

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

ON

A VOYAGE

TO THE

NORTHERN PORTS OF CHINA,

IN THE SHIP

LORD AMHERST.

EXTRACTED FROM PAPERS, PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,  
RELATING TO THE TRADE WITH CHINA.

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four fathoms; and when you approach the channel between Tsung-ming and Keangnam, the water will gradually deepen to five and six fathoms."

On the following morning we saw two large junks steering exactly in the course the fisherman had pointed out to us; we therefore immediately weighed, and shaped our course under easy sail in their wake, sending the long-boat a-head to sound. The depth continued regular at 4 and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms, on a soft mud bottom; at eight, the wind falling calm, we were compelled to anchor for the tide. Weighed again at 10, and steered north-west; at 11 set the following bearings: Gutzlaff Island just in sight from poop, S. 13 E.; small island, which we named Jauncey's Island, from one of the officers of the ship who first observed it, N. by E.

Lat. at noon by obs. 31.08 N.

At one P. M. we saw low land on the starboard bow, which was one of the low islands to the southward of Tsung-ming, and the tops of the trees on the mainland of Keangnam were soon after descried. We continued under easy sail, following in the rear of the two junks, and now steered west by north; the water gradually deepened as we advanced to six, seven, and eight fathoms. We now sailed at about four miles distance from the land of Keangnam, which is one dead flat, richly cultivated and covered with high trees. The water was perfectly fresh from the time when we first saw land. At four P. M. we saw several war-junks, six in number, at anchor. On our approach, they got under-weigh, and one hoisted an admiral's flag and stood across our bow, firing several guns; but as we now set more sail and stood

on, the fleet stood in to shore, manœuvred in such a way as to allow us to pass by them at a considerable distance, and then stood on in our wake, firing guns occasionally, while one large row-boat pushed on a-head towards Shanghae. At five P. M. we passed an extensive bank to the northward, and now steered to north-west. To the north of this bank there appears to be a passage, for we saw many junks sailing up on that side. We now had a fine breeze, with which we stood on till 8.30 P. M. On passing one of the junks we had been following, we inquired what distance there was to the entrance of the river, which was stated to be about eight miles distant.

*Transactions at Shanghae, in Keang-soo.*

Having now (June 20) arrived to within a few miles of the entrance to the river, I determined not to lose time by waiting for the ship, but to proceed at once in our boat to the town, and in person present the following petition, from which, however, I felt but small hopes of any success.

"The English Captain Hoo-Hea-me respectfully petitions his Excellency the Taoutae of the districts of Soo, Sung, and Tae, for the information of his superiors.

"An English ship has arrived and entered the port, desiring to trade. Her cargo consists of cloths, camlets, calicoes, and sundries. In former times, the commercial intercourse between China and Great Britain was small and unimportant; but within the last fifty years it has increased tenfold: thereby

great advantages are derived by both nations. Formerly, only eight or ten small ships arrived; but now from sixty to eighty large ships come to China, bringing the productions of my country, and take in return no less than 30,000,000 catties of tea, besides silk and other productions of the Chinese empire, to the value of many millions of dollars. Moreover, the ships of your honourable nation, some of which belong to Shang-hae-heen, yearly frequent the ports subject to Great Britain, and your merchants thus obtain large profits. The merchants of my country seeing this, naturally remember that benefits and advantages should be mutual, and therefore earnestly desire to participate in the profits which may be derived from a trade with the northern ports of China. If your merchants purchase English commodities directly from us, and we in return receive the silks and teas of this honourable province, both parties will reap mutual benefit, industry be encouraged, the Imperial duties will be greatly increased, and it will tend to promote and increase a friendly intercourse between two great nations, whose mutual interest it is to be bound by the strictest ties of friendship, which is really an important consideration.

"I therefore now respectfully petition your Excellency favourably to represent my request to the superior authorities. Thus a trade may be originated between this honourable province and my country, which, though small at first, will rapidly become large, and thus open the road to the acquisition of great and important advantages.

"Taou-Kwang, 12th year, 5th moon, 12th day."

At three on the following morning we started, and reached the entrance of the river just at the first dawn of day: it was about eight miles distant. At each side of the entrance there is a fort: the northern one was in better condition than most Chinese fortresses, and mounted eight guns on a platform. As soon as we were discovered, they commenced firing blank guns from both sides, to which we paid no attention; and having a strong tide in our favour, were soon carried beyond their batteries. About a mile inside the river is the small town of Woosung, where all vessels, on entering and quitting, take their port clearance: several boats with mandarins pushed off from thence to meet us, and forbid our further progress, saying they were ordered to prevent our going to Shanghae, by which it appeared that our presence was not unexpected; but I merely said, that having business to transact, and a petition to present, it was necessary we should go thither. The river now taking a sharp turn to the south-east, enabled us to sail away with a fair wind, and we soon distanced all the mandarins. The river Woosung, for it gives its name to the village at its mouth, is in every respect one of the finest and most navigable in China. The only difficulties in its access arise from the extensive but even bank of shallow water, which extends between Gutzlaff's Island and the banks of Tsung-ming, from which there is a passage three to four miles in breadth and eight fathoms deep to the river Woosung. The bar of the river presents no dangers whatever, as will be apparent from Captain Rees's chart, and the guides for entering are extremely simple. "Let the north fort

be brought to bear S. 26 W.; then steer direct for it: as you approach the bank of the river, the water deepens from four to six fathoms."

At low-water there will always be found four fathoms over the bar, which is but a quarter of a mile in extent, and as soon as that is passed, the water deepens to eleven fathoms, gradually shoaling to seven and eight as you approach the village of Woosung.

The river, for the first six or eight miles, runs in a south and south-east direction; after leaving Woosung, the depth varies from eight to three fathoms, and the stream is about three quarters of a mile wide. The country is one dead flat, very much intersected with dykes and ditches: it is richly cultivated, and bears much resemblance to Holland. The tide turning against us when about eight miles up the river, we anchored and went on shore. It was just the period of the wheat harvest, and the whole population were actively employed gathering it in. The land appears divided into small portions, for we observed at each cottage the women and children were employed thrashing and winnowing their portion of wheat as it was brought in. A great deal of cotton was also cultivated, this being the most celebrated district in China for that commodity. Shortly after we had returned to our boat, some Chinese came off to us from a junk in the vicinity, and entered into conversation. In reply to our inquiries, some of them said they had lately come from Canton. Our anxiety to obtain intelligence from that quarter was great, and it was our object to do it in a way that would not excite their sus-

picious. We therefore, in the first place, put some indifferent questions as to their cargo, and the profits to be derived on it; and then asked, in a casual way, if there were many English ships in the river. They replied, "None." We asked, "How comes that?" on which one man promptly replied, "Oh, they are all gone to Tiensin with the admiral." We then began to question them as to the cause of this extraordinary move, and if any disturbance had taken place, when they drew off, and would give us no further information; and shortly after left us, saying that it was mere report they had heard, as none of them had been to Canton lately. This story so singularly coinciding with the rumours we had heard at Ning-po, and with the expectations we had formed as to the probable course of affairs, I confess strongly induced me to believe in its correctness; and although it proved utterly devoid of foundation, yet it is curious, as demonstrating the intense degree of interest which the anticipation of such an event as the arrival of an English squadron with hostile intentions had excited among all classes of Chinese, and in all parts of the empire.

