







TRAVELS

IN

SOUTH-EASTERN ASIA:

EMBRACING

HINDUSTAN, MALAYA, SIAM AND CHINA;

WITH NOTICES OF

NUMEROUS MISSIONARY STATIONS,

AND A FULL ACCOUNT OF

THE BURMAN EMPIRE.

BY HOWARD MALCOM,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY AT LEWISBURG, PA.

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P R E F A C E .

THE only aim of the following pages is utility. Had a place been sought among admired travellers, I should have given more descriptions, incidents, and delineations of private character; and fewer facts, opinions, and reflections; which would at once have saved labor, and rendered me less vulnerable.

Honest intentions, diligent inquiries, and fortunate opportunities, will not secure a traveller from errors, even in Europe or America, where, in every place, we meet persons of veracity, and free to impart information. In the East, the case is much worse. The foreigner, dreaded for his power, and abhorred for his religion, excites both civil and religious jealousy. His manners often displease, by the omission of forms of which he may be ignorant, or to which he cannot succumb. He is met with taciturnity, or wilful misrepresentation; and if he escape these, he will generally encounter ignorance. If he be so happy as to find both intelligence and communicativeness, the want of books, maps, charts, and statistics, renders the information of natives merely local, and often conflicting. Added to all, his interpreter may be unskilful. If he depends upon resident foreigners, their arrival may have been recent, or their opportunities small, or their inquiries negligent, or the statements of one may be flatly contradicted by those of another. All these embarrassments have met me by turns, so that frequently, after laborious and continued inquiries, I have been compelled to lay aside the whole mass of notes, in the utter inability to decide whom to believe. I preferred silence, and apparent deficiency, to questionable statements.

My advantages have, nevertheless, been great. I was sent out,

as the deputy and representative of one of the great American Missionary Societies, to examine into, and with the missionaries adjust, many points not easily settled by correspondence; to compare the various modes of operation in different missions; to survey the field; to compare the claims of proposed new stations; to comfort, encourage, and strengthen the missionaries in their arduous work; and to gather details on every point where the Board lacked information. Such a mission gave me confidence, in the eyes of all classes, wherever I went; and toleration in making investigations, which might otherwise have been deemed impertinent. The time spent at each place, was sufficient for deliberate inquiries, from various sources. In most places, I found missionaries and civilians, who had lived long on the spot, and who gave me the fruits of mature and extended observations. My interpreters were in general not only thoroughly conversant with the language, but in the habit of familiar intercourse with the people, and possessing their confidence. Before leaving a place, I generally submitted my notes to several persons for a careful revision. If, therefore, I should be convicted of errors, they are such as the best informed persons on the spot have fallen into, and as my reader would have imbibed, had he been in my place. Some errors may be charged to me, through mistake of the objector; for often, when I read my notes in various places, gentlemen dissented from some statements with great confidence, the correctness of which they admitted on further examination; which examination they would not have made, had I not quoted some influential name as my informer.

It is, of course, out of the question to quote authorities in a work not drawn from books. To have filled the margin with names would have been to violate propriety, while it could not add to the reader's confidence to quote persons wholly unknown to him. In every part of the work I have studiously sought brevity, lest, by diminishing its circulation, my great object should be defeated.

The map is wholly original; drawn from the topographical reports of British officers, nautical charts, surveys, and narratives of recent

travellers. A very great amount of labor has been bestowed upon it, and innumerable differences will be found between it and those which preceded it. At the office of the surveyor-general in Calcutta, I was furnished with great facilities as to the parts under British government, through the personal kindness of Hon. T. B. Macaulay.

The engravings are, in no instance, copied from other books. With three exceptions, (the views of Maulmain, Tavoy and Mergui,) they are from my own sketch-book. They constitute an entirely new contribution to our stock of oriental illustrations. The view of Sagaing was taken from the door of Mr. Kincaid's house, and shows a section of his family boat, partly hid under the bank. The small size of Burman houses, and the fashion of filling their cities with stately fruit-trees, make them all appear to be far less populous than they really are.

It would be a grateful task to acknowledge the kindnesses which were multiplied upon me in every place. But such matters belong to the sacred recollections of private history. To publish them all, would require constant repetitions, in which the reader could take no interest; and to name a part, would be doing injustice to the rest. Suffice it to say, that I was every where most affectionately received, for my work's sake. Never had a man kinder homes when far from his own, not only among missionaries, but with private, civil, and military gentlemen.

May He who blessed the enterprise, and bore me safely through, bless the publication!

Boston, *February*, 1839.

P R E F A C E

TO THE NINTH AMERICAN EDITION.

THE rapid sale of eight editions of this work, and its republication, in separate editions, both in London and Edinburg, amounting in all to over 20,000 copies, is of course highly gratifying to the author, not only as a seal of approbation on his labor but as a proof of wide-spread interest in the Missionary cause.

