. The dress of the Chinese he describes as being silk, both the poor and rich being clothed in that material, and he was very much struck by the number of articles of clothing they wore. He says that the people wore five or more dresses; that they were a black-haired race—in fact the darkest haired race in the world; the men let their hair grow long, and did not wear turbans; the women did not wear any head-covering, but they usually indulged in a number of combs, and he had seen as many as twenty. Like a good Arabian the writer regrets the absence of palm-trees, and he mentions the absence of lions and elephants, and considers the Chinese horses superior to those of India. There were two hundred principal cities, each having many smaller ones administratively dependent on them. The cities, he says, have generally four gates, and he makes some curious remarks upon the cities, stating that each gate is provided with five large trumpets, which are blown day and night to announce the hour. The peculiar construction of the houses is remarked upon. They are of wood or bamboo and, on account of the frequency of fires, have no steps or staircases, so that the contents can be easily removed. The houses are also furnished with boxes on wheels, and when a fire breaks out the household articles are put into them and they are run out of the house. The food of the people consists largely of rice, but not exclusively. They have no wines, but they make a spirit from rice, which of course is what we know as *samshu*. The people, he further says, eat all kinds of animals, and also those which had died. The writer is one of the few mediæval writers who mentions tea, and describes the plant. He notices that the people are not very clean, and says they never perform any of the ablutions of the Mohammedans. The marriage customs strike him as peculiar, and he speaks of the noise made by the beating of drums and musical instruments during the ceremony. Speaking of the burial customs

he remarks upon the long time they keep the corpses, and notices the extraordinary care they have in performing the funeral rites, and the long time of mourning, which is generally three years. He adds—but perhaps it is a slight exaggeration—that those who do not grieve constantly for the loss of their parents are bambooed. Polygamy is practised, and he says that the expenses incurred over funerals frequently ruin people. The great skill of the Chinese as workmen is spoken of, and he goes so far as to say they are the most skilful people on earth. He says that when any workman accomplishes a new kind of work, which he thinks worthy of consideration, he presents it to the king (or governor) and the work is exhibited for a certain period. If nobody can find fault with it, the workman is rewarded, and he is entered in the corporation of artists. As an instance the writer says that a workman executed a most beautiful piece of embroidery, representing a bird resting on some corn. It was put on exhibition and admired for some time, until a hunchbacked man came to see it and began laughing. Asked the reason of his merriment he said that everybody must know that if even the smallest bird rest on an ear of corn it would bend, but here the corn was quite straight. The criticism was found to be just, and the workman received no reward. Nearly everybody could read and write, and there were public schools where the people gained instruction. The peculiar coins are described, and he says they are strung on strings in bundles of a thousand, with a knot tied at every hundred, to facilitate counting. When a man cannot pay his debts, all his property is seized for the benefit of his creditors, and all debtors have to pay what they owe the man. If the bankrupt reveals all his belongings, and is found not to have concealed anything, or to have handed over any property to others for keeping, he is released, but if he is discovered acting fraudulently he is punished by death. Describing the punishments of the Chinese, he says that they have a peculiar one, which consists in fastening the hands and feet behind the culprit's back, so that he becomes very much like a ball. He is then rolled about until his joints are dislocated, after which he is bambooed and left to die. The fondness for gambling is a peculiar characteristic, but the

people are generally sober: they have little or no knowledge of science, and their mode of medicine is principally cauterisation. The Emperor lives in seclusion, only going out every ten months, the reason being that he thinks respect is gained by fear and mystery. When the officials go out they are preceded by men beating pieces of wood, which is a sign to the people to retire into their houses. The administration of justice is carried on by written statements, and he describes its working. The only taxation is by a poll-tax, every man on attaining the age of 18 being liable. When a man reaches 80 years of age not only is he exempt from further taxation but he receives a small allowance from the Treasury, as a matter of right. The Arab merchants in Khanfu (which, as already mentioned, the Lecturer argued was Hangchow Fu) were allowed to have their own judge and composed a self-governing body. This was the account given by the first author. The second writer mentions that in the year of the Hegira 264 (A.D. 877) this happy state of things had been changed by a great rebellion which had broken out. The rebels rapidly gained aid and, attacking Khanfu, destroyed the mulberry trees, and caused a scarcity of silk in the district. The Emperor fled to Chêngtu, but with the help of the Tartars, returned and crushed the rebellion. The carnage at Khanfu when it was destroyed is described as very great, some 120,000 persons being put to the sword. In concluding, the Lecturer pointed out that the greater part of what this Arabian author had written on the subject corresponded with the Chinese accounts of the insurrection of Hwang Ch'ao of the T'ang dynasty. This gave good grounds for believing all the rest. He thought the records he had spoken of might be regarded as having really wonderful accuracy. He hoped to be able to give a translation of the author, for although the existing translation was a good one yet it might be improved.

Mr. Kingsmill was inclined to differ with some conclusions the Lecturer had come to with regard to the identity of some of the places mentioned. At the time of which the Lecturer had been speaking Hangchow as a port might be regarded as non-existent, and he himself inclined to the belief that Khanfu corresponded with Canton.

Mr. Volpicelli replied that Canton was mentioned by other Arabian authors, who gave it another name, and he did not think the distances mentioned in the manuscript of which he had been speaking would agree with Mr. Kingsmill's contention. He also pointed out that according to the second Arab author the siege of Khanfu took place in the year 264 of the Hegira, which commenced on the 18th September 877 (N.S.) and would extend far into 878; and the Chinese historians mentioned the taking of Hangchow by the rebel Hwang Ch'ao in the 8th moon of the 5th year of Hsi Tsung (A.D. 878). This chronological agreement was strong proof of the identity of Khanfu and Hangchow.

Mr. Playfair remarked that one argument in favour of Hangchow being Khanfu was that at one time it was the capital of the empire, whereas there was no record of Canton being the capital.

Mr. James Scott added that at the present time there was a large Mahommedan community in Canton, which had kept itself quite distinct. Within the last few years the better class Mahommedans had taken them up and were endeavouring to raise their status.

The proceedings then terminated.

MINUTES *of* PROCEEDINGS *at the* ANNUAL MEETING *held at the Society's Library, Museum Road, on Thursday, 28th June 1894, at 9 p.m.*

Mr. N. J. HANNEN (President) occupied the chair.

The CHAIRMAN, in proposing the adoption of the reports and accounts, congratulated the Branch upon being in a better financial position than last year. The credit balance at present was Tls. 423, and at the beginning of the year it was Tls. 132.91. The balance in the hands of the Treasurer on account of the Museum was Tls. 707, but there was a debt on the Museum of Tls. 500, so that in reality there was only Tls. 207 at credit. The Museum having been placed in a better position than it had been for some time, and being looked after by someone who took an interest in it, would be able to show good work, and it was hoped that the Municipal Council would grant Tls. 1,000, instead of Tls. 500, as they did one year, and that the Museum would thus be worthy of the Settlement and the Branch.

Mr. VOLPICELLI seconded the various reports and accounts, which were unanimously adopted. They were as follows:—

COUNCIL'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1893-4.

1.—*Council.*—The following members of Council and office-bearers were elected at the annual meeting held in 1892 under the presidency of Chief Justice N. J. HANNEN:—

President:—N. J. HANNEN.

Vice-Presidents:—P. G. VON MÖLLENDORFF and Dr. J. EDKINS.

Hon. Secretary:—Z. VOLPICELLI; *Hon. Librarian:*—J. RITTER VON HAAS; *Hon. Curator of the Museum:*—D. C. JANSEN; *Hon. Treasurer:*—THOS. BROWN.

Councillors:—T. W. Kingsmill, James Scott, John Macgregor and Dr. Franke.

During the course of the year several changes have taken place. The Council had the misfortune of losing one of its members, the much-regretted Mr. Macgregor. In his place was elected Dr. Faber, who has rendered so many services to sinology in general and to our Society especially. The Hon. Curator, Mr. Jansen, having repeatedly declared his inability to give sufficient time to the Museum, the Council with great regret had to appoint a successor. It was fortunate in securing the assistance of Mr. Vosy-Bourbon, whose zeal and assiduity have already done much for the Museum.

2.—*Members:*—Twenty-one new members were elected during the year, and only a few names of members, from whom nothing had been heard for a long time, were struck off the list.

3.—*Meetings:*—In the course of the year four public meetings were held, and the following papers read:—

Popular Lecture on the Oriental Congress, by Dr. Edkins.

Stray Notes on Corean History and Literature, by J. Scott.

Prehistoric Archæology, by Dr. Edkins.

Synopsis of How to Awaken Faith in the Mahayama School, by the Rev. Timothy Richard.

4.—*Journal:*—Part II of Vol. XXVI has been published in the year under review and Part III is already printed and will shortly appear. It is well to call attention to the Index of the Society's Publications, compiled and brought up to date by the Hon. Librarian, Mr. von Haas. It forms a valuable portion of Part II and will be found of great assistance to all who wish to refer to the many subjects which have been treated by our Society since its foundation.

5.—*Officers' Reports:*—The Hon. Librarian has been unable to present his yearly report for the annual meeting, owing to his sudden departure for the capital and to the length of time required for the report this year, as Mr. von Haas after much painstaking labour has completed the new Catalogue of the Society's Library, which will appear in Part III. The Hon. Curator of the Museum

gives a full and detailed account of the state of that institution and of the necessary improvements it requires. The Hon. Treasurer's report is very satisfactory ; under his able management the finances of the Society continue in a flourishing condition.

Z. VOLPICELLI,
Hon. Secretary.

Shanghai, 20th June 1894.

Hon. Treasurer's Report.

I have the honour to present my audited accounts for the year ended 30th April 1894. The balance to the credit of the Society is Tls. 423.33. The amount received from the sales of the Society's Journals shows a satisfactory increase. The expenditure under the heading of "Additions to the Library" is made up chiefly by the cost of binding some 400 volumes.

The Museum.—The usual grants have been received from the English and French Municipal Councils. The loan from the Recreation Fund has been reduced by Tls. 1,000. The balance at the credit of the Museum now is Tls. 707.83.

Thomas Brown,
Hon. Treas.
C.B.R.A.S. & Museum.

THE HON. TREASURER IN ACCOUNT WITH THE CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Dr. *For the year ended April 30th, 1894.* *Cr.*

Income.	Tls.	cts.	Expenditure.	Tls.	cts.
To Balance from 1893	132	91	*By* Printing and Binding Journals	371	57
„ Subscriptions from Members	686	27	„ Postages	48	62
„ Rent of Hall, etc.	215	70	„ Stationery	21	36
„ Sales of the Society's Journals	219	33	„ Advertising	31	71
„ Interest received from the Bank	25	99	„ Additions to Library and Binding	191	01
„ Exchange Account	1	23	„ Native and Municipal Taxes	30	22
			„ Insurance	20	92
			„ Wages	107	89
			„ Coals and Gas	20	00
			„ Repairs	7	50
			„ Shroffs for Collecting	7	30
			„ Balance	423	33
Taels	1,281	43	Taels	1,281	43

E. & O. E.

Shanghai, *April 30th*, 1894.

THOMAS BROWN,

Hon. Treasurer C.B.R.A.S. & Museum.

Compared with Vouchers and found correct,

A. W. Danforth.

J. P. Donovan.

THE HON. TREASURER IN ACCOUNT WITH THE SHANGHAI MUSEUM.

Dr. *For the year ending April 30th, 1894.* *Cr.*

INCOME.	Tls.	cts.	EXPENDITURE.	Tls.	cts.
To Balance from 1893	1,481	62	*By* Wages	69	72
„ Grant from the Municipal Council	500	00	„ Chemicals, etc., for Specimens	30	74
„ Donation from the Municipalité Française ...	100	00	„ Advertising	2	19
			„ Furniture	10	00
			„ Books purchased for Natural History Library	14	50
			„ Interest paid to the Recreation Fund on Loan Tls. 1,500	75	00
			„ Part Payment of Loan of Tls. 1,500	1,000	00
			„ Interest on Tls. 1,000 from January 1st to June 6th, 1894	21	64
			„ Rent	150	00
			„ Balance in the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank	707	83
Taels	2,081	62	Taels	2,081	62

E. & O. E.

SHANGHAI, *April 30th*, 1894.

Audited and found correct,

A. W. DANFORTH.

J. P. DONOVAN.

THOMAS BROWN,

Hon. Treasurer C.B.R.A.S. & Museum.

Hon. Curator's Report.

The length of time elapsed since the resignation of my valuable predecessor, has deeply affected the Museum, and its difficulties are not yet removed. All our efforts to get out a taxidermist from Australia or from Japan have proved ineffectual, and the only way left open to us with our small resources is to train a Chinese; this is at the same time the most practical plan, as we could send him more easily to collect in the country.

In any case such a man is necessary for the routine work of preserving the collection; the scientific supervision alone is heavily taxing the spare time of an honorary officer, and certainly a paid curator will be indispensable if there is any success in the projected extension.

But this seems distant, as the interest in the Museum has been very weak in the last year, recent accessions being very few indeed. The contributors therefore deserve the more to be mentioned. We can name Messrs. W. Lay (Chinkiang) and Douglas Jones (Shanghai) who have sent on several occasions what they thought interesting for us, also Messrs. Starkey, G. Corner, W. Mesny, etc. etc.

We hope, however, that our programme of technologic collection will be favourably received and attended to.

The damages done to the collections by insects are considerable and now quite apparent, as the warm and wet weather accelerated the hatching of the eggs, and this could not be checked in time in the absence of a skilled caretaker. The Mammals specially have much suffered from *tinea pullucida* and *anthrenus lepidus* which rendered half the specimens useless. The groups of herons also have been attacked.

Since I took charge in January, a catalogue of birds has been prepared, and we are adding now the Chinese names, which is a laborious task. After clearing the worst, we are left still with 493 specimens, representing 245 species, but very few duplicates.

The good collection of butterflies has been revised and about 750 specimens (representing 22 species new for the Museum) were added by purchase or exchange.

As soon as possible all the labels will be renewed, but in the majority of cases it is a pity that the names of donor and locality were lost or never affixed. This is a point much commented on in the visitors' book, and indeed it is concealing the value of numerous specimens.

Another complaint of anyone interested in the institution is the absence of the most elementary reference books, which makes the specifications impossible in many cases, but this means a considerable amount of money.

If we are supported by the public in the proportion to our usefulness, we hope to present next year a better situation.

H. Vosy-Bourbon,
Hon. Curator.

Shanghai, 19th June 1894.

Hon. Librarian's Report.

Shanghai, 15th June 1894.

Gentlemen,

In my last report I had the honour to submit to you concerning the working of our Library during the year 1892-93. I announced that a new Catalogue was in course of publication.

This Catalogue has meanwhile been distributed among the members. It comprises only publications referring directly or indirectly to the Far East, which numbered, up to 31st December 1893, 1,325 various books, besides 67 Chinese and 3 Manchu works.

I beg to enclose a list of Addenda which came in during the course of this year, and which, considering they are donations, I am glad to say represent a higher number than ever achieved previously.