So soon as the tide turned we proceeded on our journey, and at about half-past four, reached the far famed emporium of Shanghae; the vast number of junks of every variety both of size and description which were lying before it, plainly proved that fame had not magnified its commercial importance. I will here insert verbatim from my journal the account of our first interview with the mandarins of Shanghae:

*Extract from Journal.*

" The town of Shanghae is built on the left side of the river, as indeed is every Chinese town I have yet visited, which must probably be connected with the Chinese custom of assigning the left as the place of honour. Commodious wharfs and large warehouses occupy the banks of the river, which is deep enough to allow junks to come and unload alongside of them; in the middle it has from six to eight fathoms, and is nearly half a mile in breadth. All the wharfs were crowded with people, who were attracted by our appearance. We landed in front of a large temple, dedicated to the Queen of Heaven, where we were subsequently lodged. The crowd opened right and left to give us free admission, and we walked through it into the temple, where a theatrical performance was going on, which our appearance immediately stopped, as every one's attention was turned to us. I asked the way to the city and the taoutae's office, and we proceeded at a rapid pace in the direction indicated. We entered through the city gates, about a quarter of a mile distant; the streets are narrow, and many of them paved with small tiles similar to Dutch clinkers, which give a far more agreeable footing than the slippery granite. The shops within the city are generally small, but wares of every description were exhibited in them for sale. I saw many with European goods. Having proceeded about half a mile, our guides showed us the office of the chebeen, which I declined entering, as our business was with the taoutae, and we again

started in search of him, with an enormous crowd following us. Before we had gone far we met with a young man, who told us he belonged to the taoutae's office, but that his master had already gone down to Woosung to meet with us, and that we had therefore better immediately return. Not placing much credit in this information, I continued my course, the people readily pointing out the way, and arrived at the taoutae's office, which is an extensive building. As we approached, the lictors hastily tried to shut the doors, and we were only just in time to prevent it, and pushing them back, entered the outer court of the office. Here we found numerous low police people, but no decent persons, and the three doors leading to the interior were shut and barred as we entered. After waiting a few minutes, and repeatedly knocking at the door, seeing no symptoms of their being opened, Mr. Simpson and Mr. Stephens settled the point by two vigorous charges at the centre gate with their shoulders, which shook them off their hinges, and brought them down with a great clatter, and we made our entrance into the great hall of justice, at the further extremity of which was the state chair and table of the taoutae. Here were numerous official assistants, who seeing us thus unexpectedly among them, forgot totally our unceremonious mode of obtaining entrance, and received us with great politeness, inviting us to sit down and take tea and pipes. Having remained a short time talking with them, particularly with the young man who had told us the taoutae had gone to Woosung, who was one of his secretaries, and possessed of intelligent pleasing manners,

we were informed of the arrival of the cheheen, who wished to speak to us. He entered immediately, and refusing to be seated, commenced in a loud angry tone, upbraiding us for our temerity in coming to Shanghai without previously obtaining permission. He was a stout middle-aged man, with a harsh unpleasing countenance, and boisterous manners; his name is Wanlun-chan; he is a native of Kwer Chow. I replied in a tone equally haughty, but not quite so loud, that we came here to trade, and that I brought a petition to the taoutae. His answer was, "You cannot trade here, you must go to Canton." I repeated the arguments I had so often used relative to the present state of the trade at Canton. The cheheen now called for an interpreter, and I fully expected to see some fellow produced who could speak a few words of the Canton-English, to which I had determined to reply in Chinese, that I could not understand a word of it; but instead of that, a man from Chaow Chow-foo, in Canton province, came, who knew not one word of any European language, nor even of the Canton dialect, that spoken in his district being nearly the same as the Fokien. He however spoke the mandarin dialect far more distinctly than the cheheen, and also showed much quickness in catching my meaning when my expressions were not in correct Chinese. The cheheen now sat down, and I instantly seated myself opposite to him, on which he again rose, and casting an angry glance at me, strode out of the room without vouchsafing a word, as if he considered himself degraded by seeing me seated in his presence. So soon as he had gone, the attendants

brought tea, and tried to apologize for his rudeness.

"After a little he again requested to speak to us, and stated that the taoutae (who had returned very speedily from Woosung) would give us an audience at the Teenhow Temple, to which we must instantly repair. We told him we would comply with his directions, and bid him farewell with the usual Chinese salutation, to which he made no return whatever; on which I said in a loud tone, "in my country the Government officers are civil to strangers; you, it appears, act differently, and return the courtesy of strangers with rudeness; but still, in order to show to you and all the present company that we understand the rules of propriety and decorum, we again salute you before we depart, on which Mr. Gutzlaff and myself, with the utmost politeness, performed the ceremony of tso-yih, bowing moderately low with the hands joined, which is the utmost that is in use amongst equals. The cheheen coloured to the very tips of his ears with vexation; but seeing that all the spectators enjoyed his mortification, he returned our salute, though with a very bad grace, and we went away, returning through the same gates we had entered, and were shown to an inner court of the temple, where we had first landed, which we were informed was to be our lodging for the night. Round the court were three spacious apartments, the left one was assigned to us; and the centre was prepared for the taoutae, who shortly arrived with a large retinue of mandarins and lictors, with chairs and whips. About a quarter of an hour after his arrival I was told to come in and present

my petition ; but I first sent to say that I expected to find chairs for Mr. Gutzlaff and myself if the taoutae and the other mandarins were seated. In reply, this was stated to be impossible, as their customs required a merchant to prostrate himself before a mandarin of the rank of the taoutae, yet that we were only required to stand ; but that if I was a mandarin in my own country, and the business I had to communicate was of a public nature, then we might be seated. I replied, " I am no mandarin ; but my petition, if favourably received, and the request it contains is complied with, it may be called of a public nature ; and it is not on my account I object to stand in the presence of your mandarins so much as on account of the high respectability of my country. I have also been seated at Ning-po in the presence of men higher in rank than the taoutae ; my reply, therefore, is, if the mandarins are seated we must sit ; if they stand we will also stand." No less than half an hour was lost in debating this point, and it was finally arranged that the taoutae should stand to receive us, and we were then ushered into the hall, where six mandarins were seated in a semi-circle ; I approached ; but seeing no symptoms of any of them rising to receive me, I abruptly turned on my heel and returned to our apartment, where I rather warmly expressed my indignation at the paltry artifice which had been played on us. Our interpreter, the secretary, and several mandarins tried to soothe us with soft words, and on a positive promise that no such trick would again be played, I once more returned. Immediately on perceiving me the taoutae rose and came forward ; his name is Wooke-