The book has been reviewed favorably in the leading magazines of America, England, and the East Indies, as well as in hundreds of newspapers, and noticed in many letters from missionaries, but no statement in it has ever been contradicted or corrected. When it is considered that very little is said of the mere incidents of travel, the truth of which, of course, no one could dispute, but that the book is crowded with facts, dates, prices, scenes, descriptions, and statistics; commercial, political, scientific, and religious, this is certainly remarkable. I attribute it to my having written every thing on the spot, and always submitting the manuscript to competent critics in each place. As Oriental countries are very little subject to change, a book thus attested will remain for a century as valuable as at first.

In the present edition, whatever the lapse of fourteen years had rendered superfluous, has been omitted. The work is thus divested of what possessed only a transient interest, and placed among permanent histories.

H. M.

UNIVERSITY AT LEWISBURG, Pa.,
March, 1853.

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SOUTH EASTERN ASIA.

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PART I.

TRAVELS IN BURMAH, CHITTAGONG,
AND ARRACAN.

CHAPTER I.

Departure — Employments — Illness — Comet — Company — Preach on Deck — Squall — Magellan Clouds — Send Letters — Trade-Winds — Another Illness — Tristan d'Acunha — Portuguese Men-of-War — Ship Tigris for Ceylon — Encounter between a Whale and a Thrasher — “Doubling Cape of Good Hope” — Day of Fasting — Enormous Shark — Nicobar Islands — First Sight of Idolaters — Kedgeree — Heavy Dewes — Andaman Islands — Preparis and Narcondam.

How cordial and comprehensive are the sympathies of true religion! Who that saw the Louvre, with her eleven ordained ministers, about to spread her canvass, could fail to contrast the scene with ordinary shipping operations? Over all the wharf is one dense mass of grave and silent spectators, while the decks and rigging of the adjacent ships are filled with younger, but not less intent observers. No sound interrupts the ascending prayer. The full harmony of a thousand voices wafts to Heaven the touching hymn. Countless hands, thrust toward the narrow passway, seek the last token of recognition. Even the aged, unaccustomed to tears, weep, not from bitterness, but in exuberance of love.

But here are none of the customary inducements to convene a crowd. A ship sailing with passengers is no novelty. One of the number was, indeed, the pastor of a large and most affectionate congregation; but with the others, in general, the multitude had no acquaintance. Personal attachments, therefore, had not assembled the people. There was, in fact, nothing in the scene, which could call forth a general interest, but its religious character. The regular packet, crowded with passengers, leaves



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our shores, while only here and there a group of personal friends look on with interest. The merchantman unfurls his sails, but his destination and objects are not regarded. But the missionary! he awakens the sympathy of every believer. Stranger though he be, all press to grasp his hand, and, when gone, all intercede for him with God. Even denominational preferences are forgotten, and every sect mingles in the throng, exulting in a common joy.

But all this is a mere fraction of the fruits of Christian charity. The same expansive benevolence embraces the unseen, unknown heathen. Intense interest for those sends forth these self-denying ones, and draws from Christians at home the requisite funds. The *world* is the field over which the eye of the Christian wanders, and for all of which he will labor and pray, while he has being. O blessed gospel, which thus makes man the friend of man, and excites in the heart all that is pure, joyous, and benevolent!

Never did a ship leave Boston harbor more nobly. A fine wind, and favoring tide, bore us on so rapidly as scarcely to leave us time to gaze one lingering farewell to the faint outlines of the great and beautiful city. In two hours the pilot left us, bearing brief notes of affectionate remembrance to friends behind. Soon we found ourselves in the midst of scores of beautiful schooners, engaged in mackerel fishing. So thickly did they lie along the horizon, as to resemble streets of stately white houses. Even these, at length, sunk into the dim distance, and we dashed on till night closed in, and the breeze hushed itself to rest.

Wednesday, Sept. 23, 1835. Light winds and a smooth sea gave us a night of quiet repose; but as the sun rose cloudless out of the sea, the wind freshened on our quarter, and amid an array of studding-sails we made fine progress. Most of the passengers, alas! feel no relish for the noble sight of ocean, and the rapid plunging of our gallant ship. Sea-sickness, that most dispiriting of all maladies, oppresses them. Mr. Sutton and myself, however, being inured to the unnatural motion, are so far exempt as to be able to act the part of nurses. Between attending the sick, and making fast the baggage, I found ample employment for the day.

My heart fills with tender and grateful emotions, as I arrange the various gifts of friendship and regard which almost fill my state-room. Nothing that experience could dictate, or imagination suggest, as requisite for my comfort, seems wanting. My sweet but oppressive emotions find relief only in pouring out before

God fervent thanks, and imploring him to remember his promise, that a cup of cold water given to a disciple, because he is a disciple, shall not lose its reward.

24. The wind has continued favorable, and we are already advanced on our way nearly 500 miles. The skylight in my state-room proves sufficient. The round-house, (so called,) on deck, is an invaluable comfort, and will be especially so in rainy weather. In the evening, such as were well enough commenced family worship in the cabin.