I hope in the course of this year to have arranged the Library of our Museum, and to have then a separate Catalogue of it printed.

I have the honour to remain,
Gentlemen,
Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH HAAS,
Hon. Librarian.

To the President and Members of the
Council of the China Branch of the
Royal Asiatic Society.

ADDENDA.

C. V.

1326. 9.—Recherches sur l'Origine de l'Abaque Chinois et sur la dérivation des anciennes Fiches à calcul par A. Vissière. *Extrait du Bulletin de Géographie*, 1892. *Paris, Ernest Leroux*, 1892, ppt. 8vo (28 pag.)

E. II. d. 2.

1327. 25.—Ningpo to Shanghai in 1857. [Via the borders of An-whui Province, Hoo-chow Foo and the Grand Canal.] By William Tarrant. *Canton, "Friend of China,"* 1862, 8vo.

E. VI. b. 4. a.

1328. 166.—Ein Ausflug nach Hangtschau. Von B. R. A. Navarra. *Shanghai*, 1894, 8vo.

E. VI. b. 6.

1329. 3.—Note Historique sur les diverses espèces de Monnaie qui ont été usités en Corée par M. Maurice Courant. *Extrait du Journal Asiatique. Paris, Imprim. Nation.*, 1893, ppt. 8vo (24 pag.)

E. VIII.

1330. 53.—Charles Lowe's Catalogue of Books, etc. *Birmingham*, 8vo.

1331. 54.—H. Welter. Librairie universitaire, française et étrangère, ancienne et moderne. *Paris.*
Catalogue mensuel, 8vo.
No. 70, 74-76. 1894.

1332. 55.—Karl W. Hirsemann, Buchhändler und Antiquar. *Leipzig.* Katalog. No. 137, 141.
Bibliographie. 1894.

F. I. e.

1333. 8.—R. Istituto Orientale in Napoli.
L'Oriente. Rivista Trimestrale.
Anno I. No. 1. 1 Gennajo, 1894.

F. I. h.

1334. 4.—West Siberian Branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. St. Petersburg.
Report for the year 1883. (In Russian), ppt. 8vo.

C. II.

1335. 37.—Lehrbegriff des Confucius nach 論語, 大學, 中庸, von Ernst Faber. *Hongkong, Ch. Gaupp & Co,* 1874, 8vo.

C. IV.

1336. 33.—River Temperature. Part I. Its daily changes and method of observation. By H. B. Guppy, M.B. [*Reprinted, February 27th, 1894, from the "Proceedings" of the Royal Physical Society of Edinburgh, Vol. XII.*] ppt. 8vo (17 pag.)

C. VI.

1337. 41.—The Evolution of the Chinese Language as exemplifying the origin and growth of human speech by Joseph Edkins, D.D. [*Reprinted from the "Journal of the Peking Oriental Society,"* 1887.] *London,* Trübner & Co, 1888, 8vo.

1338. 42.—Chinese Currency. By J. Edkins, D.D. *London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.,* 1880, ppt. 8vo (29 pag.)

E. II. d. II.

1339. 26.—Die Reise S. M. Schiffes "Zriny" nach Ost-Asien, 1890-1891. Verfasst auf Befehl des K. und K: Reichskriegs-ministeriums, Marine-Section, unter Zugrundelegung der Berichte des K. und K: Schiffscommandos und ergänzt nach Consularberichten und andern authentischen Quellen von Jerolim Freiherrn von Benko. *Wien,* Carl *Gerold's Sohn,* 1893, 8vo.

E. IV.

1340. 42.—Paul, the Apostle in Europe, a Guide to our Mission Work in Asia. By Rev. Ernst Faber, Dr. Theol. *Shanghai, Amer. Presbyt. Mission*, 1891, 8vo.

E. VI. B. 4. a.

1341. 167.—Modern China: thirty-one short Essays on subjects which illustrate the present condition of the country. By Joseph Edkins, D.D. *Shanghai, Kelly & Walsh, Ld.*, 1891, ppt. 8vo (55 pag.)

E. VIII.

1342. 56.—Asher & Co., London.
Circulars of Books on sale.

F. I. e.

1343. 9.—Società Asiatica Italiana. Firenze.
Giornale.
Volume Primo. 1887.

F. I. h.

1344. 5.—Société des Naturalistes de la Nouvelle Russie. Odessa.
Mémoires. Tom. XVIII, No. 1.
Section Mathématique:
Mémoires. Tom. XV.

F. II. a.

1345. 22.—National Academy of Sciences. Washington.
Memoirs, 4to. Volume VI. 1893.

F. III. a.

1346. 20.—Liceo Cientifico, Artistico y Literario de Manila Revista. Año III, No. 4, 18 Setiembre 1881.

D. I. C. 6. B. a.

1347. 29.—A Chinese-English Dictionary by Herbert A. Giles, bound in 3 vols. *London, Bernard Quaritch; Shanghai..... Kelly & Walsh, Lim.*, 1892, 4to.
Part I.—A to Hu.
Part II.—Hu to Shun.
Part III.—Shun to Yün.

E. VIII.

1348. 57.—1894. *Asia.* A catalogue of Books (ancient and modern) relating to British India, Central Asia, China, Japan,...etc. including books on History, Geography..... Offered by Francis Edwards, Bookseller. London, sm. 8vo (36 pag.)

1349. 58.—Die Weltliteratur. Eine Liste mit Einleitung von P. G. von Möllendorff.
Shanghai, 1894, sm. 8vo.

C. III.

1350. 18.—L'Industrie de la Soie en France par M. Natalis Rondot. Lyon, Mougin-Rusand, 1894, 8vo.

D. II. A.

1351. 24.—Anecdotes, Historiettes et Bons Mots, en Chinois parlé, publiés pour la première fois avec une traduction française et des notes explicatives par Camille Imbault-Huart. *Péking, Tipographie du Pei-t'ang; Paris, E. Leroux;* 1882, 12mo.

D. II. B.

1352. 36.—Poésies Modernes. Traduites pour la premèire fois du Chinois, accompagnées du texte original, et d'un commentaire qui en explique les principales difficultés, par C. Imbault-Huart. *Péking, Tipographie du Pei-t'ang; Paris, E. Leroux;* 1892, 8vo.

E. II. D. 2.

1353. 27.—Le Royaume de l'Eléphant Blanc, quatorze mois au pays et à la cour du Roi de Siam par Charles Bock. Traduction française par André Tissot. *Tours, Alfred Mame et fils,* 1889, 8vo.

E. VI. b. 3.

1354. 23.—乾隆征緬甸記.—Histoire de la Conquête de la Birmanie par les Chinois sous le règne de Tçienn Long (Kien Long), traduite du Chinois par M. Camille Imbault-Huart.—*Extrait du Journal Asiatique. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale,* 1888, ppt. 8vo (48 pag.)

E. VI. b. 4. a.

1355. 168.—Deux Insurrections des Mahométans du Kansou (1648-1783). Récit traduit du Chinois, par M. Camille Imbault-Huart. *Extrait du Journal Asiatique. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale*, 1890, ppt. 8vo (36 pag.)

1356. 169.—*Ministère de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts.—Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques.—Bulletin de Géographie historique et descriptive.*—Histoire de la Conquête de Formose par les Chinois en 1683. Traduite du Chinois et annotée par M. Imbault-Huart. *Paris, Ernest Leroux*, 1890, ppt. 8vo (60 pag.)

1357. 170.—Le Pays de Hami ou Khamil ; description et histoire d'après les auteurs chinois par M. C. Imbault-Huart. *(Extrait du Bulletin des Travaux historiques et scientifiques) (Section de Géographie, année 1892). Paris, Ernest Leroux*, 1892, ppt. 8vo (74 pag.)

1358. 171.—Le Journal et le Journalisme en Chine par M. Imbault-Huart. Conférence faite à la 1re. Section de la Société de Géographie commerciale. (*Extrait du Bulletin.* Tome XV, No. 1.) *Paris*, 1894, ppt. 8vo (31 pag.)

1359. 172.—*Variétés Sinologiques No. 5.*—Pratique des Examens Littéraires en Chine par le P. Etienne Zi (Siu), S.J. *Chang-haï, Mission catholique*, 1894, 8vo.

1360. 31.—The Eastern Bimetallic League, 1894.
A Bimetallic League in Shanghai.

E. VI. b. 6.

1361. 4.—Korea. Märchen und Legenden nebst einer Einleitung über Land und Leute, Sitten und Gebräuche Koreas. Deutsche autorisierte Uebersetzung von H. G. Arnous. Mit 16 Abbildg. im Text nach Originalphotogr. u. dem Korean. Nationalwappen. *Leipzig, Wilhelm Friedrich* (1894), 8vo.

F. I. c.

1362. 8.—Societa d'Esplorazione Commerciale in Africa. Milano.
L'Esplorazione Commerciale e l'Esploratore. Viaggie Geografia Commerciale.—Bollettino. 8vo.
Anno IX. Maggio-Luglio. Fasc. V-VII.

1363. 9.—R. Istituto Orientale in Napoli.
L'Oriente. Revista Trimestrale. 8vo.
Anno I, No. 2. Aprile, 1894.

F. II.

1364. 23.—Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art, New York. Annual Report. 8vo.
Thirty-fifth. May 26th, 1894.

1365. 24.—Geographical Society of California, San Francisco, Bulletin. 8vo.
Volume II. Double Number. May, 1894.
Special Bulletin. Did the Phœnicians discover America? A paper by Thomas Crawford Johnston, Esq. 1892.

F. III. c.

1366. 42.—Prospetto delle ricoverate e delle opere di carità esercitate nello Stabilimento delle Figlie della Carità Conossiane in Han-kow (Hu-pe) China 1892. *Bergamo, Cattaneo*, 1893. 4to.

CHINESE WORKS.

C. 68. 玩索聖史 ..... 3 vol.
Studies in the Old Testament. 1892.
By Rev. Ernst Faber, Dr. Theol.

C. 69. 馬可講義 ..... 5 vols.
Markus. 1874.
By Rev. Ernst Faber, Dr. Theol.

C. 70. 自西徂東 ..... 5 vols.
Civilisation. 1893.
By Rev. Ernst Faber, Dr. Theol.

C. 71. 性海淵源 ..... 1 vol.
Anthropological Studies, 1893.
By Rev. Ernst Faber, Dr. Theol.

C. 72.—Rebel Books. 太平天國·—頒行，癸好，天下，三年新曆·
太平詔書·—太平軍目·—太平條規·—天條書·—天父下凡詔書·—幼學詩·—三字經·

Upon the proposition of Mr. DONOVAN, seconded by Dr. Fryer, the officers for the year were chosen as under :—*President*, Mr. N. J. Hannen ; *Vice-Presidents*, Mr. P. G. von Möllendorff and Dr. Edkins; *Hon. Secretary*, Mr. Z. Volpicelli ; *Hon. Librarian*, J. Ritter von Haas; *Hon. Treasurer*, Mr. Thomas Brown ; *Hon. Curator of Museum*, M. Vosy-Bourbon ; *Councillors*, Mr. T. W. Kingsmill, Dr. Faber, Dr. O. Franke, and Mr. James Scott.

This concluded the business of the Annual Meeting, and Dr. Edkins then proceeded to read his paper on The Oriental Congress, as follows :—

The theatre of the London University in Burlington House was chosen for the larger meetings of the Ninth International Congress of September 1892. The sectional meetings were held in adjoining rooms which at other times are usually occupied by various learned Societies. They were accessible, some of them, by way of Regent Street and some from Piccadilly. There would be about two hundred delegates and members present to hear the opening address of Professor Max Müller at 11 o'clock on 5th September. He is in vigorous health, is 69 years of age, and is in great honour for his learning, ability, industry, and animation of style. In his address he said that the languages of the Aryan stock in India and Europe could be considered finished at about B.C. 2000, and had then a metrical form. He considers that the mother-tongue of these languages, the Proto-Aryan, as he calls it, may be referred to some such date as B.C. 10,000, somewhere in Asia. Some features of it we know may be as old as that. The discoverers of that mother-tongue

deserve our gratitude as much as Columbus and his companions do for the discovery of the New World.

In speaking of the Aryans, the Egyptians, and the Semites in their mutual relations, the orator took pains to show that they should not be regarded as growing up in a state of isolation. The art of writing connected them. China was on the other hand a perfectly isolated country. The people have always been different from their neighbours in thought, in language, and in writing. China has been a perfectly isolated country, and has been inhabited by a peculiar people.

Professor Max Müller carried out the same idea when speaking of India before the invasion of Alexander the Great. India grew up in isolation and developed her own ideas. The ancient literature of India and China is homespun and home-grown and thus forms an independent parallel to all the other literatures of the world. The religion and philosophy of India came upon us like meteors from a distant planet, perfectly independent in their origin and character. When they agree with other religions and philosophies they inspire us with the same confidence as when two mathematicians working quite independently arrive at the same results.

These are the Professor's words, but what are the results of special researches in Chinese, Persian, Babylonian, and Egyptian Philosophy? I believe it will be found necessary to regard this view as different from the opinion of not a few of those members of the Congress who have given attention to comparative researches.

The art of writing was in existence in India, and possibly came from the West, as the President himself tells us, before the time of Alexander's invasion* in the Sutra period. The Confucian early philosophy taught the Persian dualism. The Taoist religion, as developed by Laotze, reveals Indian features. The Chinese written characters are really of Babylonian origin, as many now believe in Europe and in China. Then, as to the monosyllabic nature of Chinese speech, it does not stand alone in this feature. The

* *History of Sanscrit Literature*, p. 515.

Tibetan, Siamese, Burmese, and Cochin Chinese languages are also monosyllabic. Nor do the Chinese stand alone in speaking with tones; these neighbour languages possess tones and must be allowed to bear a sisterly relation to the Chinese. In China and in India the ancient mode of writing numbers was from left to right, giving a value of ten for example to one if written one place to the left and 100 if it is written two places to the left. This economy in writing numbers was in existence before Alexander's conquest, and the principle of local value involved was Babylonian. Mathematical knowledge spread from Mesopotamia to the East and in the nations of that part of the world where commerce flourished taught the trader this principle. In the West, Egypt, Greece, and Rome failed to take hold of it till the Arab conquest, when it was introduced into Europe for greater convenience in writing and in calculation and gladly accepted.* This principle of local value was assumed to be Arabian and Indian, but in fact it went from Mesopotamia to India and then returned westward to Arabia and so to Europe.

Such facts disprove the theory of isolation in my opinion. Besides we have evidence in the mythology of the Vedas. Varuna is the same with the Greek Oceanos viewed as a very ancient god. Agni, God of Fire, or Vesta, is the son of Ormuzd. Mitra, the Sun God, is in Persian Mithras. Yama, the Hindoo God of Death, is the Persian Jemshid, an ancient King of Persia who preceded Zoroaster. Trade by land and sea conveyed a knowledge of foreign mythologies by means of the pictorial art. The early Assyrian empire, the Babylonian empire, and the Persian empire, all had a marked effect in spreading knowledge. It was the impact of new ideas which woke up the power of philosophic thought in India, and led the Brahmin intellect to elaborate the Nyaya, the Vedanta, the Sankhya and the Buddhist systems of thought.