Tae, he is a native of Honan, a heavy dull-looking man, much marked with the small-pox. I delivered my petition into his hands, but without listening to a word I had to say, he in a boisterous tone upbraided us nearly in the same terms as the chebeen, who was one of the present company, and said we must instantly return to Canton, and not stay here a day. I replied, " The trade of Canton is ruined by the oppression of the local government ; your vessels frequent our ports, therefore we have come here ; for the rest our sentiments are contained in the petition I have delivered, read it, and you will understand." He replied, with increasing warmth, " If the Shanghae vessels frequent your ports, let your Government drive them away, they are not sanctioned by ours in so doing." I replied, " instead of driving them away, our Government encourages them to come, and treats all strangers with kindness ; we have, therefore, a natural right to expect the same at your hands." The taoutae evidently had prepared to brow-beat us with fierce looks and angry words, but I repaid them both ; and in reply to some very uncivil expression, I said, " your excellency will find that my countrymen are equally ready to repay civility or insult." We now returned to our apartment, which was crowded with mandarins and attendants of various sorts. After the lapse of another half hour, the original petition was brought back with a copy, which was shown to me, and I was informed that it was not requisite to receive the original, as a copy could answer all the purpose, it was therefore returned to me. I at once positively and firmly refused on any account to receive back a



petition which had been publicly delivered and read, affirming that it was a gross insult to request such a thing. This point was debated warmly for a long time; and the unfortunate petition was bandied backwards and forwards between the taoutae's room and ours five or six times; at last, he seeing that nothing could be gained from us, gave up the point and took it away with him, leaving a message that we should stay at the temple for the night, but that on no account were we to quit it; that all we wanted should be provided for us, and that early in the morning we should return on board, whither he meant to accompany us. Shortly after he had gone, a blue-button naval mandarin came to me with the following singular proposal: that all our men and the entire contents of the boat should be brought into the temple, and the boat given in charge to their people. I replied by asking the assembled mandarins if they took us for fools or children, that they behaved in this manner towards us; that our sailors were perfectly competent to take charge of the boat; and with regard to the message, intimating that we were to be held as prisoners in the temple, I recommended them not to enforce it if they valued the hinges of their doors. Now that our two foes the taoutae and cheheen were gone, the military mandarins were generally inclined to be civil; but there was not one among them all who possessed the manners of a gentleman, or any intelligence. Whilst supper was preparing, we sauntered out to the quay and talked with the people, who were still in vast crowds, but cordial in the extreme. Here, as everywhere else, the fame of the pamphlet had

spread like wildfire; about twenty we had distributed in our walk to the city, and now we were surrounded by people anxiously begging for a copy.

"We had no reason to complain of want of hospitality here on some points, as an excellent supper was provided for us, and comfortable bed-frames were laid for our accommodation. After supper I went and sat for half an hour with the mandarins, who asked numerous questions about England and her colonies, navy, mandarins, &c. We were here accused of being mandarins in disguise, which I strongly disclaimed."

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The following morning, on going out, the first thing which caught our eye was the subjoined edict on the walls of the temple where we had lodged. Mr. Gutzlaff immediately took a copy of it, to the apparent annoyance of the mandarins, and great entertainment of the people, whose friendly disposition towards us was strongly apparent.

"Woo, by Imperial authority, taoutae of the districts Soo (Chow-foo) and Sung (Keang-foo), in the province of Keang-nam, &c. &c., issues his explicit orders to this effect:—

"I, the taou, have lately heard that an English ship was sauntering about the waters of Che-keang. The fact was corroborated by the people of Ning-po, who repaired to this harbour, and likewise by the fishermen, who stated that there was a barbarian ship at Chin-hae, in the sea of Chou Paou Shan, but

that now the civil and military functionaries had gone out to sea, and driven her away.

“ Whilst I was examining and considering the subject, I received a letter from the chin-tae (Tsong-ping-kwan) of Soo Sung, who had received a report from the chin-tae of Ting hae, in the Che-keang province, stating that the barbarian vessel before mentioned, as staying in Che-keang province, had been entirely kept aloof.

“ Kwan, the chin-keen, has now sent flying despatches to all the camps and the military along the coast, and besides has headed the men-of-war, and proceeded in every direction, both of the inner and outer sea, in order every where to trace and repel her. A flying despatch was also sent to the chin-tae (lieutenant-general) of Sang Shan, directing him to be well on his guard.

“ For on examination it was found that the sea of Che-keang borders that of Keang-nam; hence the barbarian vessel, having been entirely driven away from Che-keang province, might take advantage of the wind, and sail towards the Keang-nam province, which was not unlikely.

“ We should therefore ourselves be on our guard beforehand to ward her off. Additional orders have in consequence been issued to all the functionaries and magistrates of Foos and Heens along the coast, to lead out their skilful bands of soldiers and police, and repair to all the harbours of the said seas, everywhere patrolling and guarding; but if they ascertain that the said barbarian ship is sailing towards Keang-nam province, let them collect their forces, and rigorously enforce her expulsion from the fron-

tier, and not allow her to loiter for a single moment. Besides this, orders have been speedily issued, whereby all the inhabitants of the coast and the seafaring people are clearly ordered, that when the above-mentioned barbarian ship sails towards the frontiers, the inhabitants of the neighbourhood must instantly report it to the mandarins, that they may expel her. All commercial intercourse with the barbarian ship is strictly forbidden; but if any dare to disobey, they will be forthwith seized, examined, and prosecuted with severity; not the least forbearance will be shown. Let all implicitly obey. Do not oppose. A special edict.

“ Taoukwang, 12th year, 5th moon,  
20th day. (18th June, 1832.)

Previous to returning to the ship we again entered the town, and made sundry purchases. Shops, where woollen goods were exhibited for sale, were more abundant here than in any town we had seen; and in all of them the character of Kung-sze, “ Company’s,” was conspicuously placed over the names of the various articles. The following is a rate of prices asked at various shops, and approximates very nearly to those at Ning-po. I suspect it to be only in the inland towns that European articles bear such an exorbitant price.

Camlets . from 4 to 5 dollars a chang, or 56 to 70 dollars p’ piece.

Superfine broadcloths,	} 9 to 11	—	or 38 to 46
Long ells			
			12 to 16

I could see no calico, although I was told that it is frequently brought here. I distributed pamphlets and trading papers in all the shops, which both the people and mandarins showed the greatest anxiety to receive; and while walking through the crowd we were on all sides assailed with entreaties for a copy of this little work, the effect of which, upon the minds of the people, wherever we have been, perfectly surprised ourselves. On our return we found the mandarins greatly more polite in their demeanour than they had been the day before. The supercilious che-been, who, only 24 hours previously, thought he was degraded by seeing me seated in his presence, now met us with the greatest politeness, and obsequiously forced us to take the highest seats. All the others were equally friendly in their demeanour, and talked about the great desire they felt to be on cordial terms with our countrymen, and the satisfaction they would feel if commercial intercourse could be promoted between us. I could not help reflecting how very different would have been the demeanour of these men, had we submissively complied with all their orders, stood before their tribunal, received back our petition, submitted to be confined as prisoners, and returned to our ships at day-light; then they would have triumphed over us, and treated us with contempt and neglect. Such are Chinese mandarins all over the empire. Compliance begets insolence; opposition and defiance produces civility and friendly professions.

We returned on board in the afternoon, and found the ship just on the point of entering the river. Numerous mandarins had been on board the preceding

day, and tried to impress on the mind of Captain Rees the perilous shoals which would be met with at the entrance. My Chinese servant, dressed in European clothes, acted as interpreter, and informed me that the principal mandarin, a yeukeeh or colonel, used every artifice to extract from him an account of who we were, and wherefore we had come, especially whether we were a ship of war or not. The military preparations which were in progress, were such as rendered it impossible to avoid smiling at them; and it really appeared as if the officers of the Chinese government had acted with the express intention of rendering themselves ridiculous. At each side of the river six large guns had been laid down on a raised mud bank, without trucks or carriages of any description; a considerable number of tents lined the high sides of the river, such as Chinese troops inhabit when on service. These are low, and afford little or no shelter against the inclemency of the weather. In order to give an appearance of military preparations to a more distant part of the bank, a whole row of mud heaps had been made into the form of tents, and then whitewashed; all this operation had been observed from the ship by aid of a glass. Fifteen war-junks lay also at the mouth of the river. The war-junks here are the most wretched and inefficient we have yet seen; they are merely large uncouth boats, of about 80 tons, with one gun on a sort of table in the centre of the vessel. On entering we passed through their line, and anchored about half a mile below Woosung.