Sunday, 27. Still fine and favoring breezes. The awning being extended, and seats arranged, br. Sutton preached this morning an appropriate and interesting discourse. Most of the passengers able to attend. As many were singers, I led the psalmody with my flute, and we raised hosannas, not unacceptable, we trust, even to the ear of God. Four of the crew attended. Our entire company then resolved themselves into a Bible-class, to meet every Lord's-day afternoon at half past three, and requested me to take charge of it. We selected the *Acts of the Apostles*, as most appropriate to missionary work. Till the arrival of the appointed hour, on every side were seen the brethren and sisters, busy with Doddridge, Henry, Scott, Barnes, Adam Clarke, &c. &c. Each recitation will embrace a chapter, and occupy from one to two hours.

Saturday, Oct. 10. Amid the numerous discomforts of a long sea voyage, one is thrown upon his own resources, both for improvement and pleasure. But the mind accustomed to view with intelligent and devout contemplation the works of God, can seldom be without materials for lofty and purifying thought. And surely the wide ocean and wider sky present a rich field for the expatiation of our noblest thoughts. Pacing the deck, or leaning against the bulwarks, toward setting sun, it would seem as though the most gross and thoughtless mind must rise, and expand, and feel delight. Far and near rolls "old Ocean." Before Jehovah spread out the fairer scenery of the dry land, these restless billows swelled and sparkled beneath the new-made firmament. Thousands of years their wide expanse remained a trackless waste,

"Unconquerable, unreposed, untired,
And rolled the wild, profound, eternal bass,
In nature's anthem."

The storm then found no daring mariner to brave its fury, and the gentle breeze no repose on the fair canvass of the lordly ship. Age after age, the fowls of heaven and the tenants of the deep

held undisputed empire. But now, every ocean is added to the dominion of man. He captures its rulers, he makes its surges his highway, and so dexterously adjusts his spreading canvass, as to proceed, in the very face of its winds, to his desired haven. But, O! how many have found in these same billows a grave! How many a gallant ship has "sunk like lead in the mighty waters," where beauty and vigor, wealth and venerableness, learning and piety, find undistinguished graves! To these lone deserts of pure waters man pursues his brother with murderous intent—the silence is broken by thundering cannon—the billows bear away the stain of gore, and all that storm ever swallowed up have been outnumbered by the victims of a battle. O war! when will thy horrid banner be forever furled!

Reflection, following the chasing waves, passes on to the shores they lave, and there looks over nations, and beholds men in their manners, customs, follies, and crimes, their loves and hates, their joys and sorrows, their enthusiastic pursuit of wealth, and amazing disregard of Heaven. How interminable and salutary are the thoughts thou inspirest, Ocean! whether we regard thy age, thy beauties, thy wrath, thy silence, thy treasures, thy services to man, thy praise to God, or the scenes which have been acted on thy surface!

But while we thus muse and speculate, the glories of sunset fade into sober gray, the billows take a deeper tinge, stars multiply, and soon we stand beneath a firmament glowing with ten thousand fires. Here are vaster, sublimer fields for thought.

"Hail, Source of Being! Universal Soul
Of heaven and earth! Essential Presence, hail!
To Thee I bend the knee; to Thee my thoughts
Continual climb; who, with a master hand,
Hast the great whole into perfection touched."

How ennobling and purifying is the study of astronomy! How delicious the Christian's hope of soon roaming among these works of infinite wisdom and power, ever learning, adoring, rejoicing, improving; ever becoming more full of God, and of glory, and of joy!

I ought to mention that on the 28th Sept. we had a meeting to agree upon some general measures for the profitable employment of our time. It was unanimously agreed that, in addition to our daily family worship, prayer-meetings should be held every Sunday and Wednesday evenings; that the brethren officiate alphabetically at public worship on deck, and in asking a blessing

during one day at table; that the monthly concert of prayer be held at the same hour as the other evening meetings; that I should deliver on Thursday evenings a course of lectures on missions, missionary measures, and missionary fields; and that br. Sutton should deliver occasional lectures on modern mythology and the state of the heathen.

12. Head winds, the past three or four days, have kept us pitching sharply, and put all our invalids again on the sick list. To-day, we have a fair wind, which has already smoothed the sea, and our friends are better. We are within twelve or thirteen degrees of the Cape Verds, but expect to go much nearer, though not probably in sight.

Sunday, Oct. 18. Crossed the tropic of Cancer. Not being able to command voice enough to preach on deck, I attempted it this evening, by general request, in the cabin. Other brethren performed all the devotional exercises, but my throat suffered considerably.—It is remarkable that we have not yet met the north-east trade-wind, which prevails generally as high as 25°. But He who sent us will give us such speed as pleases Him.

23. Have been confined to my bed with an attack on the bowels, which on Monday laid a severe hold upon me. Am now about, but able to eat nothing but a little oatmeal gruel. The tender care and sympathy of my brethren, and still more of the sisters, is very sweet. What a blessed home would this world be, if Christian love pervaded every bosom! It is exceedingly gratifying that harmony and kind feeling prevail among all our passengers, though so different in temper, age, and previous pursuits; and comprising, as we do, four distinct denominations.