It was the establishment of powerful and peaceful empires combined with the spread of enlightenment that led to distant

* The year 1893 written in Roman numerals requires ten letters instead of four.

voyages and travels. Trade sprang up when war and robbery ceased. Where the king's writs run and are respected, there commerce, agriculture, manufactures, and education are in a state of prosperity.

By such causes it came about that the India of the Assyrian and Persian age became quite different from what it was in the time of the Vedas. In the age of Solomon, for example, there was peace far and wide. Egypt was powerful and Solomon was in alliance with Egypt. Trade on the ocean was active, and ideas were capable of being communicated. After Alexander the Great many Greek words were introduced into Indian mathematical treatises, and the Hindoos began to write dramas, like those which they had seen performed by Greek actors. But even before Alexander, in the age of Persian influence, the tradition of the Deluge, the tritheistic idea of God, pictures and statues of the gods, and maps of the world, found their way to India from Babylon and so afterwards from India to China.

The learned Professor's theory needs to have this correction applied to it in order to make it agree with the facts of the case. Professor Max Müller's statements in regard to the entrance of Buddhism into China in his presidential address were not commented upon by anyone. I will do so now briefly.

He said that Buddhism reached the frontiers of China B.C. 217, and was accepted by the Emperor Ming-ti, B C. 61, as one of the state religions of China. This must be a misprint for A.D. 61* In fact Buddhism began its career in China at the latter date. It was long after that time that Buddhism became a state religion. In the history of the Three Kingdoms it does not rise to the dimensions of a state religion. This is plain even from the novel *The Three Kingdoms*, which indeed speaks more of Taoism than of Buddhism.

Professor Max Müller drew an interesting parallel between the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Thermopylæ and the conquest of India by Buddha. This seems to show, as his writings also

* The newspaper reports of the meetings were in several respects inaccurate.

indicate, that he has formed a very favourable opinion of the beneficial effects of the Buddhist religion, as if its advance was in fact a great moral and social victory. To have had a discussion on this point would have been most interesting. It would have brought up the whole question of the benefits conferred on Asia by Buddhism as a subject of debate. In China we see that the Confucian morality is stronger than that of Buddhism. Buddhism has a moral code for the shorn monk, but it is the Confucian morality which controls the actions of the general population and constitutes the national standard of appeal. Further the monkish institute is opposed to the family relationship, and this works ill in many ways and has a deleterious effect upon society.

When the President said Buddha is still the ruler of the majority of mankind he made a statement which may be objected to. The Chinese do not consider him their ruler. He is only ruler of thought to his own adherents in China, Japan and Corea. In all these countries Confucius is much more their ruler of thought than Buddha.

The view given by the President of the early world is that it consists of three ages. The first age tells us the fates of the Aryan and Semitic races as compact confederacies before their separation into languages and historical nations. The second age is that of the wars and conquests of Egypt, Babylon, and Assyria. This second age included the progress of eastern culture on its path to the west on the shores and islands of the Mediterranean. The third age is the wars of Alexander and the effect of Greek culture on Asiatic countries as far as India.

Here it was assumed that both the Aryans and Semites were compact races before the growth of the Mesopotamian and Egyptian civilisation. It would have been interesting to discuss this question. The opinion of M. Terrien de la Couperie was stated to be that ideographs were first invented in China and conveyed from thence to the west, where they originated the cuneiform writing. I find, however, that M. Terrien de la Couperie when stating his own views holds that the civilisation of China is younger by two or three

thousand years at the least than the great civilisations of antiquity, now lost, of Chaldea and Egypt. He has written many articles showing that this is his opinion, such as "The Tree of Life and the Calender Plant of Babylonia and China," and the "Origin from Babylonia and Elam of the Early Chinese Civilisation," which last year was still unfinished. He says also that the comparative evidence and chronological correspondences now at our disposal show beyond possibility of doubt that a large amount of notions and institutions, with religious, social, and scientific traditions, had been carried to China, not later than the 23rd century before Christ, from Chaldea and Elam.

Probably then Professor Max Müller has mistaken Professor Terrien de la Couperie, who says in one place the Chinese civilisation is the "oldest in the world in existence but not in history, and it derives from this fact a great deal of a special interest mixed with diffidence and prejudice in favour of its isolation." He has spoken in this way but he is really in favour of the opinion that China was the receiver of knowledge from the West.

The Rev. C. J. Ball, who in addition to a great knowledge of Semitic languages has also studied Accadian closely, has of late years attended to Chinese, and he read an interesting paper at the China section upon the connection of Chinese and Accadian. He is one who holds that the great Asiatic nations did not grow up in isolation. With him may be mentioned here Professor Hommel of Munich who has specially studied Semitic languages, and is now occupied with Accadian. He intends to study Mongolian and is now busy with Chinese. I came into friendly relations with both these scholars, and can speak without hesitation in regard to the views they hold. They hold the ultimate unity of the great systems of language. Professor Hommel believes for example that many Aryan roots are identical with Semitic and Turanian roots. To say this is what many of the most renowned philologists of Germany will not do. But a new era appears to be dawning. An English school of Chinese philology is springing up, and if to the study of Chinese be added the comparative study of Tibetan and Mongol, the

issue does not appear doubtful. Philology will accept the view that the vocabularies of all the Asiatic systems of language are ultimately identical.

Mr. Gladstone made a contribution to the Congress of which the title was Archaic Greece and the East. It was read by the President, who gave it a qualified approval. The author said that Homer had an energetic and methodical conception of the obligations of his country to the East. In Achilles we have a superb projection of the strictly Hellenic character magnified to the utmost point consistent with poetic probability. In the epithet Hellenic is conveyed that wonderful receptivity which first accepted and then transmitted the eastern civilisation. But Achilles, the hero, was not the whole. The Iliad, which presents Achilles in a triumphal series of events, is not enough to represent Greece without a supplement. The other side of the Greek character is Ulysses and the Odyssey is his deathless monument. Here the view presented of the Greek character is completed. Achilles expressed a colossal humanity. Ulysses expressed the many-sided, the all-accomplished, the all-enduring man. The character of Ulysses is based on Phœnician elements trained by Hellenic contact and experience into a superior development. He is presented in the poems side by side with the purely Hellenic Achilles. This shows that Homer regarded the arts and institutions of his age as in the main of eastern origin. For Ulysses is everywhere represented as having a knowledge of the arts for which the last was then distinguished. He also possessed the Phœnician prudence in counsel.

At the close Mr. Gladstone enumerated fifteen examples of Greek borrowing from Assyria as found in Homer. The Greeks came to know the stars through the Phœnicians. The moon god is the father of the sun god. The Aphrodite of Homer, the Venus of the Romans, is the Ishtar of Assyria. The Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto of Greece and Italy are the Anu, Bel, and Hia of Babylon. Thalasse, the Greek name of the sea, was an oriental word. The sea surrounding the world, called by Homer the River Oceanus, was the mother of rivers and also of gods and men.

This paper of Mr. Gladstone seems to show how plainly the times in which we live are advancing towards unity in the history of thought. Greece, the originator of European thought, borrowed from Asia and particularly from Mesopotamia and Egypt. Looking at this matter from the Chinese point of view we find there are many proofs that in ancient China before Buddhism there was borrowing from Western Asia in each successive age. In Chuangtze, B.C. 300, the northern and southern oceans are mentioned. The Babylonian trinity appears in the *Tao-tê-ching*. Venus is the Goddess of the West mentioned in the romance of the Emperor Mu. The astrology of Babylon is found in the *Chow-li*. The art of writing of the Chinese and their earliest astronomy are visibly like the early writing and astronomy of Babylonia. The same thing occurred in Eastern Asia that occurred in Greece. The source of civilised and superstitious ideas in both cases was Western Asia.

In the Congress the President's view was different from this. He argued that before Alexander the Great, India and China were unassisted in their progress of thought by the western civilisation. The Rev. C. J. Ball held a strong affirmative view. He devotes much energy to prove that the Chinese characters are Accadian and and he represents the Chinese language as being one with the Accadian. His sympathies are entirely with the radiation of western thought from a centre in Western Asia to eastern countries. Professor Terrien de la Couperie takes a similar view.

The President of the Section on Egypt and Africa was M. Le Page Renouf, who has made a great reputation by his publication of the Egyptian Book of the Dead in elephant folio. The pictures are given in colours. Isis, Osiris and other divinities are there. Osiris sits in judgment. The human soul, after the death of the individual, appears before him to be judged and receive an award. The book dates from before the time of Moses. If anyone wishes in a short time to acquire an impressive idea of Egyptian views on the future state, let him spend an hour in looking at that book.

I heard him lecturing on Egyptian grammar at the rooms of the Society for Biblical Archæology. After the lecture I asked if he

accepted Hommel's views on the derivation of Egyptian mythology from that of Babylon. He replied that he certainly did not. That is to say, Egyptologists who are not Assyriologists will not admit at present that Egyptian writing and Egyptian religion are of Mesopotamian origin. But Assyriologists do not object to this view. There is much to be said for it. The Phœnicians were navigators, for the Egyptian and Babylonian navigation began very early and appears to have been the source of Arabian and Phœnician navigation. The Semitic people coming from the east to Mesopotamia learned the new wisdom of that region and adopted navigation as a favourite mode of life. The Arabian and Syrian coasts were occupied by these navigators, and then they stretched farther along the north coast of Africa and the south coast of Europe. The ancient Egyptians spoke a language which is very much like in its grammar and vocabulary to that of the Semitic people. As the Phœnicians taught the alphabet to Italy and Greece, so at an earlier date they could assist in conveying the art of writing to Egypt. Picture writing too is easily carried from one country to another. The Accadians of Babylon first had picture writing and then it become phonetic. Language and religion, geography and mythology were in those early times all taught by pictures. We must learn to look at painting as the early method used for instruction in astronomy, religion, cosmogony and eschatology. This was the case in all countries from China to Egypt. Thus it seems that on the whole the belief that the Egyptian civilization came from Babylonia is likely soon to be generally entertained.

Papers were read by Professor Hechler of Vienna on a newly discovered MS. on papyrus of a portion of the Septuagint, and by Dr. Flinders Petrie on recent excavations at Tel-el-Amarna. Professor Hechler is very much interested in the subject of Biblical chronology. I heard him deliver two lectures on Egyptian paintings on stone. It was in a clergyman's house in Russell square. The drawing-room was full of listeners, and the Egyptian pictures illustrating the lectures were hung on the walls. A group of Hebrews, the Apuri of Egyptian history, were represented as visitors who

stood before a high Egyptian official. Professor Hechler explained the rudiments of hieroglyphic writing to the audience. From the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, it appears that about the time of Abraham and before it Palestine was subject to the Egyptian Pharaohs who were then the Shepherd Kings known as Hyksos. Despatches were written from Palestine by governors in Babylonian writing, and in the Babylonian language. Abraham went to Egypt and was welcomed because the royal family belonged to a kindred race.

In the Chinese section Sir Thomas Wade presided, and Professor Legge read a paper on the comparative merits of the Three Religions of China as represented by Liu Mei, a Chinese Buddhist, who wrote 500 or 600 years ago. The Buddhist contended that his religion was the best and Dr. Legge held that Confucianism is superior to either.

This was followed by a paper of my own on the results of philological research in Chinese. The changes of letters show that such letters as *l*, *r*, *s*, *sh*, *ch* are all new and that they are formed from *d*, *t*, and *n*. The mother of the Aryan languages therefore which commenced with these derived letters as already belonging to it are a much newer stock. In the same way it is shown that the old Egyptian and the Semitic languages are newer in type than Chinese. In the same way it may be proved that the marking of moods and tenses by vowel change is a new phenomenon in language first appearing in Tibetan, then in Semitic, and lastly in Indo-European speech. Then it was shown that the polysyllabism of the Tartar languages is a form of derivation from the primitive language, and the roots from which they are formed are in Chinese. The words *to be* and the personal pronouns *me*, *my*, are found in the Aryan languages. The teaching of grammar may be much improved if the system of Tartar speech be studied, for there the mode of growth in verb forms comes clearly to view, and the way in which pronouns became transformed into participial and indicative suffixes may be observed. The idea was also presented that the brachykephalic races are older than the dolichokephalic and that new races are formed by

mixture of varieties. Climate and migration have a decided influence in modifying the characteristics of race, because they are accompanied by peculiarities in food and in daily habits. The conclusion to be drawn is that different as is the appearance of the negro from the European and the native Australian from the Chinese, there need not have been at first more than one human pair.

When the Rev. C. J. Ball read his paper on the Accadian affinities of the Chinese writing and language, he marked on the black board especially the characters for gold, sheep, reed, and righteousness, and claimed that the written symbols were the same. Dr. Legge opposed him. Sir Thomas Wade spoke moderately, as if the theory were possible but not as if he were fully convinced. I spoke decidedly in favour of the identification of Chinese primitive characters with those of the Accadians. I was convinced of it a quarter of a century ago by the fact that the Chinese have the ten signs of the denary cycle and the twelve signs of the duodecimal cycle, as well as by the native astronomy being Babylonian. If the Chinese received astronomy from Babylon they would receive their writing from the same source. Sir Henry Howorth, who wrote the "History of the Mongols" and "The Mammoth and the Flood," also spoke on the question. He was diligent in attendance at the China section and afterwards took part in discussions. He opposed me on the point that the Tibetan language has many Hebrew words in it, such as *rab*, chief, master, the same as *rabbi*. Sir H. Howorth's suggestion was that the Nestorian missionaries might have taught the Tibetans to use these words. But this hypothesis is insecure. The words I have found belong to the original Tibetan and besides there is a similarity in mood and tense formation.

Mr. Delmar Morgan read a paper in the China Section on Dr. Radloff's researches in Tartary. The paper was called "Reports on the Results of the Russian Archæological Expedition." They were written by Dr. W. Radloff and other members of the expedition. This was of special interest to Chinese scholars because several inscriptions found are in Chinese and date from about 1,000 years ago. They illustrate Chinese history in the Tang dynasty and the

relations existing at that time between North Mongolia and Tibet. One was erected in A.D. 732 by the Chinese Emperor to Kirtegin, younger brother of the Turkish Khan. Another dates A.D. 733 and was erected by the Emperor in honour of Mekilikor Khan of the Turks. Both monuments are covered with Chinese and runic inscriptions. They are just fifty years older than the Nestorian monument in China. The third is in Chinese, Uigur and runes, the last is Yenissei writing. This inscription will prove most useful for the illustration of Turkish dialects. The Uigur and probably the third are both Turkish.

Dr. Radloff passed through Shanghai just two years ago, and gave us information in regard to his journey then just concluded, also leaving some inscriptions for translation. We hope to have further communication with him.