The plan which I determined to pursue here, was

to declare, that as my request was addressed to the decision of the superior mandarins, I was determined to await that of the tsungtuh, who was alone capable of deciding on the point of whether we were to be permitted to trade or not; and consequently I would not yield obedience to any other orders but his. The advantages which appeared to me derivable from this plan were twofold. In the first place it appeared highly probable that the taoutae, in his anxiety to induce our departure, in order to be enabled to report our expulsion, might be induced to enter into a compromise, and permit us quietly to dispose of our cargo. On the other side, if a reference was made to the tsungtuh at Nankin, it ensured the greatest publicity being given to the fact of our having come to Shanghae seeking for trade; and a report of the circumstances being duly forwarded to the Emperor, and the complaints of foreigners against the unjust and oppressive system under which the trade was conducted at Canton, being thus reported simultaneously from various parts of the empire, it might naturally be hoped would provoke an inquiry into whether such charges were well founded or not; and thus eventually prove of some service to the trade at Canton. The whole of our intercourse with the mandarins of this place was unsatisfactory and wearying, without being productive of any results. The policy of the mandarins was evidently to leave us entirely unmolested, and take little notice of us, merely contenting themselves with keeping the people from visiting our ship, and to trust to our departure when we saw that no object could be attained by a

longer stay. I will now just give a brief outline of what occurred worthy of notice during our stay of 18 days at this port.

On the 22d several merchants visited us, in company with the interpreter. Feeling very anxious, if possible, to dispose of our goods here, I offered to sell the

Camlets . . . . .	a' 36 per piece.
Superfine broadcloth . . . . .	a' 34 —
Super . . . . .	a' 30 —
Calico . . . . .	a' 8 —

And all the merchants readily agreed that a large profit could be realized, if purchased at those rates. I also had a private conversation with the interpreter, in which I explained to him that if his master, the taoutae, was really anxious for our departure, it might readily be procured by permitting us quietly to sell our goods.

In the course of the day a boat, with several mandarins, came alongside, and one of them delivered to me the following edict from the taoutae. It was written on a large sheet of paper, without a cover, and served as envelope to my petition, which I immediately returned into the boat, saying that I had already refused to take it back, and therefore would not now change my purpose. The boat then returned. The edict from the taoutae is as follows, and strongly bespeaks the hatred and contempt with which that officer regards foreigners. The paper is also quite informal, having no seal to render it authentic :

"Woo, by Imperial authority, taoutae, &c. &c. &c. issues this edict to the man of the barbarian ship Hoo-Hea-me, and the others, that they may be fully informed :

"According to their petition they hope to trade, and to have the matter reported to the higher authorities. On examining, it appears that according to law hitherto no barbarian ships have traded at Shanghae, and that the laws cannot be opposed. But as to what relates to reporting to superior authorities, this would be conniving in disobedience to the laws ; hence the original petition is thrown back, chit hiwan (a term of great contempt). Let them instantly depart with speed, and obey the old laws, returning to Canton, and trading there. Let them not delay and deceive themselves.

"Taoukwang, 12th year, 5th moon, 23d day."

I immediately replied briefly to this edict as follows ; in it I take the opportunity of expressing my determination to await the decision of the tsungtuh from Nanking.

"The English commander, Hoo-Hea-me, respectfully replies to his Excellency the Taoutae of Soo, Sung and Tae :

"I have now received a document in reply to my former petition, but this document has no official seal to render it authentic, and the language it contains is harsh and unpolite. My petition was for reference to the decision of the superior authorities at Nanking, and for their reply I will wait here ; when it arrives, I feel confident it will be in kind and

civil terms, for the great mandarins are everywhere celebrated for their benevolence and politeness, and on my return to my own country I will report the same to my superiors.

"According to the statement received, my petition is thrown back to me ; the affront I cannot suffer in silence, for by such conduct the respectability of my native country would suffer. The English nation are not barbarians, but foreigners, nor is there in the world any nation superior to them in power, dignity, and extent of dominions.

"To conclude, our object in coming here was to establish a friendly mercantile intercourse, to the mutual benefit of both parties ; and our wish is to depart from Shanghae with a grateful heart ; for it is a maxim among my countrymen to repay kindness with gratitude, and insult with resentment. I again return the former petition, and respectfully beg you will forward it to his Excellency the Viceroy of the Leang-keang."

"5th day, 23d moon."

In the afternoon we landed at Woosung, and walked for some miles into the country ; this we continued to do every evening during our stay. A mandarin and several attendants always accompanied us, but professed that their object merely was to protect us from any evil-disposed natives. We frequently landed at some distance from the town, purposely to avoid our escort, and never met with anything but the greatest friendliness on the part of the natives, who, on the contrary, were always much more cordial and frank in their manners when we

were alone. The whole country in this vicinity is dotted over with small villages, surrounded with trees in every direction. The population appears very great, but the natives are healthy and well fed: wheat, in the form of vermicelli and cakes, forms the principal part of their food. Whilst we were staying here, the land from which the wheat had just been cut, was ploughed up, irrigated, and again planted with rice, which would be cut on the ninth moon (September), a proof of the extraordinary fertility of the soil. The winters are said to be very severe, and that the snow sometimes lies several feet deep for more than a month. Ice is kept in great abundance throughout the summer, but is principally used for the preservation of fresh fish. Each family appears to cultivate a small portion of ground with cotton, which I here saw of a light yellow colour. The nankeen cloth made from that requires no dye. In every cottage were the requisite implements for carding, spinning and manufacturing the cloth sufficient for their own use, the remainder they sell. In several I saw the whole process in action at the same time, and took specimens away of the yellow cotton, both in its rough state and after being manufactured into cloth. The price for a piece is from three to four mace, the nankeen cloth from Shanghae is said to be the best in the empire.

The following day (June 23), at a very early hour, the interpreter came on board, accompanied by a naval mandarin, Lo-laou-yay, and once more brought back the original petition, accompanied by the one I sent yesterday. I positively refused to allow them to remain on board.

About noon two mandarins, Lo and another, returned, and we were not a little astonished at hearing them say that they were sent by the taoutae, to request his harsh edict should be returned to him, that he might write another instead, in a more conciliating tone, and affix his official seal. No more was said about my two petitions. This was indeed a singular falling off in his hitherto haughty demeanour. I replied that I felt great satisfaction to see that his Excellency was aware of the impropriety of writing such an insulting document; but as I had refused to receive back my petitions, because they were displeasing to the taoutae, I could on no account presume to return his, because the harshness of it was unpleasing to me. The mandarins could not help smiling at this argument. They next requested to be favoured with a copy of the edicts we had received at Ning-po, (which I had stated to be of a civil description) that the taoutae might frame a similar one. I replied that I must decline to do that, but that a mandarin of the taoutae's rank and talents could never be at a loss how to reply to strangers with kindness and urbanity, if it was his wish to do so.

The 24th they again returned, accompanied by the interpreter, who gave me a slip of paper, containing the following message from the taoutae, and again strongly requested that his edict might be returned to him. The words written on the slip of paper were as follows: "We are wrong in using these expressions, the inadvertence of the writer is the real cause of it. The junks of war and soldiers

are not come here on account of you, but because his excellency the tetuh is about to review them."