Sailing, for the last two days, along the coast of Africa, it is impossible to avoid frequent thoughts of that devoted land. How deep the darkness which covers it! How few the points where Christianity kindles her fire! How wretched, even in temporal things, its thronging millions, and how utterly secluded from the improvements of the age! Yet the word of the Lord once resounded along these shores, and triumphed over the vast interior. African philosophers, ministers, and generals, came not behind the greatest of their time. Why, and how, the dreadful change? “Verily, there is a God, that ruleth in the earth!”

Yesterday we caught the first faint zephyrs of the north-east trade-wind, and to-day it has increased to its regular velocity; that is, we go at six or seven miles an hour. We are all glad, and I trust thankful.

Saturday, 24. Have been deeply interested to-night in observ-

ing the comet, which cloudy nights have hitherto kept invisible. Here we are, calmly gazing at the identical thing, which, by its amazing brilliance, spread such universal panic in 1456. All Europe seemed to believe that the day of judgment was at hand. The pope (Calixtus III.) partook of the alarm. Ordering all church bells to be rung every day at noon, (a practice which has since widely prevailed,) he required all good Christians to say the "Ave Maria" thrice a day, with this addition, "*Save us from the Turk, the Devil, and the Comet.*" He went further, and had the comet, in regular form, excommunicated every day! But the patient luminary filled the coffers of its ghostly anathematizers. Incalculable treasures were poured into the hands of priests, from the guilty and the affrighted; and the vilified comet "holding on the even tenor of his way," passed out of sight. It has appeared every seventy-five years since that time, (though with diminished brightness;) and Science, the handmaid of Religion, has now made it an object of calm calculation and ennobled piety.

We have for some days had a continual temperature of about 80°. With an awning over the deck, and our thinnest clothes, we keep comfortable on deck, though hardly so below.

27. Am nearly well, though not yet able to partake of common food. Thanks to my gracious Lord, past sufferings have not been so utterly unimproved, as to permit me now to be either terrified or querulous under the endurance of evil, so called. I feel that repeated afflictions come not as lightnings on the scathed tree, blasting it yet more, but as the strokes of the sculptor on the marble block, forming it to the image of life and loveliness. Let but the divine presence be felt, and no lot is hard. Let me but see His hand, and no event is unwelcome.

Friday, 30. The monotony of a calm (for the trade-wind has already failed us) has been agreeably relieved yesterday and to-day by the neighborhood of two ships, much larger than our own—one English, the other American. The English ship (the *John Barry*, of London) has 260 convicts for Sydney, in New South Wales. They swarmed on the whole deck, and in the rigging, while men under arms stood sentry over them. There were probably some troops also on board, as there were several officers on the quarter-deck, and a fine band of music. This was politely mustered yesterday, when we were as near as we could safely sail, and played for an hour or two very delightfully. As the music swelled and died away in heaving and exquisite cadences, now gay, now plaintive, and now rising into

martial pomp, — it not only refreshed, and soothed, and exhilarated, but awakened trains of not unprofitable thought. They belonged to our father-land; they came from the noblest nation earth ever saw; they were but lately arrayed against us in horrid war; they bore to a distant home a motley crew of refined and vulgar, educated and ignorant, now reduced by sin to common convicts and exiles. And was God acknowledged among them? Did any of them go to him in their distresses? Would they in exile finish an inglorious life, and meet the second death? Or, will some faithful preacher find them there, under whose admonitions they may recover earthly honor, and find eternal life? O that their native land may long remain the pillar of freedom, the source of noble missionary endeavor; that her stupendous navy may rot in peace; that this ship may have souls born to God among her crowd, and that the convict colony may soon be a part of Christ's precious church!

The American ship was the *Canada*, of New York, Capt. Hicks, a noble ship, whose sailing greatly surpasses ours. We went on board, and spent half an hour very pleasantly.

Monday, Nov. 2. A perfect calm yesterday enabled me to preach on deck. Every person on board was present, except the man at the wheel, and one sick in the fore-castle. Our national flag, wrapped round the capstan, made a romantic pulpit, while another, extended across the ship, just behind my back, from the awning to the deck, made us a beautiful tabernacle, and gave a charming aspect of compactness and sociability to our little convocation. O that God would bless the endeavor to the souls of our unconverted fellow-voyagers! We often converse with the men individually; but though they receive remarks with kindness, and seem to possess many good qualities, I perceive no particular anxiety on the subject of religion resting on the mind of any of them. The brethren and sisters seem truly prayerful for their conversion. This was peculiarly manifest this evening at our monthly concert of prayer, and is shown at all our social meetings. I visit the sick sailor frequently, and carry him little delicacies; but his extreme sufferings are as yet fruitless of spiritual good.