Egyptian and Assyrian students paid many visits to the British Museum. I was looking one day in the Egyptian gallery at a statue of Rameses, the father of the Pharaoh who oppressed the Israelites. The arms of the sculptured Rameses are very long, the hands large and the fingers thick and long. I concluded that the Egyptian race of sovereigns at that time must have been a mixed race. A distinguished looking scholar was standing by and I asked him whether he had noticed it. He said he had, and I found that he had made a special study of Egyptian antiquities. We exchanged cards; he proved to be Professor Schmidt of Copenhagen. He read a paper in the Egyptian section on the sarcophages and funeral wrappings of the Egyptians. On another occasion I met Professor Deussen of Kiel. He is occupied with a general history of philosophy, and read at the Congress a paper on the Philosophy of the Vedas. He is attending somewhat to Chinese questions and especially those bearing on the history of philosophy. Another foreigner I may mention here was Professor Donner of Helsingfors. He is a Finn, like Castren who forty years ago did so much by his grammars for the illustration of the Turkish, Mongol and Tungus dialects of the Russian empire. Professor Donner spoke in the China section upon the subject of Mr. Morgan's paper. He presented a copy of the

Report of the Finnish expedition in 1890 to Mongolia. The volume is a very handsome one and contains photographs of Mongolian scenery and monuments in the vicinity of Urga, in the valley of the Orkhon. He also gave me a copy of it, which I shall be happy to show to anyone interested in the antiquities of Mongolia.

Nine sovereign princes of India contributed towards the expenses of the Congress. Among those present at the Congress from that country was Shrimant Sampatrao Gaikwad, the younger brother of the Maharajah of Baroda. The Maharajah himself is second in rank of the princes of India and sits next to the Nizam, who is first in rank, in the Governor-General's Durbar. He has abour four millions of subjects. Gaikwad is the family name, and the eldest brother is Commander-in-Chief of the army. The younger, my friend, is a man of very liberal ideas. He thinks caste should not be maintained in India, and he has aided in establishing native schools for children not belonging to the higher castes. He objects to any pampering of Brahmin pride, and he told me that Brahmanism and caste have done immense harm to India. They ought to be opposed and no encouragement should be given them. The Hindoo idea about the merit of giving money to Brahmins is a mistaken one. It is putting a premium on idleness. The English view of philanthropy is far better. The English are favourable to bestowing charity on the really needy. Sampatrao admits this to be most reasonable. It would, he thinks, be a great boon to India if nothing were done to encourage the caste system. He also told me that he regards India as being better governed now than it ever was in the past. It is regrettable that Hindoos, however overpopulated the country may become, will not emigrate. It is even difficult for a Hindoo to persuade himself to remove from one part of his own country to another. Sampatrao is himself remarkably free from all such prejudices. His liberality is a hopeful sign for India, and as English training has set him free it may set others free also, and must have done so in the case of a multitude of the rising youth of that country. His country is one of the Mahratta States and was conquered by them about A.D. 1680 with Poonah and Gujerat in the vicinity of Bombay.

In the city of Baroda he has founded an extensive library for native readers, and he wishes to obtain the journal of our Society, for which purpose he desires to become a subscriber to our funds, and a member of our Society. In the national reading library he has founded there will be a department for Sanscrit palm-leaf manuscripts; books of this class are hidden by the people and often become spoiled by damp and decay. On this account it is difficult to obtain copies.

Baroda formerly grew the poppy, but not now. The use of opium diminishes decidedly in Baroda. On this point he has no fear, yet he is aware how the habit of opium smoking and the craving for the stimulus to be supplied in this or some other mode grows on a person and quite overpowers him. With his knowledge of the insidious power of opium he is still quite hopeful. I gathered from him the impression that in those parts of the country where laudanum is taken the habit dies out. Opium smoking may be conquered by persistent philanthropy.

Some delightful excursions I may just mention. We went to Oxford, and the party with whom I was were entertained to luncheon by the Master of Oriel College, and visited the sights under the guidance of members of the University. We also went another day to a retired old house near Dorking, six miles from any railway station. It once belonged to Brackenbury, who was Governor of the Tower when little Prince Edward and his brother were smothered. It belongs at present to our President's son-in-law, who entertained us. The house is surrounded by a moat. On the broad lawns a luncheon was spread, after which a very famous Arabian orator made an eloquent speech in Arabic from a table. We admired the grace of his gestures and the modulations of his fine voice. He was a deputation from the Egyptian Government.

Another day we went to Sir Grant Duff's house at Hilham, with a lawn looking out on the Thames; Lady Grant Duff received us. Her house was full of beautiful and curious things brought from India on Sir Grant Duff's return from Madras, where he was Governor. Here I conversed with Dr. John Taylor, a north-country

divine deep in the knowledge of Hebrew. He accepts the higher criticism of the Old Testament, as do the Rev. C. J. Ball and Professor Driver whom I saw in Oxford. On the other side I conversed with Dr. Friedländer, Theological Instructor of the Jewish College in Tavistock Square, London. Dr. Friedländer rejects the higher criticism and holds the traditional Jewish view of the Books of Moses.

The next Congress is to be held at Geneva in the autumn of 1894.

Mr. HANNEN rose as soon as Dr. Edkins had finished his applauded lecture and proposed a vote of thanks which he felt sure all would join in seconding. He pointed out the advantages which accrued to Oriental studies by the annual Congresses which brought together Orientalists from all parts of the world who were thus able to discuss their various views. He hoped that this evening such an example would be followed and that a discussion would arise on the very interesting lecture they had just heard from Dr. Edkins. He would himself give the example by pointing out what to him seemed a slightly inaccurate statement on the part of the lecturer, *viz.* that Confucianism had had a greater influence on the development of Japanese thought than Buddhism. His long residence in Japan had produced on him a different impression, and he was inclined to think that Buddhism was the strongest factor in the intellectual development of Japan. He hoped that Mr. Hayashi, the Japanese Consul, who was the most competent in such a matter, would arise to give his opinion on the subject.

Mr. HAYASHI then rose and said that though Confucianism was much studied by the cultured classes and exercised great influence over them, still Buddhism had a much more powerful influence over the whole nation.

Mr. DALLAS then said he thought that the state of the question in Japan might be better understood by referring to a parallel case in Europe, where though the educated classes were much influenced by philosophical works, as for instance by the Ethics of Aristotle, yet such influence could not be compared with that of Christianity.

Dr. Edkins said he thought that Confucius really had greater influence in Japan than Buddha, at least during the last two centuries, when a new school of thought had sprung up adverse to Buddhism and favourable to Confucianism. But he was very willing to bow to the opinion of Mr. Hannen, who knew Japan so well, and of the Japanese Consul who supported his view.

Mr. Timothy Richard rose to express his interest in the views contained in the lecture they had just heard and regretted that Dr. Edkins had not inserted them in his late valuable work, "The Early Spread of Religious Ideas in the Far East." He considered that such views were complementary to that book and threw great light on it.

Minutes *of* Proceedings *at a* General Meeting *held at the Society's Library, Museum Road, Shanghai, on Wednesday, 29th November, 1893, at 9 p.m.*

Mr. N. J. Hannen (President) occupied the Chair. It was announced that since the last meeting a brother of the Gaekwar of Baroda and Dr. Paulun, of Shanghai, had been elected members of the Society.

Mr. James Scott, H.B.M.'s Senior Vice-Consul, read a paper before the members of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society entitled "Stray Notes on Corean History and Literature" which is published *in extenso* at pages 214-232 of Vol. XXVIII.

In the discussion that followed, Dr. Edkins said that the change from the Chinese *t* to *l* at the end of Chinese words in Corean ought to be regarded as a variation of a physiological nature; *mel*, "honey," is *madhu* in Sanscrit. It is *mit* in Chinese and *mil* in Corean, while in Mongol it is *bal*. The Chinese language ought to be regarded as a consolidated unit. The lecturer in his valuable paper had shown that in some respects the Corean transcription agreed with the dialect of Canton and in other respects it agreed with the Shanghai dialect. In fact the final *t* of Cantonese was

originally the final consonant of the spoken language in all the provinces. The lecture to-night showed that we are making progress in our knowledge of Chinese and of the outlying languages. In this case the explanation is not difficult. *T* is a letter produced by putting the tip of the tongue against the back of the upper teeth. *D* is the same with more breath coming from the throat. *L* is formed in the same way, only that the sides of the tongue are dropped. This change took place in North China in mediæval times and it took place also in Corea. If in the Corean the initial *n* is frequently lost and replaced by *y* this is observable also in the Shantung pronunciation as used in Chefoo. The Corean pronunciation of Chinese characters was borrowed from the language as spoken in Chihli, in Shantung, and also here in Shanghai, as in the phrase mentioned by Mr. Scott, *hao sao*, "quickly." This is in constant use in Shanghai while it is also Corean. The results reached by the author of the paper are in many respects good and true. It is to be hoped that the time is now nearer when in philology we shall all come to an agreement in the belief that Chinese with the surrounding languages are all combined in a unity with each other and with the speech of western nations also.

MINUTES *of* PROCEEDINGS *at a* GENERAL MEETING *held at the Society's Library, Museum Road, Shanghai, on Wednesday, 24th January 1894, at 9 p.m.*

Dr. EDKINS delivered a lecture upon Comparative Archæology, as follows:—

The number of small Chinese medicine bottles an inch and a quarter in length found in various parts of Europe is remarkable. They astonish and delight when met with and increase the number of collectors of Chinese curios. The Rev. James Johnston, of London, formerly of Amoy, found two of these bottles at Arles in the South of France. In October 1892 he showed them to me. One was inscribed "Only in this mountain," *chī tsai t'zī shan chung*. The other read "The Yangtze-kiang stretching for three thousand miles." Roman ruins abound at

Arles, and it is believed that Chinese bottles are found in them in considerable numbers. The first of the two sentences is a part of a

松下問童子　言師採藥去　只在此山中　雲深不知處

T'ang dynasty poem. "Beneath a pine tree I asked a boy for his master. He told me his master was gone to gather medicinal herbs. Only in this mountain they are found. The clouds are thick and I do not know just where he is." Since this is T'ang poetry why are the bottles found in Egyptian tombs, in Irish bogs, and among Roman remains? This is the problem and it is hard of solution.

A good many students of Chinese have been fascinated by the hope of discovering inventions, religious observances, and ancient customs in this country resembling those of other lands. The late Mr. T. T. Fergusson, of Chefoo, wrote to me sixteen years ago that he was reading Biot's translation of the *Chow-li* with the view of obtaining an accurate description of the modes of conducting worship among the Chinese about 1,000 years before Christ. This, he said, he did for the purpose of enquiring whether analogous practices existed elsewhere, and so to pursue a course of researches into the connecting links between China and other countries. He noticed in Biot's translation many prayers, imprecations and examples of divination. These prayers and addresses were offered to supernatural beings honoured in the Chow worship, but not mentioned in the *Li-ki*.

In 1880, three years after writing this letter, Mr. Fergusson published *Chinese Researches*, a work on Chinese chimology. In this he quotes from a paper by Sir John Davis on the pre-historic use of steel and iron, published in London, 1877 [page 182]. He refers to highly heated steel taking a red colour and acquiring a great cutting power, so that a red blade will cut jade with perfect ease. Lie-tze lived about B.C. 400. The same power in heated steel is mentioned at about the same time by Aristotle, who describes the Greeks as having in his day the knowledge of the

same process. Sir John Davis regarded it as a most instructive fact in comparative archæology that two philosophers, the one in China and the other in Greece, should describe the same process of metallurgy. What Lie-tze really says is more interesting than as Sir John Davis gives it. The passage is found in chapter the fifth, page 16. The Emperor Chow Mu-wang led an expedition to fight the Tibetans, called the Si-fung, probably meaning the "Western bowmen." As a present they offered him a sword from Kwunwu, a country in the West, says the commentator Chang Shen, writing A.D. 350. This commentator adds that Shï-tze describes the sword of Kwunwu as capable of cutting jade.

It was the knowledge of metallurgy that with other operating causes so greatly helped mankind forward in the conquest over nature in those times. Asbestos is mentioned with jade-cutting steel by Lie-tze in the same place. The sword he speaks of was one foot eight inches long. Steel was heated till it was red. Jade was cut by it as if it were a cake of mud. I remark here, by the way, that the old Chinese foot was not more than eight inches long. This should be noted in our estimate of ancient measurements. Thus the Chinese *li* becomes in old books about the seventh part of an English mile instead of being a third part as now. Lie-tze goes on to describe asbestos. He calls it fire-washed cloth. When you desire to purify it you throw it into the fire. This gives it the colour of fire. If soiled it takes the colour of unbleached cloth. Take it out of the fire and shake it. It then becomes white as snow. It is mentioned as a foreign article at first here, and the old work *Yï nu chï* says that it was "the hair of a certain animal in the city of fire." It is now a well-known product of Shantung and is much used in Northern China for making hand-stoves. Its hairy texture led to this mineral being described as the hair of an animal. The fact that both these substances, steel and asbestos, are mentioned as of foreign origin makes it plain that our comparative archæology has a good foundation. What the fact means is that one origin for the same art or invention is more likely than a double origin. The process of making steel, it is perfectly possible,

may have been independent, originated in two countries. But in this case steel manufacture is mentioned first by Chinese authors as a foreign art. It is preferable therefore to assign to the art a single origin, because it happened in the time of the Great Persian Empire, which did much to promote commercial intercourse between the East and the West. The geographical position of Persia favoured greatly the spread of useful arts throughout Asia. In fact there is no country so well suited as Persia to accomplish this object, having complete control over the land routes of commerce between Europe and Egypt in the west and China and India in the East.

Mr. Wickershaw of Tacoma has written to enquire respecting funeral mounds, and asks if the mounds of China are really, as he has been informed, similar to those of that and other parts of North America. To this I have replied that in China the depth is important. The depth beneath the surface is as important as the height above the surface. The tomb of an emperor must have a water-path inside to insure the continuance of good luck. For the most distinguished in an imperial line a tomb a mile round is sufficient. Emperors less distinguished have smaller mounds. The emperor's coffin rests over the "golden well," the source of the water-path. The water must always be running, so that the tombs must be on the side of a hill with springs. This burial is, like that, I believe, of the period before fire worship began in Persia. You will see this point briefly referred to in my "Early Spread of Religious Ideas," lately published. Zoroaster put down cremation perhaps about B.C. 1200. Before that there was cremation, the fruit of ideas connected with fire worship. Previous to this there would be burial in coffins. To that stage in the development of funeral rites the Chinese ideas of burial belong. In China the idea of the necessity of running water beneath a tomb is not older than fifteen centuries ago, when the Chinese very much modified their notions on burial. No great Indian chief would be likely to have such an enormous mound raised over his coffin as an emperor of China has, but I expect the principle is the same. So far as

I know, a detailed legend is attached to every large funeral mound in China, and it is stated in the local topography to whom the mound belonged. These legends may be inventions or not, but every mound has such a legend of origin. That the funeral rites in North America were of Asiatic origin is probable, because in Mexico, China, and Japan many persons were put to death at the funeral of monarchs to attend them in the other world. The Chinese monarchs very seldom encouraged this cruel custom. It was practised to a frightful extent by the Japanese and the Mexicans. As the Japanese language is of Tartar origin it seems to require that the Indian tribes who speak languages resembling the Dacota must have come from Asia. The Japanese Government and the Mikado's dynasty date from about B C. 600 or B.C. 700. Perhaps that will help us to conjecture that the Indians speaking languages characterised by Asiatic features passed into Asia in the first millenium before Christ. This is the more likely because the mammoth ivory of Siberia shows that hairy elephants lived in a temperate climate in Siberia at some date not very far removed, and fed on the tender branches and twigs of the forests which existed in Siberia in a mild age when the severe winters of the present day were not known there.