In reply, I stated that for the reasons before assigned, I could not return the taoutae's edict, but would feel delighted to receive another one from him in more friendly language, but that I really could with difficulty credit the latter part of the message as to the military preparations, as I was in possession of the edict which ordered them to assemble and expel us; on which I produced the copy which Mr. Gutzlaff had made while at Shanghae. This disconcerted them much. We had held several conversations on the use and meaning of the word E, as it was on the afternoon of this day that the taoutae sent off a paper containing his arguments to prove that there was nothing offensive in the word. This paper, together with my reply, which was delivered on the ensuing day, have already been inserted in this report.

The troops on both sides of the river were this day reviewed by the tetuh, who had arrived at Woosung on the 23d. There might be in all 500 men assembled; they were exercised in firing blank cartridges from their matchlocks. In the afternoon we landed, and saw them drawn out; the officers were all highly polite to us, and allowed us to examine the arms and accoutrements of the men. Most of them had no arms, but a sword and wicker shield, the sword of the most imperfect description, indeed nothing else than a flat bar of iron; the firelocks were generally in a filthy state, and almost corroded with rust: indeed the result of our inspection of his Imperial

Majesty's forces at Shanghae, convinced me that 50 resolute and well-disciplined men, or even a smaller number, would have routed a larger force than we saw there assembled.

During the following week nothing material occurred. The mandarins continued to prevent the people from visiting the ship, and to press us to receive our provisions as a present from them, which I refused; we consequently went daily to the market, and purchased what we wanted. Provisions of all sorts were cheap and abundant here, excepting beef, of which we procured none in any part of China. Goats are very plentiful, and fully as good as any mutton. The fruits here are far superior to those farther south; peaches, nectarines, loquats, small apples, and the arbutus, were in season during our stay, and very cheap. Vegetables of various kinds are also to be had for very little.

On the 1st of July, Mr. Gutzlaff and myself, with two of the officers of the Amherst, went and visited the island of Tsung-ming, the nearest point of which lies about 15 miles distant from Moosung, in a northeasterly direction. The southern entrance of the main land of Tsung-ming is in about 31. 30 N., which is several miles to the southward of what is laid down in the missionary charts. This island is however yearly increasing in extent, from the alluvial deposits of the great river. It is now above 60 miles in length, and from 15 to 18 in breadth, and is one of the most fertile and thickly populated districts in China. While in this neighbourhood I endeavoured, but fruitlessly, to procure an authentic printed account of Tsung-ming; but by the infor-

mation I gathered from the Chinese, it did not exist, at least in a habitable state, till the latter part of the Yuen dynasty, in the 14th century. This supposition gains force from a fact noticed in Sir G. Staunton's account of Lord Macartney's embassy, that no notice is taken of this island by the celebrated Venetian traveller, Marco Polo; although those of Chusan, which are bold and high, are distinctly marked down in the chart made by him, which is still preserved at Venice. Tsung-ming is interesting, as being the largest and most populated alluvial island in the world. Its population is said to amount to half a million.

We left our ship at 10, and steered about north-east, intending to pass between the two extensive sand-banks, lying in mid-channel, and which are just visible from the poop; but after crossing the fair channel, which varies from four to seven fathoms, we shoaled rapidly to three, two, one, and then to three feet first quarter flood, when we plainly perceived that the two banks are joined together by a long flat, which was principally dry, but which is probably passable by small boats at high water; we therefore bore up and ran north-west, along the side of the northern bank, which is overgrown with rushes, and had two huts on it. In another century all these banks will probably form a fertile and inhabited island. About a mile to the north-west of this is a small low islet, with bluff-mud banks, bearing from Woo-sung north about 10 miles; and following the track of a boat, we passed between this and the bank, the depth varying very irregularly from one and a half fathoms to four feet. After crossing this

flat, which is about half way across, the water deepened to five fathoms; several large junks were laying here; it then decreased to two, deepened again to four; then we crossed another sand, with one and a half fathoms, and again deepened to four fathoms, from which it gradually shoaled to three and two as we approached the shore, which in appearance exactly resembles the opposite side. We landed up a small creek, where a junk was lying, and walked straight in-shore. The natives at first were shy and timid of us, but were very soon reassured; and a fine intelligent little boy gladly undertook to show us the way to a town called Sin-kae, or Sin-kaou in the dialect of the place, distant about three miles. The ground appeared rich, and cultivated with rice, cotton, millet, and vegetables. It was intersected in every direction with dykes, which serve the double purpose of draining the land, and irrigating it when requisite. The people do not live in villages, as is usual in most provinces of China, but hamlets; and single houses are scattered about in every direction. The population appears immense; but the natives are healthy and vigorous, most having a fine ruddy complexion. Wheelbarrows of a peculiar structure are in common use both for conveying the produce of the soil, and also for the accommodation of travellers: they have a large wheel in the centre, which is covered, and the goods are stowed on each side of it. We met a respectable man travelling, on one side his portmanteau was stowed, and on the other he was comfortably seated on a felt mattress. We also met several loaded with a salt of peculiar whiteness, the mode of preparing which is



mentioned in Pen Jacquemen's description, in the "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses." Certain parts of the island on the northern coast, though barren of every herb, yet have the peculiar quality of producing large quantities of this salt, which is at stated times carefully scraped from the surface. What makes this more singular is, that the ground which possesses this peculiar property, is often surrounded on all sides with fertile soil, but devoid of all saline particles.

After walking about three miles, gathering companions like a snow-ball, we arrived at the town, which is long and narrow: it has some very respectable houses and shops, among others one attracted my notice, which announced in large characters that it sold Company's camlets and broad cloth; but on inquiry, I was told that they had none of these precious commodities at present, but merely kept the characters on their sign to look respectable. We saw apricots in abundance in the fruit stalls, and purchased some, being the first I have seen since leaving Europe; they were small, and without much flavour, but resembling those of England. Having walked through the town, about half a mile long, attended by a great concourse of people, and looked into various shops and houses, we returned as we came. The friendly demeanour of these simple people, who now for the first time in their lives beheld a European, surpassed anything we had hitherto witnessed; and there being no mandarin in the place, no artificial check was placed to the natural friendly impulse of their hearts. Having observed that the apricot pleased us, numbers came to us,

offering the finest they could select. On all sides we were requested to bestow a copy of the pamphlet, of which we distributed about 20, and a crowd was immediately formed round the possessor to read it. On our return, we were escorted by at least 300 people of all ages, many of whom offered and begged us to accept presents of fish and vegetables, and anxiously expressed a hope that we would return another day. One fine boy, of about 12 years, was so anxious to make Mr. Gutzlaff some present, that having nothing else, he took a neat bamboo carved-comb, with which his hair was fastened, and gave it to him. On meeting a wheel-barrow, it was proposed to me to take possession of it, as a conveyance back to my boat, but I preferred my legs. On returning, the country people from all quarters had gathered to see us pass, and by the time we reached our boat, at least 600 people were assembled, and all seemed to vie which should be the most kind and friendly. Such is in general the true Chinese character when removed from the influence and example of their mandarins, and such are the people from whose violence they pretend such anxiety to protect us.

On returning we stood to the north of the small single island, crossed several banks with one fathom. About half way across we met a mandarin boat in search of us, and after a two hours' sail we reached our ship at 7½, much delighted with our journey.