Thursday, 5. Reached the south-east trade-wind, and are going gayly, with a steady breeze, at the rate of seven miles an hour. Those who have not been to sea can scarcely realize the exhilaration of spirit produced by a strong favoring wind, after wearisome delays. We had scarcely made any advance for ten days, and were almost weary of delay. When we had wind, it

was in severe squalls, accompanied with heavy showers. The majesty of a *few* sharp squalls, however, repays one for the danger they may involve, and tempts the timid passenger to brave the wind and a wetting, for the pleasure of the sight. Every sluggish sailor is converted instantly into a hero. Every order is obeyed on the run. The lofty display of canvass, which had been flapping against the masts, is rapidly reduced, as the threatening cloud draws on. Regardless of the huge drops which now begin to descend, the captain stands at the weather bulwark, peering, through half-closed lids, into the gathering gloom. Fitful gusts herald the approaching gale. More canvass is taken in; the waves are lashed to foam; the wind howls through the rigging; the bulk-heads creak and strain; the ship careens to the water's edge; and the huge spray springs over the weather bow: then comes the rain in torrents; the mainsail is furled, the spanker brailed up, and the man at the wheel is charged to "mind his weather helm." Soon the whole force of the blast is upon us. "*Hard up!*" roars the captain. "*Hard up, sir!*" responds the watchful helmsman. The noble thing turns her back to the tremendous uproar, and away we scud, conscious of safety, and thrilling with emotions of sublimity.

The rush is over! The dripping seamen expand again the venturous canvass — the decks are swabbed — the tropical sun comes out gloriously — we pair ourselves to promenade — and evening smiles from golden clouds, that speak of day-gladdened realms beyond. And now the rolling billows, disrobed of their foaming glitter, quiet themselves for the repose of night, while the blessed moon beams mildly from mid-heaven.

"Thou art, O God! the life and light
Of all this wondrous world we see;
Its glow by day, its smile by night,
Are but reflections caught from thee!
Where'er we turn, thy glories shine,
And all things bright and fair are thine."

Friday, Nov. 6. Just before sunset, crossed the equator, in longitude 28° W.; 45 days from Boston; having sailed, by log, 4610 miles. Among the improvements of recent years is the abrogation, in most ships, of the absurd and inhuman practices which used to prevail at this point of a voyage, in regard to such as crossed the line for the first time. Strange that a custom so barbarous should ever have existed — more strange that it still is tolerated by some captains — and almost incredible that Christian

missionaries and venerable fathers in the church should not be exempt. But two or three years since, two young missionaries from England to India were subjected to its full rigors; and even Tyerman and Bennett did not wholly escape! Alas, how many proofs there are of our slowness to learn to love our neighbor as ourselves! Our captain permitted nothing of the sort, and remarked, that the sight of these inflictions early determined him, that, if ever he became master of a vessel, he would utterly forbid them.

Numerous birds, but of what species I cannot learn, have been around us for several days. Sometimes we are surrounded by them, in flocks of several kinds, generally very large. The fine, brisk trade-wind we now enjoy, imparts a delightful coolness to the air on deck, though it is difficult to be comfortable below. Thermometer 79° to 83° .

9. For some days, we have been indulged with aquatic novelties, which serve to vary our monotony, and create topics for our many journalizers. Blackfish, bonetas, flying-fish, dolphins, porpoises, gulls, &c., summon our new voyagers to the side, and excite no little interest. These are so abundantly described in elementary books, that no description of them need be given here. We found the dolphin very good eating, white, dry, and resembling the pike, or pickerel, in taste. The descriptions of the flying-fish which I have read are not correct in stating that they have no power really to fly, but only spring from the water, and, guiding themselves with their huge pectoral fins, keep up a little while, in the direction of the wind. We often see them actually flying, and skimming up and down, accommodating themselves to the waves, and going 60 or 70 yards at a time, but generally in a direction from the ship, which they seem to think is some enemy. Poor things! they lead a precarious life; for many, both of the watery and feathered tribes, make them a constant prey.

Last evening, caught a booby, (*pelicanus sula*,) and to-day I succeeded in getting a Mother Carey's chicken, or storm petrel, (*procellaria pelagica*,) by trailing a thread in which its wings became entangled. The booby sat doggedly on the mizzen royal yard, and, as the mate approached him, kept edging off, till he got to the very end of the spar, but would not fly, and suffered himself to be caught. As they will bite severely when attacked, he was suddenly seized by the neck, and brought below. He has remained on deck all day, without attempting to fly, and looking as stupid as possible. The storm petrel is about the size of a small robin; dark brown, with a broad circle of white at the root of

the tail; black, hooked bill; long, slender legs; and ample, webbed feet. Fond of the bits of grease, &c. thrown over in the slops, they follow us often whole days, and in large numbers. Notwithstanding the scorn with which the proposal was received, I had the petrel broiled, together with slices from the breast of the booby. They were both pronounced excellent, by all who could be prevailed upon to taste them. As the plumage of both birds was in fine order, I preserved and stuffed their skins.