Ma Tuan-lin mentions that the difference was great between the burial of emperors two and three centuries before Christ and those the third century after. For the Emperor Ch'in Shi-huang and the first Han Emperors great expense was incurred, and when the tomb was finished the workmen were killed to conceal the entrance. This was altered in the time of the Three Kingdoms. Emperors then had the good sense to decree for themselves beforehand an inexpensive funeral, and the workmen who constructed the tomb were not put to death when their work was done.

The tablet of the Empress-Dowager Tung T'ai Hou, first wife of the Emperor Wen-tsung, was conveyed after her death about fifteen years ago to the Temple of Ancestors in Peking. It was brought from the tomb to the temple on the 13th of November. The day before, the Emperor had gone to meet it at a certain

bridge outside the city. Among the ceremonies that take place on the occasion of the burial at the Tung-ting, eighty miles to the east of the capital, is that of writing on the tablet the sacrificial name of the Empress. The tablet represents the seat of the soul called *Shên* 神 in Chinese. When the name is written it is considered proper that the tablet should still be at the tomb near the deceased. The tablet without the name accompanies the funeral procession. When the ceremonies of burial are over, the tablet, suitably inscribed, is carried back again to the ancestral temple as the representative of the deceased. This Empress was legal mother of the Emperor T'ung Chi, whose jubilee is now being celebrated, and of the present Emperor, while the Si T'ai Hou was the mother of the Emperor T'ung Chi and the true aunt of the present Emperor Kuang Hsü. The Tung T'ai Hou's tablet is placed on the east side of that of her husband. When the arrangement is extended to embrace the tablets of the Empress next in rank the west of the Emperor is chosen. The funeral procession going and returning occupied fifteen days. Civil and military officers have each a part to perform. The military officers attend at the time of sacrificing. Civil officers write on the tablet in vermilion letters the name of the deceased. The Emperor after meeting the tablet on the 12th of November and accompanying it for a certain distance returned to the palace. With him went his escort consisting in part of great personages in attendance on the tablet. The remainder, still a large company, continued with the tablet through the eastern city to the front gate of the palace and of the city. Here the procession turned to the north, entering two gates of the palace. At this second gate the procession turned to the east into the Temple of Ancestors which is known as the T'ai-miau. As the procession passed along the streets of the city no special effort was made to keep the crowd away. Curious onlookers passed within the barriers of the streets upon the newly levelled road sprinkled with yellow earth. In the escort were a large number of bannermen mounted and on foot, who had been told off for the duty of maintaining order. Of the mounted escort in Court dress with heraldic

emblazonment on the chest there were eight or ten in front and about twenty behind. These all appeared in official costume; then followed a troop of spearmen with long wooden spears and yellow jackets. All these were military officers having in their charge the tablet borne on a yellow chair or *baldachino*. Behind this escort came a large troop of red-clothed attendants.

I believe there is a close connection between the tablet of the individual and the genealogical book called anciently the *Shi-pen*. What the tablet is to the person, the *Shi-pen* is to the family. The tablet name is the temple name, and the genealogical record contains all the tablet names with other particulars. *Shi* is the Chinese word for generations, and in the 史記 *Shi-ki*, the remarkable history of China produced a century before the Christian era. The records of noble families made use of are called 世家 *Shi-kia*—families having genealogies. Thus the record of the Ts'ao family is called 世家 *Ts'ao Shi-kia*; that of the Wei family is the *Wei Shi-kia*. The work *Shi-pen* re-published sixty years ago is an example of an elaborated genealogical record. The Bamboo Book translated by LEGGE is another example. The worship of ancestors has been in this way a fruitful mother of literature. Our notions on the origin of literature ought in China to be conformed to the special conditions of the problem. The question is asked, how did history begin in China as a branch of literature? The answer must be that it began in the discharge of their duty by official historiographers. Herodotus wrote histories not because of the opportunity of reading them at the Olympian games, for this is denied by the best critics, but because of his own keen interest in contemporary events and large experience acquired during his travels. His aim was literary, but was created by the desire to crystallise his views on Greece and the Greeks in a shape to gratify patriotism and individual ambition. There is nothing of this in the *beau idéal* of the Chinese annalist. Instead there is the sense of official duty daily exercised in obedience to an imperial master's commands. The Chinese historian is the head of an official commission, who is responsible for the way in which a number of

clerks perform their duties. A history is a selection of documents or records more or less genealogical.

The "written prayer" (祝文) addressed to the deceased shows how thoroughly the belief in the actual existence of the souls of the departed pervades the Chinese funeral rites. Since the practice of burning paper commenced, the prayer written on silk or paper has been burnt on each occasion. Probably in early times it would accompany the books placed in the tomb, but of this we have no record. The written prayer is prepared by Court scribes in each instance. It becomes a historical document and is preserved in the record of each reign.

There is an ancient Chinese work called 世本 *Shïpen*. I possess a reprint of it by Lui Chï-ching about seventy years ago. It is in two chapters. Pan-piao, father of the historian Pan-ku, says of it, that it formed part of the material from which Sze-ma Ch'ien made his biographies of the baronial families in the Chow dynasty. The other book he used was the *Chan-kwo-tse*, a much fuller work. In Sze-ma Ch'ien's book those biographies look as if they must have had special sources from which their details were taken, and Chinese critical scholars appear to have decided in favour of the claim of this book to be one of those sources. Among genealogical books this one has a peculiar value. In filling up the lacunes of history and in indicating how books of history were made, it holds a special place.

The earliest history was genealogical. The kings had scribes who wrote by their order. The genealogical record was as a rule made up whenever a death occurred or birth or marriage. The modern idea of births, deaths and marriages kept in a registrar's office is as different as possible from ancient custom. Each influential family had its own register. The family scribe from time to time made additions. Among those additions historical facts were introduced pleasing to the family pride. The book was not limited to pure genealogy. When the historian came to do his work he made use of all suitable materials. They included the genealogical records, the biographical incidents, and the daily audiences, each recorded

by secretaries who were present. The secretary's duty is to hold pencil and tablet and write as he stands. This is expressed by the character 史 *shĭ*, which is a picture of a man holding a pencil and a tablet. If civilised usages were abandoned the art of writing was neglected and genealogical links were of necessity then lost. It is in this way that Sze-ma Ch'ien expresses the absence of historical links. Among barbarians it became impossible to continue the record of the generations of the ages called 世 *shi*.

Hia Siao Chêng.—This work, purporting to be of the Hia dynasty [B.C. 2205 to B.C. 1766], first appeared in the *Ta-tai Li-ki* by Tai Tê. Two or three centuries later it is found referred to as a separate book. Great scholars like Ts'ai Yung and Kwo P'u both refer to this work as a separate production, so that it is much older than the time of Tai Tê, who simply included it in his edition of the *Li-ki*. In the 12th century a copy was found by a Chêkiang scholar in the house of his brother at Shanyin—near Ningpo, as I believe. A scholar of the Fu family who found it compared it with the copy in the *Li-ki* and set himself to prepare an edition with text and notes in different type, but died before the publication. Chufutze made use of it in his edition of the *Ili*. The editions now current of the *Hia Siao Chêng* are all based on this edition in the corrections and arrangements of the text. Professor Douglas, of the British Museum, has translated it and points attention to the oddness of the syntax observable in sentences. The book is divided into twelve months. It contains zoological, agricultural, and astronomical indications of the year. My edition was printed in 1823 in Peking, carefully edited by Lui Pio-chi, a learned scholar of Tungchow, near Peking.

The whole question comes up here of the precession of the equinoxes as accounting for a slow motion of the stars. In an old book like this recording the meridian stars at different times of the year in the Hia dynasty astronomical data occur of great value. A brilliant star like Lyra, for example, is recorded here as seen just after sunset in the 7th month in the centre of the eastern sky. European astronomers have investigated this statement and find that in B.C.

2200 Lyra would in the seventh month occupy the place indicated. Hence the book belongs to that period.

The Bamboo Books.—The name of this work indicates clearly enough that it was a history written on slips of bamboo. Its period was B.C. 295. It was then that it was deposited in the tomb of Wei Siang-wang who died in that year. On the tablets were inscribed more than 10,000 words in the small seal character. When discovered and placed in the emperor's library in A.D. 279 it was accompanied by a copy of the *Yi King* in two books agreeing with the edition in current use.

The reason of such books being placed in the tomb of a person of high rank consists in this. Ancestral worship implies the continued existence of the individual after his death and burial. The books written for his use when living should accompany him when dead. The filial duty of his descendants would not allow any other course of proceeding than this. The aim in ancestral worship was to treat him with the same respect when dead as when living. Filial duty therefore becomes a definite factor in the elaboration of history. The honorific principle dominates historical composition.

The Bamboo Books show how the official historian did his work. It was made his duty to honour the family he served by expanding the official history in earlier times. The elemental philosophy prevailed in those times. Therefore the princes believed it. Hence their genealogical histories required to be written in the tone of the elemental philosophy. For instance, the remark occurs in the account of the Yellow Emperor, 帝以土氣勝，遂以土德王 *ti yi t'u ch'i sheng, sui yi t'u tê wang* (The power of earth element being then dominant, the emperor ruled by the virtue of that element). This was the philosophy not of the age of the Yellow Emperor but of that of the feudal prince at whose command the record was made. What it tells us is the belief of B.C. 295, and not that of B.C. 2800. In the discharge of his duty the historiographer made use of old records. These were prefixed to the annals of the family in order to add to its honour. The names of all ancient emperors occur, and the Bamboo annals were expanded by the scribes

of Wei, the present Weihueifu in the north-eastern part of Honan, till they became a sort of equivalent to the Book of History. Old accounts were re-written with the proclivities and opinions of Honan scribes of the third century before Christ. All was done to please the reigning prince, and such was the way in which history was made in those times. Animals were symbolical. The phœnix, as we call it, that is, the *fênghuang*, the same Bamboo annals say, "comes to a country when the king is fond of peace and leaves it when he is fond of war. In this heaven gives weighty indications to your majesty. Let not your majesty act in a sense contrary to this instruction."

The care shown in placing historical works in the tomb of the deceased sovereigns of a State reminds us how like ancient China was to Western Asia and Egypt. The Book of the Dead was placed in many a royal sarcophagus in Egypt, and apparently for just the same reasons that led to the Bamboo Books and the *Yi-king* being placed in the tombs of sovereign princes in China. The sovereign is to be honoured, in the words of Confucius, "as if he were living." Books are placed near him in the coffin, and they are such books as are most important to him as a prince, and such as he is likely to find pleasure in reading, on the hypothesis that he is able to read in his tomb. This idea is to treat him as if he were living. So powerful was this sentiment that it has given origin to a special literature. The Bamboo Books would not have been written but for the use of the dead. It is much the same now in China. Books are written by court scribes for the emperor's use. Other persons obtain copies of them by Imperial grace, but they are primarily written for the emperor's own perusal.

It appears to be the same with the Book of Genesis in the Bible. It is a history consisting of a series of genealogical records, prepared by scribes for the use of the patriarchs and of Joseph in Egypt. It is not an independent piece of literary work of the time of the Kings of Israel, as has been recently conjectured, but was composed in portions anonymously by the scribes who wrote in succession for the high chiefs whose genealogies are contained in Genesis. This gives us the true idea of the book, and it accounts for differences in

form meeting the eye in different sections. The remainder of the Pentateuch is distinguished by special uses of the terms for God, just as the various sections of the Book of Genesis are distinguished in the same way. Here then we have a clue to explain the origin of Genesis in its present form. In the sixth chapter of Exodus it is said that God was known to Abraham and the other patriarchs by the name El Shaddai, and not by the name Jehovah. Consequently we infer that the scribes of the age of Moses when re-writing portions of Genesis made use of the divine name Jehovah. In their doing so we have a parallel in the mode of re-writing ancient Chinese history by the scribes who inserted the ideas current in their own age, and the history assumes a philosophical and mythological tinge coming from the third century before Christ. There is no doubt of this in regard to the ancient books found in tombs in China. Why then should we not, as a process of comparative archæology, perfectly justifiable in the circumstances, proceed to apply the same principle to account for the peculiarities found in the Book of Genesis? Hebrew scribes whose names have not been preserved wrote as they were directed to write by Moses, and modified the name for God in a large portion of Genesis. There is also perceptible in the work of the scribes, while thus re-writing portions of the pre-Mosaic Genesis, a variety in style, resulting in part from the special instructions under which any scribe acted while thus engaged, and in part also from his individual training and natural gifts of mind.

Thus the literary structure of the books found in the tombs of old Chinese sovereigns helps us to a highly probable theory of the construction of Genesis and of the Pentateuch, and this shows plainly that comparative archæology has an important field before it in China which if diligently worked will yield results of extreme importance and exceptional interest. If anyone will consult Canon Driver's work on the literature of the Old Testament he will find that the phrase "These are the generations" is stated to be a formula of the historians, two literary men supposed to have been living in the eighth century before Christ. But this is not so pro-

bable as that a new genealogical record meets us whenever the formula "These are the generations" occurs. Nor can it be reconciled with the archæological character of the proper names and other words found in the Pentateuch, pointing to an age anterior to Samuel and David. It is better for us to regard the Book of Genesis as a genealogical collection made by the scribes whom the patriarchs of the Hebrew nation employed to write for them. Then the formula "These are the generations" is accounted for in a reasonable manner. We can also understand why the names for God are modified according to the usage followed by each scribe.

Mr. James Wickershaw of Tacoma has written to me asking if maize is an Indian plant. He also asks if the Indian stonemill called *metate* is known in Asia. Further, he asks if the Indian war club of wood, stone or bone is an Asiatic implement also. It is round at the handle and at the broad end it becomes flat and broad. It is $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch thick and four inches wide. It is 18 inches long.

To these I replied :—

1st.—Is maize in China an American plant? *Reply.*—Yes. There is no proof of maize having been an old plant in China. Dr. Bretschneider, formerly of Peking and now of St. Petersburg, has stated his opinion in *Botanicon Sinicum*, p. 150, "I may observe that maize, an American plant, was unknown in ancient China." Legge in his Chinese Classics has translated the Chinese word *liang* by maize. This, says Dr. Bretschneider, needs correction, for the word *liang* in the classical books means *Setaria Italica.* The word *setaria* is from *seta*, a bristle. The Chinese *sao* and *shwa*, old form *set*, to brush, a brush, shows that there was identity in the Eastern and Western names of the plant and that it was named from its brush-like appearance. This plant is the chief food of many millions of human beings at the present time in North China and in Italy. The *sorghum* was probably introduced into China in the third century from India. The Chinese call it *kao-liang.* It supplies food for horses and mules.