In the course we had witnessed a curious instance of the severity of military discipline in China. A mandarin, whose cap with a gold button was borne before him, was marched about in procession between two executioners, blindfolded, with a small flag

on a short bamboo, pierced through each of his ears; before him was a man bearing a placard with this inscription :

“ By orders of the general of Soo and Sung ; for a breach of military discipline his ears are pierced as a warning to the multitude.”

After being paraded along the bank he was taken round the different war-junks, and then on board the admiral's vessel. We subsequently heard that his offence was having allowed our boat to pass the fort without reporting it.

During the 12 days we had now been here I could not help feeling that little or no progress had been made towards bringing our affairs to any conclusion. There were at this time no fewer than five mandarins of rank assembled at Woosung ; namely, the taoutae, the tetuh, the chefoo of Sung-keang-Foo, the chechow of Ta-tsang-Chow, and the tsung-ping of Soo and Sung. It was evident that this was on our account ; yet we felt surprised that they never sought to come to any understanding with us ; nor had any document been given since that short and offensive one recorded on the 22d, although on the 23d the taoutae had positively promised that a more satisfactory edict should be sent. We daily received visits from two naval mandarins with white buttons, and that clerk of the taoutae who was called the interpreter. The two mandarins were both illiterate, stupid men, who used daily to repeat exactly the same story ; earnestly, and in the most servile terms, entreating us to go out of the river, and declaring

that when outside we should be enabled to trade, and appealing to our feelings of compassion towards themselves, as they assured us they would be degraded. On one occasion they degraded themselves so far as to kneel before me, and offer to perform the kotow. The conduct of the interpreter was still more inexplicable, for his object appeared to be to mislead us by false expectations, that by perseverance we should be able to carry our point. On several occasions he brought off mercantile people to the ship, who examined our cargo, inquired for opium, and left us, professing that they would see if it was possible to arrange matters so as to make purchases. The answers I gave on all occasions were the same to the public questions of the mandarins. My reply was, that I had sent a petition for the decision of the tsung-tuh, and when it came I would immediately yield obedience to it ; but on the other hand I privately stated, that if an arrangement could be made to enable me to dispose of my cargo, I would immediately sail without delay.

I now began to suppose that a communication had been sent to the tsung-tuh, although this was always strongly denied, and it was asserted that he was in Keangoze, at the distance of three weeks' journey, and no answer could be got from him in less than two months ; and moreover, that the taoutae dared not report the case. At any rate it was evident, that even if it were referred to his decision, it would certainly forbid our trade. I on several occasions requested that some mandarin of respectability might be deputed to hold a conference with us, either on shore or in the ship, but in vain. On this day (July 2)

the interpreter came on board with what he called a message from the taoutae, containing some such ridiculous falsehoods, that I declared I would hold no more communication, excepting through the medium of some authorized mandarin, or by correspondence on paper. The message was, "that he had heard our ship had been excluded from Whampoa for having brought women there; that we had thence sailed for Fuh Chow-foo, where we had fought with the admiral's ship, and that an English admiral was now at Whampoa." This was coupled with several absurd and contradictory reports, of which it was impossible to understand anything. Feeling the utter loss of valuable time which was incurred by this trifling, I endeavoured to open some communication by sending the following note to the taoutae.

"It is respectfully requested, that if the great officers wish either to communicate or to receive any information, that they will either depute a proper officer, or express their wishes in writing, and we will then give a clear explanation."

The interpreter now, as on several previous occasions, assailed me with the most abject entreaties to receive presents of provisions from the taoutae, assuring us that he would be severely punished if we refused, and endeavouring to induce our compliance, by prostrating himself, and performing the kotow. I positively declared that I would receive no present from any mandarin, much less the taoutae, who had hitherto shown us nothing but incivility,

until the people were fully allowed to come on board and supply us with all we wanted.

Two days more having elapsed without any communication, I determined to revisit Shanghae with the double object of making a few purchases, and seeing whether it would in any way expedite our affairs. We left the ship before day-light and proceeded to our old quarters at the temple. The cheheen very soon arrived there, with whom I held rather a long private conversation. His manners were polite in the extreme, and he commenced the conversation with a profusion of compliments. "You are an intelligent person," said he, "and must be aware that it is the wish both of us mandarins and of the people, that you should be allowed to trade here, because we should both profit by it; but so long as the imperial laws prohibit it, the thing is impossible." I replied, that I much wished the great mandarins assembled at Woosung, would express these sentiments to us in writing, but that we had now been there 15 days and had received no communication, except some uncivil messages and a most offensive unofficial edict from the taoutae; and notwithstanding my repeated request, no one came near us except two military mandarins, who talked on no subject but losing their buttons; and a worthless lying fellow they called an interpreter, who asked us ridiculous questions, and told us nothing but falsehoods. The cheheen laughed at my description of our negotiators and promised to send a civil mandarin that very evening to Woosung, to explain my wishes to the great mandarins. He now conversed with me on various subjects, while several

other mandarins, most of whom we had become acquainted with on our former visit, came dropping in. Mr. Gutzlaff, in the meanwhile, had made copies of the two following edicts, which were placarded outside the temple :

“ Wan, cheheen of Shanghae, &c. &c. hereby issues a prohibition which he has officially received in a document from Leang, the fooyuen. In this it is stated, that Wang, the tetuh of Keangnam, had received a letter from the taoutae of Soo Sung. From this it appeared, that he had received accounts from Chekeang, that there was a ship rambling about the inner seas. It was truly to be feared that the said barbarian ship, profiting by the wind, might sail up to the Keangnam province. It was therefore proper to be beforehand with her, and unitedly to drive her away from the frontiers, not allowing her to enter and have commercial intercourse with the people along the coast. If the soldiers and police are in any way backward and negligent, they are to be treated with great severity.

“ When I, the cheheen, received this report, I immediately sent an express to the military stations, that they might jointly patrol and repel her outside. For it is really to be feared that the said barbarian ship, profiting by the tide, might sail up towards these shores.

“ Additional orders and prohibitions have been speedily issued to all the inhabitants, shopkeepers, and seafaring people of the neighbourhood, whereby they are clearly informed, that on meeting those barbarians on shore they are not allowed to have

intercourse with them ; but if they dare to disobey, they will be seized and severely punished : no forbearance will be shown. If the heads of villages dare to protect them and connive, they themselves will be examined and punished. Do not oppose. A special order.

“ Taoukwang, 12th year, 5th moon, 20 day.”

“ The cheheen of Shanghae, by directions of the chefoo of Sung-keang, severely prohibits all the merchants from holding any intercourse or communication with the men of the barbarian ship, either in going or coming.

“ It is well known that heretofore the laws do not permit the English nation to trade in Keangnam province ; but now a barbarian ship has come to the frontiers of Keangnam, in open defiance of the established laws ; the native merchants are on no account allowed clandestinely to smuggle or associate with them in illegal transactions.

“ The most explicit orders accompany this, whereby the shopkeepers and inhabitants are clearly informed, that if they dare to engage in clandestine intercourse with the barbarians, they will be punished with the utmost severity of the law. No forbearance will be shown. All the merchants and people have their families and lives to take charge of ; they should not, by hankering after small gains, incur heavy guilt.

“ Respect this ; respect this ; do not oppose. A special Proclamation.

“ Taoukwang, 12th year, 6th moon, 3d day.”