Nov. 11. Saw, this evening, the Magellan clouds. Instead of being always at the water's edge, as Col. Symmes* affirmed, they stand high in the heavens,² and will be almost vertical as we pass round the Cape. We can perceive but two, both bright; but it is said there is a third one, dark. Those we see are oval, about the size of a cart-wheel to the eye, and exactly resembling the milky way. It is supposed by astronomers that they consist of just such a collection of stars as form that beautiful pathway across the heavens. The present residence of the younger Herschel, at the Cape of Good Hope, with his stupendous instruments, will doubtless furnish the learned world with some new and important facts in regard to these famous "clouds."

The clearness of the atmosphere in this region is very striking. So pure is the air, that the stars shine with a glory not inferior to that of our most resplendent northern nights. In one respect, they transcend even those, viz. the visibility of stars down almost to the very horizon. Shooting stars are numerous, and of great apparent size. Delicious weather, smooth water, and fine winds, make up the monotonous but attractive scenery of our evenings.

"— Such beauty, varying in the light
Of gorgeous nature, cannot be portrayed
By words, nor by the pencil's silent skill;
But is the property of those alone
Who have beheld it, noted it with care,
And in their minds recorded it with love."

The comet has become more glorious, and its train is visible to the naked eye, stretching upward, almost a fourth part to the zenith. Seen through the ship's glass, it is half the size of the moon, and of a dazzling brightness, resembling Jupiter. It appears low in the west, and sets about half past nine.

Thursday, 12. Had the great pleasure, to-day, of sending letters directly to Boston, by the ship Susan, Capt. Jennings, from Rio

* Author of the theory that the interior of the earth is hollow and inhabited

Janeiro. Judging by appearances that she was an American vessel, and bound for the United States, we checked our way to meet her, and, finding our hopes confirmed, asked the captain to heave to, and take letters, which he readily did. I had seven nearly finished, and, among us all, made up more than sixty, which will gladden our friends, by assuring them that we are, so far, all well. Such opportunities are very rare at sea, and we feel grateful that our friends will thus be able to hear from us seven or eight months before they could from Calcutta.

We are now in south latitude $15^{\circ} 34'$, and west longitude $32^{\circ} 20'$, going seven miles (or knots) an hour, day and night, fanned and forwarded by the invaluable trade-wind. There are, on the globe, two trade-winds; one north of the equator, forever blowing from the north-east, and the other south of the equator, and blowing always from the south-east. They extend about 28 degrees each side of the equator, but advance and recede several degrees, according as the sun is north or south of the line. They blow with sufficient force to propel a vessel generally about seven miles an hour, and with such uniformity that, for many days, a ship scarcely alters a rope; and are attended with delightful weather. They extend quite round the globe, except where the action of the sun on masses of land, or high islands, obstructs it for a limited space. They are generally attributed to the rarefaction of the air, under the path of the sun, causing an influx from toward the poles. The wind thus created is drawn westward by the combined action of the sun in its path, and the rapid rotatory motion of the earth. The north-east trade-wind stops short of reaching the equator, by several degrees, and is less regular and strong, which is attributed to the great contraction of the Atlantic between Africa and Brazil, and to the greater quantity of land in the northern hemisphere, producing an amount of rarefaction which allows less cold air for the supply of the tropics. At the West Indies, the large scope of ocean to the eastward gives uniformity to the trade-wind; and hence the term "Windward Islands." Whatever may be the *second* causes of these great and perpetual phenomena, we certainly owe the great *First Cause* unspeakable thanks; for they impart most important benefits.

November 19. Another severe shaking of my clay house has been reminding me again of the Master's warning, "*Behold, I come as a thief.*" An attack of eolic, on Monday, reduced me in a few hours to extremity. It was more violent than most previous attacks, but yielded sooner. Precious days, however, have these

been. What fresh and endearing benefits do sicknesses impart! No height of worldly honor, or richness of bodily enjoyment, would induce me to part with the salutary lessons derived from even one of these attacks.

We have now, probably, bid farewell, for the present, to warm weather, being in latitude 30° . Thick clothes are in requisition, and the thermometer ranges from 60° to 65° . It will probably remain cold with us for five or six weeks, perhaps more. We had the pleasure to-day, for the first time, of seeing Cape pigeons, and that king of aquatic birds, the albatross, (*diomedea exulans*.) These, with gannets, molly mawks, boobies, pintadoes, and other birds for which those on board have no name, are almost constantly round the ship.

Saturday, 21. Well enough to be on deck and enjoy the calm and delicious vernal sun. The present season in this latitude about corresponds with our May at home. At evening, after watching a gorgeous sunset, I was sitting in the round-house to avoid the dew, when cries of admiration called me out; and there was Venus, queen of all stars, gradually descending into ocean, unobscured by mist or cloud! Nothing could be more beautiful. It gave a strong proof of the exceeding purity of these skies.