I cannot find that Li Shi-chen knew maize, nor is it mentioned in Kaempfer's *Amœnitates Exoticæ.* Yet Li Shi-chen lived in the

16th century, subsequent therefore to the discovery of America. Li Shi-chen is a sober-minded writer who does not give the impression that he is in any way the enthusiast that Crawford represents him to be.

2nd.—Is the Indian stone-mill called *metate* known in Asia? This implement is capable of reducing maize to a coarse meal. It is three-footed, and the power is that of a roller which, as it passes along a level surface, crushes maize. The Chinese do not appear to have such an instrument. For grinding they have much more ingenious and efficient methods. They have an upper and lower grindstone, very thick and heavy, and these produce fine flour by circular motion. In their oil presses they use what is called a *nien-tsî*, which is a stone roller turned on an axle in its centre by a lever. It is upright, and the grain pressed is on a flat stone beneath it. See Williams' *Chinese Dictionary*, where the flat stone is called *nien-p'an*. *Nien* is to revolve, roll. In Chinese *mien* is flour. *Mo* is to grind. Since the Indian vocabulary is Asiatic, *metate* means the grinder, and consequently is the same word as the Latin *mola* and the English *mill*. But this conjecture needs verifying by a knowledge of cognate words in the Indian language, to which *metate* belongs.

The agricultural implements of the Chinese are ingenious but are not necessarily invented by themselves; just now there is a large demand for Japanese-made spinning machines based on European ideas. There is no *metate* known here.

3rd.—The war club. The Chinese instruments of punishment are of bamboo or wood. There is one called *ch'i*, of bamboo; the criminal lies flat. The man who inflicts the penalty is called *Tsan-li*. It is two feet long, and is held in one hand. The *chang*, five feet long, is used with two hands to beat the criminal on the back of his legs; only four stripes are allowed. Its use leaves scars on the thighs. Any person who has such scars is not allowed to pass the Great Wall, nor can he in the army become an officer.

The *kwun* used in camps to beat soldiers is in shape something like the Indian war club. It is two or three feet long. It makes

no scar, so that he who is punished with it is not disqualified from rising in rank.

Of weapons used in the army there are eighteen kinds. Many of them are of very old shapes, but I have not at hand a description of them. I will ask at a bookshop for a book with plates containing them and send it to you if suitable.

The North American Indians have very interesting ideas regarding the future state. These have to be considered when their beliefs and those of ancient Asia are brought into comparison. It may be asked, did the Indians think out their ideas regarding the soul in a future life in the quiet of their forests, or while talking round the camp fire of an evening? Did they after feasting on a deer, with maize cakes, potatoes and a pipe of tobacco, think out then, unassisted by tradition, their ideas of God as the Great Spirit and the happy hunting grounds of immortality? It is more likely that they had a basis for their ideas before they reached America from the continent of Asia, and modified their thoughts of God and the soul afterwards when they were among the woods, lakes, and rivers of their new home. Comparative archæological research carefully conducted seems certainly to point to this result.

An interesting discussion followed the lecture.

The CHAIRMAN said the lecture to which they had just listened was very full and interesting. It bristled with points that might provoke discussion. In that respect it was the *beau idéal* of a lecture, abounding as it did not only with facts but also with remarks that would awaken the desire in the listener to contradict what was said. This appeared to him a distinct merit. For instance, in regard to inventions he must say that to himself it appeared far more likely that the same invention occurred to different persons in two localities wide apart than that one person should borrow from another. Also he doubted the correctness of the conclusion that the mammoth lived in Siberia in a temperate climate at the same time when the Japanese Imperial dynasty took its rise. He hoped the lecturer would explain this point.

The Rev. W. Muirhead said that Mr. William Lockhart, formerly in Shanghai, took great interest in the question of Chinese medicine bottles found in Egyptian tombs and elsewhere. Especially it was mentioned by Layard in his work on Nineveh that he found Chinese medicine bottles in the ruins of that city. Sir Walter Medhurst had upheld the view that Arab travellers to China had taken back medicine bottles and left them in the tombs of Egypt and other ancient ruins. This was intended as an explanation of the very curious fact that the bottles of the T'ang dynasty should be found in such places. Judge Goodwin, formerly in Shanghai, had stated to him, Mr. Muirhead, that he hoped to find many resemblances between Egyptian antiquities and those of China. Judge Goodwin being himself an Egyptologist of high repute, his opinion in this matter was of great value. He united with the Chairman in his high appreciation of the lecture to which they had listened.

Mr. Volpicelli said that the remarks just made had forestalled what he was going to point out, *viz.* that as the T'ang dynasty was posterior not only to the existence of Egypt as an independent State, but also to the Roman Empire, the medicine bottles in question, bearing inscriptions of verses of the T'ang dynasty, could not have been taken to Egypt or France in a very remote age. That they should have been carried to Arles and Egypt by Arab merchants was rendered probable by the fact that the most flourishing period of Arab trade in China was during the T'ang dynasty, the age when the verses on the medicine bottles were written. About the existence of the mammoth in Siberia, though he could not recall at the moment the exact amount of time required by geological theories for such immense climatic changes, he fancied that about 20,000 years were generally claimed for a change from a glacial to a tropical climate or *vice versâ*. Mr. Volpicelli also enquired from Dr. Edkins whether there was not more positive evidence of the affinity between the North American Indians and Asiatic races than that contained in the valuable lecture they had just heard. He thought their ideas of a future state were not sufficient, as the promised happy hunting-grounds were simply an effect of their

surroundings and their actual life, just as the barbarous nations of ancient Europe imagined their greatest happiness after life would be to fight and carouse in the Valhalla.

The Rev. Mr. Bonsie, of Hankow, said that in the very interesting lecture they had heard there were matters of discussion which would require a fortnight to consider. He was specially interested in the idea that the Book of Genesis was composed in the same way in which some ancient genealogical books in China were composed. It would be well to investigate this point further, because the critics of to-day seemed to have gone to an unwarranted length in regarding the Book of Genesis as a literary production of a later age.

Dr. Edkins, in reply, said that as the poem from which the most common inscriptions on bottles were taken was of the T'ang dynasty, which lasted through the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries, the problem how to account for their being found in ancient ruins was certainly difficult of solution. The age when the mammoth lived in Siberia was unknown, but it certainly was probable that the climate of Northern Asia has been gradually becoming colder. The Indians of North America, judged by the test of language, seemed to have passed to that continent from Asia rather than from Europe. In answer to a question of Mr. Volpicelli he added that the beliefs of the Indians on the future state were in fact much more precise and more like those of Asia than was stated in the paper as it was read.

The following is a synopsis, with an Introduction by the Rev. Timothy Richard, of "How to Awaken Faith in the Mahayana School," a work by the 12th Buddhist Patriarch Ma Ming (Ashragasha), who died about A.D. 100.

I.—*Importance of the Book.*

1.—The importance of "How to Awaken Faith in the Mahayana School" is apparent from the fact that it is said by the Japanese to be the origin of the "Pure Land School" which has 17,000 out of

the 26,000 monks and nuns in that kingdom, and the doctrine is believed in by every other Buddhist sect in China, Corea and Japan.

2.—Its importance is also apparent from the fact that it is the origin of the Mahayana School, which is the chief school among the Chinese Buddhists, and China contains by far the largest number of the Buddhists of the world.

3.—Next to the Bible, the Koran, the Vedas and the Confucian Classics probably this little volume (about the size of the Gospel by Mark) can claim the largest following of the remaining sacred books in the world.

4.—It is both philosophic and popular, doctrinal and practical. It is Brahministic and Buddhistic, Indian and Western.

5.—Finally its doctrine of the One-Soul of the Universe, of a Divine helper of men, of immortality, of good works, of the importance of Faith and of the salvation of others make it common ground not only for most of the Asiatic continent but also a meeting-ground for the other continents. This bond of union of the races where it and Christianity are at one constitutes to my mind one of its highest claims to our attention—all the more so as a universal bond, stronger than language, race or nationality, seems to be one of the greatest needs of modern times.

In the Introduction I wish to consider five things in connection with this book and the Mahayana school, *viz.* :—

I. The Importance of the Book.
II. The Doctrines of the Mahayana School.
III. The Origin of the Mahayana Doctrines.
IV. The Philosophy of the Mahayana School.
V. The Present Outlook of the Mahayana School.

II.—*What are the Doctrines of the Mahayana School?*

They are mainly four, *viz.* :—

1.—That the chief controlling power of all living beings is not a passionless soul such as is held by the Indian philosophers, but one who is full of pity for human suffering and is ready to help

men, *i.e.* Amitabha, a god from the west, but at that time imperfectly identified with the One-Soul.

2.—That this help is bound up with faith and is secured in proportion to our faith, and that human salvation therefore is not the mere result of unaided human self-sacrifices as in original Buddhism but the result of that plus superhuman aid.

3.—That the highest believers strive to save others as well as themselves.

4.—That there is a Paradise into which men may go after death if they follow this way of salvation and thereby they escape the round of transmigration, while Sakya's plan was a rigid abstinence from perpetuating life as life was inseparable from sorrow. Rhys Davids in his Hibbert lectures [p. 254] only gives one of these [No. 3] as the Keynote of the "Great Vehicle."

III.—*Origin of the Mahayana Doctrine.*

These four specific doctrines of the Mahayana School not being in original Buddhism or even in Indian Buddhism, the question is "where did they come from?"

1.—First as regards the Supreme Power over all having compassion for human suffering. Vairochana is described as the Omnipresent and perfect in all virtue, the Master from whom all the Buddhas learn [*Japanese Sanscrit Dictionary*, pp. 9, 10]. As the one who delivered the children of light who are in the Tushita heavens from the lowest hell by his light and power and grace, [*Guide to Buddhahood*, Chap. IV, 14].

Amitabha is described as the Eternal [of boundless age] as the God of Light whom the innumerable Bodhisatvas of the Buddhist Kingdom of the Ganges in the East adore, whom even Maitreya looks up to as one full of love and compassion for the sorrows of men, whom all the *Julais* (Tathagathas) and Buddhas must worship. The Sutra of the Eternal [Woo Liang Shiu King].

As the same attributes are given to these two Vairochana and Amitabha as are given to the Christian's God, we must consider them to be the Buddhist way of describing the one supreme God

of Love. This is obviously alien to the original Buddhism of Sakia, who owned nothing superior to himself and who worshipped no God.

5.—Next in regard to the doctrine of Faith. The Buddhist Messiah, Maitreya, was to plant faith not in the hosts of Buddhas but in the fountain of all the Buddhas. He is moreover repeatedly stated to appear 500 years after Sakya [can the 5,000 years mentioned by others be the error of adding a cipher?] and to be of unspeakable blessing to the world. The Buddhists were to learn of him and follow him when he should come. [*Pradjna Paramita*, Chaps. VI and XIV.]

Dr. EITEL also says that Maitreya is the "principal figure" in connection with Sakyamuni, though not a historic disciple of his but one whom he met in heaven, and that he now controls the propagation of the Buddhist faith. Moreover the Japanese History [p. 2] says the doctrines of the Mahayana School were collected by Adjita, *i.e.* Maitreya, in the *Tie Wei Shan*. Fahien also [in Dr. Legge's translation, p. 28] writes: "We may say that the diffusion of our great doctrines in the East [China] began from the setting up of this image of Maitreya. If it had not been through that Maitreya, the great spiritual teacher, the successor of the Sakya, who would have caused the 'Three Precious Ones' to be proclaimed so far?" In the Sutra of the Eternal, Maitreya is, next to the Eternal, the chief figure in showing mercy and in saving the world.

As to Faith in God's help, this is one of the most distinctive features of Christianity. It existed in Judea and among the Jews when in Babylon many centuries before the Christian era. This sounds like an anachronism, but while Jesus was born at the beginning of what we call the Christian era we have only to remember that the promise of the Messiah or the Christ who should set up the kingdom of Heaven on earth was for centuries the undying hope of the prophets of Israel in their darkest days of captivity, and this they had long before the Sakya sage was ever born, but found its fulfilment in Jesus Christ who was born 500 years after Sakyamuni, the founder of Buddhism.

Thus we have both in prophecy and history the doctrine of Faith and the time of the advent and also the supreme authority of Maitreya identified with the Founder of Christianity in the most remarkable manner without any other religious teacher of the time even disputing it.

3.—As regards the duty of saving others, this is regarded as pre-eminently belonging to the Mahayana school. Those who save others are called Pusas [Bodhisattvas] while the chief object of the other schools of Buddhism is to teach each one how to save himself. The command of the Jewish Messiah to his disciples to go into all the world to preach the Gospel to every creature is given by every Mission as the chief reason of its existence and is so well known that there is no need of enlarging on it.

4.—As to the doctrine of Paradise, the Hindoos themselves speak of it as Western, while the doctrine of a happy heaven after death and of special rewards to those who have endeavoured to save others have been among the leading tenets of Christianity from the beginning.

5.—These doctrines are not those of the Buddhism of the first five centuries after Sakya's death. Buddhism of that period followed the sayings of Sakya as collected after his death by the first Patriarch Kasyapa and was called the Hinayana school. [See *Japanese History of the Eight Sects of Buddhism*, pp. 1–5.]

6.—The Mahayana school however only began to flourish after the publication of Ma Ming's [Ahvagosha's] book on "How to Awaken Faith," though Maitreya was the first to gather its sayings together. Ma Ming lived about 600 years after the death of Sakya, *i.e.* about A.D. 100. [*Japanese History*, p. 3]. The book was translated into Chinese by Paramartha, A.D. 502–555.

7.—The doctrine of the All-Soul in this book is not merely Buddhistic but Brahmanistic as well, and indeed has always been more or less common to all the Indian religions. Generally speaking it is also the basis of Jewish theocracy.

8.—According to this book the old method of mere asceticism and doing the best one can is not so good a way to escape from the

sorrows of life as to have, in addition to one's own efforts, Faith in the power of the God Amitabha to help one's efforts.

9.—As to Amitabha, Dr. EITEL says that the doctrine may have come from the Persian Zarathustra, while Mr. Beal is strongly inclined to the Arab origin. But wherever it came from, the doctrine of Faith and of Paradise and the duty of saving others came along with it. They are an inseparable group of ideas in Chinese Buddhism. I would venture, however, to call attention to another possible source gathered from the following facts. The Chinese translate Amitayus, which is Amitabha, by the words "Boundless Age" and "Boundless Light." Now turning to Daniel we find an extraordinary series of corresponding phrases which seem to me impossible except on the supposition that Daniel, or whoever wrote the book, had in mind the very same doctrines as those of the Mahayana school under consideration. The similarity of details as to the age and brightness of Amitabha himself, and in regard to the reward and brightness of those who are saved and have saved others is wonderful, and all this in a few verses. The writer, speaking of him "that liveth for ever," speaks of him in the same verse as the "Ancient of Days" and as one whose raiment was "white as snow" [Daniel, vii, 9]. Speaking of deliverance we have these words:—"And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great Prince which standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of trouble such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time; and at that time thy people shall be delivered every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever."