After breakfast we walked for some time about the city and suburbs, always attended by a dense crowd, and escorted by several mandarins and attendants. The cheheen at first told me that the prohibitions of the taoutae were positive against our making any purchases whatever; but after a good deal of argument, and on my explaining that the purchases we wished to make were not for sale, he agreed to shut his eyes, as he expressed it. We accordingly bought sundry trifles and various specimens of the beautiful silks and crapes of Soochon, to the value of several hundred dollars, which may be considered the first European traffic ever carried on in Shanghae. We quitted the town in the afternoon, after having had another long conversation with the mandarins. The cheheen, whose manners had been so offensive on our first visit, now showed more tact and obliging politeness than any of his colleagues. Before parting, he presented us with several baskets of fine fruit, and a large hamper of wheat from Manchou Tartary, and received a case of sweet wine as a return of courtesy. Before we departed, he again told me that a proper communication should be made to us the following day.

The promise which was made by the cheheen was faithfully kept: early this morning (July 6) an invitation was sent to us to come on shore at noon, to meet a deputed officer sent by the fooyuen. His name is Paou-tajin, foot-seang, or lieutenant general, on the fooyuen's staff. The following are the notes I took at the time of this interview.

Early this morning Lo and Luh Laowyays came on board to invite us to meet a mandarin of rank,

deputed by the fooyuen, at the temple. According to their account he arrived yesterday from Soochon. He is a foot-seang, or lieutenant-general: his name is Paou-tajin.

About noon we went on shore, and were received by several mandarins, who ushered us into the principal hall of the temple, where Paou-tajin and Le-laowyay, chefoo of Taetsanchow, were seated. They rose on our entering, and solicited us with much cordiality of manner, Paou-tajin requesting me to be seated next to him. Tea was handed round; and after a little conversation on indifferent topics, Paou commenced business by stating that he had been expressly commissioned by the foo-yuen to say that the tsung-tuh was absent in Keany-sye, and that a long time must elapse ere a reply could be obtained from him. Paou-tajin now proceeded with much urbanity to expatiate on the great desire which all the mandarins felt to carry on amicable and commercial intercourse with the English nation; but that it was utterly impossible, unless the sanction of their great Emperor was previously obtained. "Let the Sovereign of your nation send a wanshoo (document) to the great Emperor; then, if he consents to commercial intercourse, we shall all be delighted to see you; but the laws of the Celestial Empire are inviolable; they now prohibit your trading here; they cannot be infringed; you had better, therefore, return to Canton, and there sell your cargo."

I replied at some length, recapitulating the old arguments, that the oppressive and fraudulent conduct of the Canton Local Government had rendered it impossible for small ships to trade there legally

with advantage. Paou-tajin appeared to take a good deal of interest in my details, and asked many questions. "Why do you not petition?" said he. I replied, that petition on petition had been sent, and all treated with equal contempt: that the governor of the empire of Hindostan had himself written a letter on the subject, which had shared the same fate. "As to the inviolability of the laws of the Celestial Empire," continued I, addressing both the mandarins, "you, gentlemen, must well know that on points relating to foreign intercourse, there is not one day in the year in which they are not broken; and the reason is self-evident; their severity is such that it is impracticable to enforce their observance: for instance, your own laws forbid emigration under the severest penalties; yet millions of your countrymen live in foreign lands, and many tens of thousands reside in peace and happiness under our Government. Again: the taoutae told me himself, if ships from Shanghae frequented our ports, they were guilty of an illegal act in so doing; yet the fact is notorious to all, and is connived at, in consideration of the advantages derived. I need not allude to the mode in which the laws are obeyed in regard to opium." Paou-tajin here interrupted me with a good-natured smile, and said, "Hush! do not say any more on that point; we all know it." "To conclude, then," said I, "my arguments tend to this; that so long as your laws for the regulation of foreign intercourse are of such a nature that you yourselves are compelled to disregard them, how can we be expected scrupulously to comply? Let just and reasonable laws, such as circumstances require,

be made, and a ready obedience will be paid to them." In reply to various questions and interruptions, I explained some points relative to the nature of the grievances complained of at Canton.

Paou-tajin replied, "These points can only be settled by a correspondence between our respective Sovereigns;" and he tried to persuade us that we had misunderstood the taoutae as to the junks sailing illegally from Shanghae, such a thing never having occurred. He was very polite throughout the whole conversation, but maintained that it was quite impossible for us to trade under present circumstances. "Would it not then have been preferable," said I, "to have informed us politely of the fact, to issuing such edicts as these (showing him a copy of those we had seen at Shanghae yesterday.) The che-chow and Paou-tajin, having looked over them, both joined in a sort of apology, saying that these edicts were not meant for us, but for the people: and Paou now told me that a proper official paper should be sent to us, couched in polite language, and that presents expressive of their friendship, should accompany it. I expressly requested that it should be duly sealed, to render it authentic, which was positively promised; and with regard to the presents, I assured the two mandarins that I would feel honoured by receiving any mark of their esteem, but that I must previously insist on being permitted freely to purchase what supplies we required; and I explained the inhospitable treatment we had hitherto met with in regard to that prohibition. An equally ready promise was given on that point, and the interview terminated with many mutual professions of regard.

During the middle of it, the che-chow called over the interpreter, and sent him with a message to Mr. Gutzlaff, that if our ship returned to the islands off Ning-po, she might doubtless trade there without molestation; a singular speech, in a public audience, from a man who had just been maintaining the inviolability of their laws.

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In the afternoon the following edict from the taoutae was sent on board, which, however, contrary to the promise made to us, bore no seal. This point was in itself perhaps of no great importance; but having urged it, and obtained a pledge to that effect, I determined to insist on its fulfilment; and accordingly sent the document on shore, saying that I could not receive it in that state. Much stress appears to have been laid by the taoou on this point; for the following morning he sent on board the seun-keen of Woosung, to say that he could not venture to affix his seal to the edict without having a precedent: but that if I would show him the seal of the taoutae of Ning-po, which I asserted to have in my possession, he would affix his. I accordingly produced that document, and showed him the seal affixed thereto. He was very urgent to be permitted to read the edict; but I declined showing it. He, however, declared himself fully satisfied, and in half an hour returned, bearing the taoutae's edict, sealed in due form. This document is in its sentiments anything but friendly; but it abstains from the use of all offensive terms, particularly that of barbarian:—

“Woo, by imperial authority, superintendent of customs, and taoutae of the districts Soo, Sung, and Tae, issues his orders to the English merchant Hoo-hea-me, and the others, that they may clearly inform themselves thereof.

“The said merchants have come hither in a solitary ship several myriads of le, and have been several years on their voyage, their only desire being to carry on commercial intercourse. Hitherto the English merchants have not been allowed to trade at Shanghae; this is according to the regulations of the Celestial Empire; and the native merchants and people dare by no means disobey the prohibitions, and engage in trade with you. You, therefore, by anchoring in these seas, involve yourselves in fruitless expenses, which lead to loss and not to profit.

“I, the taoutae, imitate the great Emperor, who harbours a compassionate mind towards foreigners. I therefore clearly inform and command you immediately to get under weigh. If you make pretext, and delay longer and longer, you will only involve yourselves deeper.

“You merchants have capital to conduct your commercial affairs, you should therefore return to Canton, where you are legally allowed to trade. Take care not to bring sorrow on yourselves, and involve yourselves in unavailing repentance. Hasten! hasten! These are the orders.

“Taoukwang, 12th year, 6th moon, 9th day.”