Thursday, 26. Feasted our eyes with the sight of "land," which for sixty-five days we have not done. But imagination had to spread the banquet; for few of us would have suspected that we saw land, had we not been told so. The dim, cloud-looking crags of Tristan d'Acunha showed their questionable outline amid fogs and rolling mists, for about an hour, and then left us to spend another sixty-five days, or more, before we again see aught but sky and water. This lonely spot is occupied by but a single family, of 15 or 20 persons.

"Cape weather" is now upon us — foggy, damp, and cold, but with a noble westerly gale, driving us on magnificently. Our promenades on deck are suspended; but the cool weather enables us to sit in our state-rooms, and the privilege of unrestricted retirement makes amends for the absence of many others.

Saturday, 28. Succeeded, this morning, in harpooning a porpoise, (*delphinus phocæna*), and getting it on board. It measured seven feet in length, and more than three feet in girth; of a pure white under the belly, and rich lead color on the back; with large fins each side, near the head; and the nose long and pointed, not unlike that of a hog. This latter feature is no doubt the reason why, in French, Italian, and German, the creature is called

“hog-fish.” The spout-hole is not on the crown of the head, as is said in the *Encyc. Amer.*, but quite forward of the brain, on the snout, and divided, by a septum of solid bone, into two oval apertures, each capable of admitting a finger with ease. The harpoon entered its heart, so that it never moved after being brought on deck. Its blubber (that is, the coat of fat lying under the skin) was stripped off for lamp-oil, and the carcass hung up for food. The kidneys exactly resembled a pint of small grapes enclosed in a thin, transparent pellicle. The rapidity with which these creatures swim is astonishing. Instead of tumbling and rolling lazily, as in smooth weather, they seem to gather spirits with a breeze, playing back and forward, across the bows, though the ship is going eight or ten miles an hour. Their movements indicate perfect ease and gayety; and not unfrequently they leap wholly out of water.

We had scarcely done with the porpoise, when “a sail” was announced. We soon came near enough to perceive that she had a whale alongside, from which they were hoisting the last sheets of blubber, and soon after cut adrift the carcass. It floated by us, at a little distance, covered with huge and ravenous birds pulling it to pieces, while a multitude of smaller ones swam around, picking up the scattered fragments. We soon spoke the ship, and found her to be the *Samuel Robertson*, of New Bedford, out ninety days. The captain politely offered to send a boat, if any of us wished to gratify our curiosity; and several of the gentlemen gladly availed themselves of the opportunity. They found her a “temperance ship,” in fine order, and, after spending half an hour, and leaving some tracts, newspapers, &c., returned with a present of two fine albatrosses, measuring eleven feet across the wings. Unaccustomed to injury from man, they seemed no wise affrighted, and sat quietly on deck. Their long wings and short legs render it impossible for them to rise in flight from a flat, solid surface. When provoked, they snapped violently at the person, uttering a shrill, loud sound, not unlike the braying of a mule. They cannot stand up on their feet a minute, but continue squatting, as on the water. In walking, their awkwardness is really ludicrous, while their enormous palmated foot comes down each time with a heavy slap. Though the largest of all aquatic birds, they fly with great ease, seldom moving the wing; now skimming gracefully along the surface of the water, adroitly conforming to its undulations, and now soaring aloft like an eagle. They are continually seen in this region, hundreds of miles from land, and at night repose at pleasure on the surface of the deep. They

prey upon flying fish, spawn, molluscæ, dead carcasses, &c., and are generally in good condition.

Sunday, 29. For an entire week, we have gone six or seven miles an hour, day and night, on our exact course, enjoying mild weather, but with excessive dews. This morning, at sunrise, the wind lulled to a three-knot breeze, and has continued so all day, giving us a fine opportunity for worship. It is remarkable that, as yet, every Sabbath but one has been calm, and pleasant enough for service on deck.

An uncommon scene has been before us all day. From daylight to dark we have been sailing through vast multitudes of the "Portuguese man-of-war," (*holothuria physalis*,) though we have gone forty miles. They extended on every side as far as the eye could reach, varying in size from that of the palm of the hand to that of a finger nail, and close enough to average, probably, one to every two cubic feet. We readily caught some in a basket. They are elliptical in shape, about as thick as common pasteboard, with a sail, of the same thickness, extending diagonally from one end to the other. This position of their sail makes them always seem to be sailing "on a wind," and not directly before it. Beneath is a cavity, corresponding to the base of the sail. The interior of this is filled with small, short tubes, like mouths, and from the edge of it hang numerous long tentacles, like roots. The sail is white, and the body, or horizontal part, of a beautiful silvery lead color, inclining to a deep blue at the circumference, and taking on an edge tint of rose, after it has been kept some time in a glass. It has neither bones nor shell. The sailors consider it poisonous to the touch; but I handled them (cautiously at first, of course) without any ill effect.

Our Bible-class continues exceedingly interesting, and generally holds nearer two hours than one. It costs me, however, more effort than I anticipated. The questions asked by such a class are not of ready solution. All take a deep interest in it, and prepare themselves by study. We use no text-book.