The fact seems to be that those four doctrines were non-Indian but well known over a very wide area from Persia to Alexandria and from Babylon to Judea.

Again the later Mahayana school connects Kwanyin with the worship of Amitabha. The proper colour for Indians such as

Sakyamuni is the golden colour, but the image of Kwanyin is directed to be white as well as her robes, indicating a foreign origin. The worshippers of Kwanyin are called the white-robed ones, and the temples the white-robed temples. Turning again to Daniel you note that the Eternal is one whose garment is white as snow. The universal traditional view of the redeemed Christians is that they are clothed in white. The Nestorian monument speaks of the Christian priests at that time also as robed in white.

In view of all these circumstances it seems that we are compelled to arrive at the conclusion that the Christian and the Mahayana schools, however differently developed afterwards, have the same origin, that that origin is to the West of India and with a great religious teacher of one God and Saviour who flourished about the beginning of the Christian era. As there was only one such person at that period it seems the evidence is complete, that the Mahayana school had its origin in the Jewish doctrine of the Messiah that was to come, which was fulfilled in Jesus Christ.

10.—Add to this the proximity of the great bulk of the Jews—who never returned to Judea even if they remained in Babylon—to India, the intercourse of men and ideas were not only possible in those days but certain. Gnosticism from India was well known to all religious leaders of the West at the beginning of the Christian era.

11.—Moreover our next great teacher of the Mahayana doctrine, the 14th Patriarch, Lung Shu (Nagariuna), who lived about A.D. 200, was from the West of India. At that time Christianity had spread mightily in the East and West, struggling for supremacy in the great Roman Empire, and only a century later it became dominant in it, spreading widely over Syria, Persia and Arabia as well as in Europe. This gigantic wave of Christian religious fervour, which flooded three continents round about Judea, could never have been unknown so near at hand as India, and it seems to me we have ample proof of this in this book, as it contains some of the most distinguishing forms of the Christian doctrine as held in those early days.

IV.—*The Philosophy of the Mahayana School.*

The philosophy is difficult, like most of the highest philosophies of every country, and the horizon of thought is so new that it is difficult to realise its true meaning without reading the book several times over. In spirit, perhaps Hegel's philosophy is nearest to it, if we dare compare modern with ancient forms of thought, which necessarily have many categories of thought wholly beyond one another.

2.—The leading features of it, however, are these :—

(1). That there is one all-pervading Eternal Soul which is the source of everything good in the universe.

(2). That this One-Soul can be thought of as independent and outside of all forms of nature.

(3). That this One-Soul manifests itself also in nature, in matter, in physical forces, in life, in mind, in knowledge, in wisdom, in character, and in spiritual forces which are the highest of all.

(4). That this One Divine Soul is mixed up with so much of what is material and human that many people do not perceive it. The wise recognise the precious metal in the buried ore. They strive to purify the gold from the dross, or, to change the figure, the wise seek to discover these underlying forces of matter, mind, character and spiritual power, so that they may be able to control all things and not be at the mercy of so many forces as at present!

(5). That enlightenment about the relation of the All-Soul to matter and mind, to physical and spiritual energies, is therefore the highest science of all.

Thus we find the philosophy of this book vindicating precisely the same position as is held by the leading Christian teachers of to-day, whether in Germany, England or America, leaving

material philosophers like Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer discussing only a part of the great problem of existence.

V.—*The Present Outlook of the Mahayana School.*

1.—The original teaching of this new or Mahayana school was given with so much of the old Buddhistic terms in it as only to be fully understood by the advanced and initiated. The followers were therefore frequently warned in their Sutras that if they did not find expert teachers they might not find out the true meaning at all! As a familiar example we might give what is prefixed to the Diamond Sutra, one of the most popular in China. It might be thus rendered into English:—

Highest, deepest, law profound
Man from million woes does save;
This great secret of the world—
Julai's truth I vow to know.

2.—As Christianity was repeatedly threatened with extinction by being overlaid with Jewish ideas on the one hand and heathen ideas on the other, so has the new school of Mahayana not only been threatened but actually smothered in many places with layers of original Buddhism, leaving little more behind than an empty name—a departed glory.

3.—Buddhism in its palmiest days was under imperial patronage and had all the benefits of enlightenment. But that patronage has now for the last 500 years been given to Confucianism. Not one in a thousand of even the Buddhist priests can explain their own sacred books to-day. If the priests have no light the people must be in still greater darkness. They cannot contend with other enlightened religions. In Japan, however, the Buddhist priests seem to be much more enlightened. Their future depends upon the extent to which they will recognise truth wherever found—independent of forms and names. The religion which has most of God, of truth, and of love, is the religion which will finally win everywhere.

For high and catholic doctrine, for search after truth, for freedom from trivial and national customs and for universal love, few books can surpass this little volume on "How to Awaken Faith."

TIMOTHY RICHARD.

SHANGHAI, *May 25th*, 1894.

Opening Verses.

I yield my life to the All—
To ALL-SOUL, full of good,
In wisdom all complete,
In power all divine,
In pity—would save all.
To Law which does embody
The Archetype of all.
To Church which does contain
The Archetype in seed!
That men may be delivered
From doubt and evil ways;
Get Faith in the great School
Perpetuating God!

Synopsis of the Book.

It has five Chapters:—

I.—Object of the Book.
II.—Basis of the Book.
III.—Exposition of Principles.
IV.—Practice of Religion.
V.—Advantages of Religion.

Opening Verses.

Chap. I.—*Object of writing the book.*

Question 1.— Why write the book?

Answer 1. *a.*—Not for fame but to give happiness to a world of sorrow.

b.—To lead men to the right through Ju-Lai.

c.—To lead the best men to Faith in the Great School.

d.—To lead less noble men to Faith.

e.—To shew how to get rid of all error.

f.—To rid worldly men and those of the two lower schools of error.

g.—To shew how to see Buddha.

h.—To shew the benefits of this religion.

Question 2.—As the Sutras explain all this, why write a new book?

Answer 2.—To give a comprehensive view of the whole to intelligent men.

Chap. II.—*The basis—the Mahayana.*

a.—Its nature—the Soul of All.

b.—Its attributes—all-pervading.

Chap. III.—*Exposition.* A.—*In definitions.* B.—*In the cure of heresies.* C.—*In steps of progress.*

A.—*Definitions.* The One Soul has two aspects.

1.—The transcendant form—beyond all language.

Question 3.—How then can any follow it?

Answer 3.—Though beyond language it is conceivable.

a.—It is not the ordinary realities.

b.—It is nevertheless the most real of all.

2.—The immanent form—in all living beings.

a.—Intuitive knowledge.

b.—Non-intuitive knowledge.

(1.) Produces three states corresponding to the non-intuitive knowledge and six others.

(2.) Intuition and non-intuition have two states.

(*a.*) The same state as a fragment of pottery and all the fragments are of clay.

(*b.*) Different states, as the clay is made into different utensils.

(3.) Produces the five thoughts (motives and results).

(4.) Produces ignorant opinions—six soul-stainers.

(5.) The destruction [end] of the immanent state—general and particular—rough and fine.

Question 4.—If the soul ends how does it continue? If it continues how does it end?

Answer 4.— What ends is only the state of the soul, not the soul itself.

(6.) There are four influences—purifying, staining, false opinions and a false world.

(*a.*) The incessant defiling influence.

aa.—Of the false world.

bb.—Of the false opinions.

cc.—Of ignorance.

(*b.*) The constant purifying influences.

aa.—Of [thought] opinions.

bb.—Of the transcendent.

(*aa.*)—Directly by its own nature.

Question 5.—As all have the transcendent, what need of faith and practice?

Answer 5.— It is because ignorance differs.

(7.) The transcendent's own nature and state.

Question 6.—As the transcendent is independent of all states, how do you speak of all kinds of blessings and possibilities?

Answer 6.— Although it has these blessings it is independent of any state.

(8.) The transcendent in action—Buddha's vows begin here.

(*a.*) Has the faculty of distinguishing between good and evil—the reflected body (Ying Shen).

(*b.*) Has the faculty of conscious indwelling—the rewarded body (Pao Shen).

(*c.*) Has the faculty of knowing suffering.

(*d.*) Has the faculty of perceiving the transcendent body (Fa Shen).

(*e.*) Has finally the faculty beyond human experience —the Buddha state.

Question 7.—If the Buddhas are independent of all visible states how can they manifest themselves?

Answer 7.— The spiritual state is the soul of all the visible, therefore can manifest itself in the invisible.

(9.) Shown in leaving the immanent for the transcendent.

B.—*The Cure of Heresies.*

1.—About terms, such as

a.—That Ju-lai is space.

b.—That Nirvana and the transcendent are intangible.

c.—That Ju-lai embraces matter and spirit, therefore that these cannot be cured.

d.—That as Ju-lai embraces everything, therefore life and death.

e.—That the joys of Nirvana come to an end when Ju-lai comes from heaven to save men.

2.—About the relation of the transcendent to the immanent being inimical.

3.—About purity and stains being absolute, not relative.

C.—*Different Steps of Progress.*

1.—Growth of faith depends on man and character.

a.—Faith is not mere goodness which may fail.

b.—Faith is threefold—is based on the transcendent, rejoices in all good, helps to save.

Question 8.—As men and the transcendent are the same, what need is there for practice?

Answer 8.— Like a precious stone from a quarry it must be polished.

c.—Faith employs four means of progress.

(1.) Cultivate the study of the root of all things.

(2.) Stop evil.

(3.) Grow in goodness,

(4.) Grow in the desire of the salvation of all beings.

d. Faith-fruits--manifested in self-sacrifices, the reflected body (Ying Shen).

e.--Faith descends to save others.

f.--Faith never fails because of difficulties.

2.—Growth in intelligent practice of the five paramitas.

a.—Paramita charity.

b.—Paramita discipline.

c.--Paramita endurance.

d.--Paramita perseverance.

e.--Paramita unchangedness.

f.--Paramita wisdom.

3.—Growth in attainments.

a.—This (Pusa) disciple becomes at once able to reach any place in space to worship the enlightened.

b.--The growth of this (Pusa) discipleship is threefold —the transcendent, the means, and the new attainments nearer perfection.

c.--This discipleship perfected—Buddhahood.

Question 9.—To comprehend all beings in all the worlds how can any get this wisdom seed?

Answer 9.— By obtaining the omniscience that is independent of the senses and is in all minds.

Question 10.--If the Buddhas are incarnate everywhere to save mankind, why do you say that most people cannot see them?

Answer 10.— Only those pure like a bright mirror are able to reflect and see such.

Chap. IV.—*The Practice of the Higher School of Religion.*

A.--How to practise charity.

B.—How to practise morality.

C.—How to practise the enduring of wrong.

D.—How to practise perseverance.

E.--How to practise stopping vain thought and reflection.

1.—Stopping vain thought--sitting in quietness and then

a.—Think of the means of stopping vain thoughts till you get transcendent peace.

b.--Learn that the peace of all in heaven and earth is the same.

c.—Think when tempted of the one eternal soul.

d.--Find out the advantages of peace in this life.

2.--Reflect

a.—That nothing made lasts long.

b.--That life is full of sorrow.

c.--That the present is not the real self--the past is as a dream, the present a lightning flash, the future smoke.

d.--That all living beings are stained.

e.—That existence down all the ages is marred by sorrow and therefore to be pitied.

f.—That a great vow should be made to save others.

g.—That the vow should be carried out in practice.

3.--Stop vain thoughts and reflect simultaneously and at all times.

4.—Reflect on Amitabha so as not to lose faith.

Chap. V.—*Advantages of this practice.*

A.--Generally will attain the very highest doctrine.

B.--Will attain to Buddhahood.

C.—An hour of faith surpasses a universe of good works.

D.—The advantages are unspeakable and eternity is not long enough to calculate them.

E.--Unbelievers and revilers have no hope of salvation.

F.--It is by means of this religion that the Buddhas and the Pusas of the past and present have attained and are attaining their pure faith, therefore follow it!

Closing Verse.

Deep and wide are Buddhist laws,
These in brief I have declared;
Returning has eternal stores,
Blessing gives to countless worlds.

LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

1893-94.

President: N. J. Hannen (absent).

Vice-Presidents: P. G. von Möllendorff (in the Chair).
Rev. Joseph Edkins, D.D.

Hon. Secretary: Z. Volpicelli.

Hon. Treasurer: Thomas Brown.

Hon. Librarian: J. Ritter von Haas.

Hon. Curator of Museum: H. Vosy-Bourbon.

Councillors: Dr. E. Faber.
T. W. Kingsmill.
James Scott.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

(*Corrected to December 31st, 1894.*)

Members are particularly requested to notify the Hon. Secretary of any change of address or other necessary correction to be made in this List.

† Indicates a Member who has contributed to the Society's Journal.
§ „ Life Member of the Society.

Name.	Address.	Year of Election

Honorary Protector.

His Majesty LEOPOLD II, King of the Belgians.