It being now evident that no advantage was derivable from any further stay at this place, I intimated our intention of sailing, as soon as we had

obtained supplies of a few articles requisite, and of which I had given a list to a shopkeeper on shore. Even in this comparatively trifling point, the same total disregard of truth and consistency was shown, which had characterised the conduct of the mandarins of this place throughout all our intercourse with them. On the afternoon of the 7th, the two naval mandarins came, bringing with them all the articles I had ordered, with a civil card from Paou-tajin, and Le Ta Laou-yay, the che-chow.

Luh Laou-yay now endeavoured to persuade me that all I wanted being thus sent, it was quite needless to take any more trouble about purchasing; and that if anything else was wanting, we had only to say it, and it would be given to us. In the present instance I assured the mandarins that they had quite mistaken our character in thus trifling with us even on this small point, and that my word having been pledged, that we would receive no presents until we had been supplied freely by the people with all that we wanted, I could add no more than that I would on no account swerve from it. Seeing that I resolutely refused to allow any thing to come into the ship, they went away, and in the course of half an hour the restriction prohibiting the natives from visiting the ship was taken off, and our decks were crowded with visitors of all descriptions; among others, the man from whom we had ordered our stores came on board, bringing with him everything we had commissioned him to purchase, which he said he had hitherto been prevented by the mandarins from sending. Late in the evening, Luh Laou-yay again returned with the presents, which we had

now no excuse for refusing, though, I confess, it was not without some reluctance I submitted even to this trifling obligation, to persons who had throughout behaved with such petty and degrading duplicity. Early the following morning I sent a note of thanks, with presents, to Paou-tajin and Le Ta Laou-yay, which, after a little demur, were accepted, and a message with thanks and good wishes was returned.

As this is the first time the emporium of Shanghai has been brought under the immediate notice of Europeans, some few remarks on it may not be inappropriate. Considering the extraordinary advantages which this place possesses for foreign trade, it is wonderful that it has not attracted more observation. One of the main causes of its importance is found in its fine harbour and navigable river, by which, in point of fact, Shanghai is the seaport of the Yang-tse-keang, and the principal emporium of eastern Asia, the native trade of it greatly exceeding even that of Canton. On our first arrival I was so much struck with the vast quantity of junks entering the river, that I caused them to be counted for several successive days. The result was that in seven days upwards of 400 junks, varying in size from 100 to 400 tons, passed Woo Sung, and proceeded to Shanghai. During the first part of our stay most of these vessels were the north country junks with four masts, from Teen-tsin, and various parts of Manchow Tartary, flour and peas from which place formed a great part of their cargo. But during the latter part of our stay the Fokien junks began to pour in, to the number of 30 and 40 per day. Many of these were from Formosa,



Canton, the Eastern Archipelago, Cochin China, and Siam.

The river \*Woo-sing comes out of the Tahoo (the great lake), at Chang-keon-kow, it then traverses the Yun-ho, or great canal, and thus communicates with the Yangtse-keang, the Yellow River, and Peking; thence it enters the Pangshan Lake, and flows by Soo-chow-foo, the capital of the southern part of Keangsoo, one of the most commercial, wealthy, and luxurious cities of the empire. From this place numerous navigable rivers communicate and traverse each other in every direction. Thus it appears that this river affords a commodious water communication with the remotest parts of the empire, from Peking to Yunan, from the eastern coast to the centre of the deserts in Tartary. The advantages which foreigners, especially the English, would derive from the liberty of trade with this place, are incalculable. Woollen manufactures are now only admitted by inland transport from Canton; and the various exactions and necessary expenses attendant on its conveyance, render them unattainable by the mass of the population in the interior; and from the coldness of the climate in the northern provinces, woollens would naturally be in much higher estimation in them than in the comparatively warm climate of Canton, did equal facilities exist for their introduction.

\* All the geographical information relative to the courses of rivers, &c. has been extracted from the Ta-tsung-kwang-teen, which contains a general statistical and political account of the empire; these I have compared with the manuscript Atlas Sinensis, in the Company's Chinese Library, and have, in most instances, found them to agree.

When it is considered how trifling the present consumption of woollens is, when compared with the population of China, for instance, in the staple commodity of broad cloth, under 800,000 yards, among 360,000,000, not giving an average of one yard among 450 persons, is it wild or theoretic to imagine, that with a more free and extended intercourse the consumption might be quadrupled, or in time even increased ten-fold? Or is it unreasonable to turn an anxious eye to these hitherto almost unknown parts of the globe, to find new outlets for our English manufactures now, when all the nations of Europe are straining every nerve, by the encouragement of their own manufactures, and the imposition of protecting duties, to exclude the produce of English industry from their markets? Here is a nation in population nearly doubling that of all Europe, combined with a seacoast of fully 3,000 miles, abounding with the finest rivers and harbours in the world. Its ports and cities are filled with an industrious, enterprising, wealthy and commercial population, who would all hail the establishment of foreign trade with joy. Even the mandarins in enforcing their inhospitable and misanthropic laws, are ready to acknowledge the vast advantage which would be derivable from foreign intercourse; yet the mere will of a solitary despot has,\* for the last century, been sufficient to separate near 400,000,000 of human beings from all communication with their species. I do not pretend to be sufficiently versed

\* That enlightened monarch, Kanghe, threw open all the ports of his empire to foreigners; nor did the present rigid system of exclusion prevail during former dynasties.

in the laws of nations (none of which are recognized by the ruler of China) to presume to say how far other countries are bound to yield implicit submission to these laws. But I may be allowed to express a hope, that as we attain more mutual knowledge of each other, and become better acquainted with the friendly sentiments entertained by the mass of the people towards foreigners, these selfish and injurious principles may gradually wear away; and that the time will soon come when the people of China, under a more liberal and enlightened system of government, may assume the place they are entitled to among the civilized nations of the world.

Having now concluded our transactions at Shanghai, we left the river on the morning of the 8th; the period prescribed for our return to Macao having already elapsed, I did not feel authorized in going to visit some of the ports in Manchow Tartary, as I had intended if time had permitted, nor indeed was any great point to be gained by so doing. The main object of the voyage was the acquirement of general information, and I hope it will be considered that the result has satisfactorily established two points, both of some importance, one, "that the natives of China in general wish for a more extended intercourse with foreigners; and, secondly, that the local governments, though opposed to such a wish, yet are powerless to enforce their prohibitory edicts."

The uncertainty in which we were as to the result of the negotiations in Canton also strongly urged our immediate return, but the numerous reports of ships having gone to the north which had reached

us from various quarters, induced us to believe that they had some foundation in fact; and I could not help feeling that should such have been the case, our presence might have proved of utility to the public service, both from the local information we had acquired, and from our acquaintance with the Chinese language. By going to the Shantung Promontory we might readily ascertain whether any ships had passed, and this I consequently resolved to do.

We were followed out of the river by the junks of war, who performed the usual ceremony of "expelling the barbarians," by firing several rounds of guns when we were about six miles distant, and then returning. On the 9th we stood out to sea, but did not see the promontory till the 14th, and on the following day anchored in the harbour of Wei-hae-wei, which was visited in 1816 by the ships of the embassy. The chart of this place by Lieutenant now Captain Crawford, is highly accurate. Mr. Gutzlaff and myself went on shore, and on inquiring from the people we soon ascertained that all our anticipations were wrong, and that no European vessels had been seen or heard of in this part of the world since those of the embassy anchored here, which event was quite fresh in the memory of many people. We only staid here one day, during which we were visited by the mandarins of the place, both civil and military, and the greatest anxiety was shown to induce our departure, and prevent any communication with the people.

We, however, landed and visited the town, which is now merely a small village in the centre of an