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Hart, Sir Robert, Bart., G.C.M.G., LL.D.	Inspectorate - General of Customs, Peking	1864
Hughes, P. J., M.A.	4, Whitehall Court, London, S.W. ...	1868
Legge, Prof. James, D.D. ...	University of Oxford	1864
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Zottoli, Père Angelo	Jesuit Mission, Sicawei, Shanghai ...	1886

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†Muirhead, Rev. W., D.D. ...	London Mission, Shanghai	1864
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†Carles, W. R.	British Consulate, Hankow	1887
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§Chavannes, Prof. Edouard ...	Collège de France, 32, Quai de Béthune, Paris	1889
Clark, J. D.	*Shanghai Mercury* Office, Shanghai.	1895
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Collyer, Chas. T.	British and Foreign Bible Society, Shanghai	1891
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Creagh, E. Fitzgerald ...	Custom House, Hankow	1886
Cuningham, A.	*Shanghai Mercury* Office, Shanghai.	1895
Danforth, A. W.	Cotton Mill Co., Shanghai	1887
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Dennys, H. L.	Secretary's Office, City Hall, Hongkong	1877
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Elwin, Rev. Arthur	Church Missionary Society, Shanghai	1890
Ezekiel, M. D.	E. D. Sassoon & Co., Shanghai ...	1895
†Faber, Rev. Ernst, DR. THEOL.	18, Nanking Road, Shanghai ...	1886
Faragó, Edm.	Custom House, Canton	1877
Fischer, Emil S.	Deutsch-Asiatische Bank	1894
Forke, A., Dr.	C/o German Consulate-General, Shanghai	1894
Franke, Otto, PH.D.	German Legation, Peking	1890
Fraser, M. F. A.	C/o British Consulate-General, S'hai	1888
Frater, Alex.	C/o British Consulate-General, S'hai	1877
Fulford, H. E.	C/o British Consulate-General, S'hai	1885

Name.	Address.	Year of Election
Gabriel, Hermann, DR. JUR. ...	German Consulate, Batavia... ...	1884
†Gardner, C. T.	British Consulate, Amoy	1877
Gatti, Carlo	Shanghai	1886
Ghisi, E.	2, Hongkong Road, Shanghai ...	1893
Gratton, F. M., F.R.I.B.A., M.S.A.	16, The Bund, Shanghai	1889
Guillien, F.	French Consulate-General	1894
Günzburg, Baron G. de ...	Bubbling Well Road, Shanghai ...	1893
†Haas, J. Ritter von	Austro-Hungarian Consulate, S'hai .	1869
Hackmann, Pastor Licentiate H.	10, Kiukiang Road, Shanghai ...	1894
§Hall, J. C., M.A.	British Consulate, Nagasaki, Japan.	1888
†Hallifax, T. E.	Matsumoto, Nagano Ken, Japan ...	1889
Hanbury, T.	C/o Messrs. Iveson & Co., Shanghai.	1868
Hannen, Sir N. J.	British Consulate-General, Shanghai	1891
†Happer, Andrew P., Jr. ...	C/o I.M. Customs, Newchwang ...	1885
§Hart, J, H.	C/o Custom House, Shanghai ...	1885
Hart, Rev. V. C., M.A. ...	2, Whangpoo Road, Shanghai ...	1887
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Henderson, E., M.D.	Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1876
†Henry, A., M.A.	Custom House, Takow	1881
Hey, E.	8, Foochow Road, Shanghai ...	1886
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†Hirth, F., PH.D.	Custom House, Chungking	1877
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†Imbault-Huart, C.	French Consulate, Canton	1880
Jack, J. B.	Custom House, Hankow	1890
†Jamieson, G.	H.B.M.'s Supreme Court, Shanghai .	1868
Jamieson, J. W.	British Consulate-General, Shanghai	1888
Jeffrey, Sydney	Singapore	1892
Kenmure, Alexander	C/o British and Foreign Bible Society, Shanghai	1887
Keswick, J. J.	C/o Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co., Hongkong	1885
King, Paul H.	C/o Custom House, Shanghai ...	1886
†Kingsmill, Thos. W.	Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1864
†Kopsch, H.	Inspectorate-General of Customs, Shanghai	1877
Kremsir, G.	Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1894

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§Landis, Dr. E. B.	Chemulpo, Corea	1894
Lépissier, E.	Custom House, Shanghai	1885
Lieder, Ph.	Messrs. Mandl & Co., Shanghai ...	1886
†Little, Archibald J.	Chungking	1868
Little, L. S., B.A., M.D. ...	Shanghai	1879
Little, Robt. W.	*North China Herald* Office, S'hai ...	1886
Lockhart, Hon. J. H. Stewart	Colonial Secretary, Hongkong ...	1885
Lutovinow, A., Archimandrite	Russian Mission, Peking	1895
Lyall, Leonard	C/o Custom House, Shanghai ...	1892
Mackey, Jas	38, Yama, Kobe, Japan	1886
Macoun, J. H.	C/o Custom House, Shanghai ...	1894
Major, E.	14, Hankow Road, Shanghai ...	1887
Martinoff, G.	Tientsin	1889
Marzal, Y. de Faria J. de ...	Spanish Legation, Peking	1890
McIntosh, G.	Amer. Presb. Mission Press, S'hai ...	1889
Mencarini, J.	Custom House, Foochow	1887
Merz, C., PH.D.	German Consulate, Takow Formosa	1883
Mesny, Gen. W.	Shanghai	1890
Milles, W. J., F.R.C.S.	8, Shantung Road, Shanghai ...	1885
Milles, Capt. D. A., R.E. ...	Bude, Cornwall	1888
†Möllendorff, O. F. von, PH.D. .	C/o Mr. P. G. von Möllendorff, Inspectorate-General of Customs, Shanghai	1877
†Möllendorff, P. G. von ...	Inspectorate-General of Customs, Shanghai	1877
Möller, O.	Imp. Chinese Telegraphs, Shanghai.	1895
†Morrison, G. J., M.I.C.E. ...	16, The Bund	1880
Morse, H. B.	Custom House, Tamsui	1888
Mörsel, F. H.	Jenchuan, Corea	1889
Müller-Beeck, Geo.	C/o German Consulate-General, Nagasaki, Japan	1886
Murray, D. S.	British and Foreign Bible Society, Shanghai	1887
Navarra, B. R. A.	C/o *North-China Herald* Office, Shanghai	1890
Nielsen, Albert	C/o I.M. Customs	1894
†Nocentini, L.	Via del Proconsolo, 21; Firenze, Italy	1884
Novion, A.	Custom House, Wenchow	1885
Nully, R. de	Custom House, Chinkiang	1884
O'Brien-Butler, P. E.	C/o British Consulate-General, S'hai	1886
§Ohlmer, E.	Inspectorate-General of Customs, Peking	1885
Ottomeier, P. A. W.	Shanghai	1886
Oxenham, E. L.	42, Addison Road, London, W. ...	1887

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†Parker, E. H.	18, Gambier Terrace, Liverpool ...	1877
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Patersson, J. W.	Custom House, Hankow	1883
Paturel, C.	C/o Messrs. Ulysse Pila & Co. ...	1894
Paulun, Dr.	57, Szechuen Road	1893
Petersen, Julius V.	Great Northern Tel. Co., Shanghai .	1894
Peterson, Denton E., D.D.S. ...	Windsor House, Queen's Road, Hong-kong	1887
†Phillips, Geo.	C/o British Consulate-General, S'hai	1888
Pichon, L., M.D.	Faubourg St. Honoré, 166, Paris ...	1876
Piry, Théophile	Inspectorate - General of Customs, Peking	1885
Plancy, V. Collin de	French Legation, Tokio	1877
§Playfair, G. M. H.	British Consulate, Ningpo	1885
Pott, Rev. F. L. Hawks ...	St. John's College, Shanghai ...	1894
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Price, G. U.	Messrs. Tait & Co., Amoy	1886
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Rayner, Charles	Messrs. Carlowitz & Co., Tientsin ...	1886
Reinsdorff, F.	German Consulate, Seoul, Corea ...	1883
Rémusat, J. L.	Custom House	1885
Richard, Rev. Timothy ...	Shanghai	1895
Rinkel, Ferd.	C/o Deutsch-Asiatische Bank, S'hai.	1890
Robinson, Prof. Henry H., B.A.	Wuchang	1890
Rocher, Emile	French Consulate, Seoul, Corea ...	1877
§Rocher, Louis	Le Gasquet, Vallerungne, Gard, France	1884
Rockhill, W. W.	1620, 19th St., Washington, D.C. ...	1885
Rosthorn, A. Edler von ...	C/o Custom House, Shanghai ...	1888
Sampatrao K. Gaikwad, Shrimant	C/o Mr. Will. Whiteley, 151, Queen's Road, Bayswater, London, W.	1893
Sampson, Theo.	12, Madeira Road, Streatham, London, S.W.	1868
Samson, J.	C/o Messrs. Reid, Evans & Co., Shanghai	1877
Schjöth, Fr.	Custom House, Ichang	1885
Schmacker, B.	Messrs. Carlowitz & Co., Shanghai...	1887
Schmidt, K.	Messrs. Carlowitz & Co., Shanghai...	1888
Schomburg, A....	Hoihow	1894
Scott, James	British Consulate-General, Shanghai	1893
Seckendorff, Baron Edm. von	German Consulate, Tientsin ...	1880
Sheveleff, M. G.	Wladivostock	1891
Snethlage, H.	Shanghai	1885
Southey, T. S.	Custom House, Amoy	1880
Spinney, W. F.	C/o Custom House, Shanghai ...	1885
St. Croix, F. A. de	C/o Messrs. A. Dent & Co.	1893
Startseff, A. D.	Messrs. Tokmakoff Molotkoff & Co., Tientsin	1889

Name.	Address.	Year of Election
Stein, E.	Russian Consulate, Tientsin ...	1894
Streich, K. I.	German Consulate, Swatow... ...	1880
Stripling, A. B.	C/o British Consulate, Jenchuan, Corea	1877
Styan, F. W.	C/o The P. & O. S. N. Co., Shanghai	1884
Sutherland, H....	C/o Messrs. Fairhurst, Sutherland & Co., Foochow	1876
Tanner, Paul von	Custom House Tientsin	1881
†Taylor, C. H. B.	Custom House, Tientsin	1885
Taylor, F. E.	Custom House, Kowloon	1885
Taylor, Geo.	Custom House, Shanghai	1891
Thyen, Joh.	Hankow	1894
Timm, J.	Great Northern Telegraph Co., S'hai	1891
Ting I-hsien	Inspectorate-General of Customs, Shanghai	1890
Twentyman, J. R.	Messrs. S. C. Farnham & Co., Ld. ...	1894
Underwood, G. R., M.B. ...	Kiukiang	1888
Valdez, J. M. T.	Portuguese Consulate-General, S'hai	1888
Villard, R. A. de	Inspectorate-General of Customs, Shanghai	1895
Vissière, A.	French Legation, Peking	1880
Vitale, G.	Italian Legation, Peking	1894
Voelkel, S.	Pharmacie de l'Union, Shanghai ...	1885
†Volpicelli, Z. H.	Custom House, Shanghai	1886
Vosy-Bourbon, H.	C/o Messrs. L. Grenard & Co., S'hai	1892
§Vouillemont, E. G.	Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris, Shanghai	1888
Wade, H, T.	Shanghai Club	1886
Waeber, C.	Chargé d'Affaires for Russia, Seoul, Corea	1894
Washbrook, W. A.	Custom House	1881
Watters, T., M.A.	Cleveland Mansions, Castle Hill, Ealing, London	1865
Wenyon, Rev. Charles ...	Fatshan, Canton	1892
Wilcox, R. C.	Stewart Terrace, The Peak, Hongkong	1877
Wilkinson, W. H.	British Consulate, Swatow	1893
Williams, Fred. Wells ...	135, Whitney Aven., New Haven ...	1895
†Williams, Rev. E. T.	Nanking	1889
Wogack, Col.	Russian Consulate, Tientsin ...	1893
Wood, A. G.	Messrs. Gibb, Livingston & Co., Hongkong	1879
Zedelius, C., M.D.	18, Kiangse Road, Shanghai ...	1885
Zooyef, Dr.	C/o Russian Consulate, Shanghai ...	1890

CIRCULAR ON THE ADVISABILITY OF ADOPTING A UNIFORM SYSTEM OF ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS.

I am directed by the Council to ask you whether you think it desirable that our Society should adopt a uniform system of romanisation for Chinese characters in the publications it annually issues.

The necessity of uniformity has often been discussed by the Council, but owing to the great number of Chinese dialects already studied, and the many different systems, often for the same dialect, proposed by different authors, the Council has not felt itself at liberty to disregard the opinions of contributors and impose upon their writing a uniform system. The Council feels it can only do so with the consent of a majority of the Members of the Society, and therefore desires answers upon the following points :—

N.B.—It should be understood that whatever system of romanisation be advocated it must be one that has been applied to the English language.

1st.—Do you think that the C. B. of the R. A. S. should adopt and enforce a uniform system of romanisation ?

2nd.—If the first point is answered affirmatively, which dialect of Mandarin do you think should be chosen to represent the sounds of the Chinese characters ?

3rd.—What system of romanisation of the chosen dialect do you recommend ?

Z. VOLPICELLI,
Hon. Secretary.

Answers to be addressed thus :—

THE HONORARY SECRETARY,
CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
SHANGHAI.

CIRCULAR

ON

CURRENCY, WEIGHTS & MEASURES IN CHINA.

The Council of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, considering that sufficient time has now elapsed since the publication of the preliminary paper on this subject [Journal, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, issued May 1890], are desirous of collecting further information regarding the Currency, Weights and Measures in use in all parts of China, and request the favour of a paper from you embodying brief answers to the questions asked below. Reference to the preliminary paper [Journal, Vol. XXIV, No. 1] will greatly facilitate your work, as giving you the order in which it will be most convenient to arrange the information desired. If from any cause you are unable to write the paper asked for, the Council beg you will be good enough to hand this Circular to a neighbour.

The points on which information is sought are as follows :—

Currency.

1.—What are the kinds of Tael (兩) of Silver known in your district? Please give names in full (thus 行平化寶銀), together with the colloquial name.

2.—What is the actual weight in grains or grammes of the Tael of each weight (平)?

15.4325 grains = 1 gramme.
437.5 „ = 1 oz. avoirdupois.
480. „ = 1 „ troy or apothecary.
416. „ = 1 Mexican dollar (clean).*

3.—What is the touch or fineness of each of the several kinds of Silver (pure silver being 1,000)?

4.—How many Taels of each of the Currencies are considered to be the equivalent locally of 100 Kuping or Treasury Taels of pure Silver (庫平足紋銀)? How many equal 100 Haikuan or Customs Taels?

5.—What relation do Dollars bear to the local Tael? (100 Taels = ? Dollars). What kind of Dollars?

6.—What kinds of Copper Cash are used in your district? What is a *tiao* (吊) and what its value? How many *tiao* or *cash* to a Tael or Dollar?

7.—What information can you supply regarding the circulation of paper money and notes of foreign banks?

Weights.

8.—What kinds of Catty (斤) are known in your district? What are their names and use? Give the equivalent in ounces avoirdupois or in grammes (1 oz. av. = 28.35 grammes). Which is the catty generally used?

9.—Is any one of the Taels mentioned by you the exact sixteenth of any of the above Catties?

10.—Please give a list of commodities of which more or less than 100 catties go to the picul (石 or 擔) with the number

* It is advisable in stating the local weight of the Tael that the means by which this weight is arrived at be stated: (1) whether by actual weighing, and, if so, stating the counterpoise against which weighed and any tests for correctness—or (2) by account.

of catties of each kind [*see* Journal, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, p. 94, note by Rev. Père GAIN]. Is the character 石 used in your district to designate a measure of capacity as well as of weight.

CAPACITY.

11.—What is the weight in lbs. or kilos of dry rice contained in the *Tou* or Peck (斗) known in your district? Please give dimensions, or capacity in English cubic inches or in cubic centimetres.

LENGTH.

12.—Please state which is the fundamental unit for land measure in your district: is it the 尺 or 步? and give the length of it in English inches and decimals or millimetres.

13.—How many 步 are reckoned to a 里.

AREA.

14.—What is the area of the *Mow* (畝) known in your district? Please give the equivalent in English square feet or in square metres. On what length of Pace (步 or 弓) is this based?

GENERAL.

15.—Please give any other information at your disposal on the Metrology of China.

It would be a favour to editors and to printer if communications were written on one side only of the paper; and replies should be sent in before the end of the year to the Hon. Secretary, China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai.

1*st May* 1894.

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