Tuesday, Dec. 1. Last evening, a sail was descried directly astern, which, by three o'clock this morning, proved to be the *Tigris*, from London to Ceylon. They passed ahead; but, the wind dying away, they, after breakfast, put off a boat, and the captain, (Stephens,) Col. McPherson, of the Ceylon regiment, a surgeon, and several young officers, came on board. Learning from them that the Rev. Mr. Hardy and wife, Wesleyan missionaries to Ceylon, were on board, Mr. Sutton and myself, with two or three of the brethren, went to him, and had a pleasant interview. On

returning, we found our captain had rigged my arm-chair, with nice tackle, to the yard-arm, and was prepared to give the ladies an excursion. The two boats took them all, and they remained an hour with the ladies in the Tigris, during which a genteel repast was served to them. Our first visitors remained with us, and took lunch. From Col. McPherson, who had served in the Burman war, I learned a few particulars respecting that people, and also the Shyans, for whom I feel deeply interested.

During the absence of the ladies, we observed an encounter between a humpbacked whale and a thrasher. The whale seemed greatly provoked, floundering, and blowing with violence, while the thrasher adroitly evaded the stroke of his flukes, sometimes by leaping entirely out of the water. Presently after these combatants disappeared, four or five other whales were seen rolling and playing within one hundred yards of the ship, their backs rising five or six feet out of the water, while, ever and anon, as they descended, their broad tails rose high into view. Toward evening, a breeze sprung up, the Tigris passed on, and we parted company with the regret of severed neighbors.

25. In latitude $37^{\circ} 30'$, longitude 70° east. Never had ship a finer run than ours since we left the equator. We got up to latitude 35° on the 23d ult., being then in longitude 23° west. We have thus run ninety-three degrees of longitude in thirty-three days, and have passed the Cape without the semblance of a storm. It being nearly midsummer here, we have had mild, though damp weather, the thermometer never sinking below 50° .

I had no conception that "doubling the Cape of Good Hope" meant passing near the coast of S. America to a higher latitude than the Cape, and then proceeding as near as possible in a straight line six thousand miles eastward, before we turn northward again; in the mean time not coming within one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles of the Cape. But such is the course rendered necessary by the trade-winds. Persons embarking for India at any time except from about the first of October to the first of January, ought to be provided with flannels for five or six weeks' use.

Having found the flesh of our porpoise exceedingly delicate, we have sought every opportunity to harpoon another, but without success, till yesterday, when we welcomed one on deck. All agree that they never ate more delicious meat than this is, after it has been kept a day or two. It has no resemblance to fish, in appearance or taste; but, when cooked, is of a dark color, like

venison, and eats like the tenderest beef. The liver is very fine. This porpoise was instantly recognized as of a different species from the other, though of the kind usually caught in this region. It had a strong, thick, eolter-shaped fin on the back. The light color of the belly was diffused over the back towards the tail. The other, which the sailors called Cape Horn porpoise, had no fin on the back, and was of a uniform dark color the whole length of the back. The captain assures us that the porpoises which tumble about in our bays are quite equal to these for food. It is a pity, in this case, that they are not brought to market. Being easily taken, they would form at once a cheap and delicious food, beside the advantage of the oil. Perhaps they are not kept sufficiently long to become tender.

January 1, 1836. Our fine run continues. For fifty-four days past, our progress has averaged one hundred and seventy-two miles a day, which is seventy miles more than the average of the first forty-five days. We now see no albatrosses, and few birds of any kind — no whales — no ships. The reflection that, as we walk the deck, we can turn no where and look towards home, that friends and countrymen are beneath our feet, and that the thickness of the globe divides us, makes this new year's day memorable. Absence indeed it is, when one can get no further from his country!

Monday, 4. According to previous agreement, we observed this as a day of fasting and prayer, as is done by so many associations at home, having reference to our own spiritual improvement, and the advancement of true religion over all the earth. Had a prayer-meeting from ten to half past eleven, A. M. At one, P. M., I preached in the after-cabin from Habakkuk iii. 2 — "*O Lord, revive thy work*;" and in the evening we observed the usual concert of prayer. I trust the season was not wholly lost to us. But, alas! how strongly are we reminded, at the close of a day so designated, that "our righteousnesses are as filthy rags"! My throat suffered less than it has hitherto from similar exertions, for which I am truly thankful. We had a slight breakfast and supper, but dispensed with dinner.

Wednesday, 6. Were visited yesterday by an enormous shark. We were going but at the rate of two knots (miles) an hour, and some men were at work over the side, whose feet occasionally dipped in the water; and it is possible this may have drawn him. He was about thirty feet long, and four or five broad, the head flat, and nearly square across the snout. After he had accompanied us some time, within eight or ten feet of the ship, the

captain had the harpoon thrown into him. It entered near his head, and passed deeply. For some moments, he seemed unconscious of the wound, and then moved off abeam. In vain the sailors held on to the rope; it passed irresistibly through their hands, till it came to the end where it was made fast, and then, though an inch in diameter, broke like a thread. The sailors call this the *bone-shark*. It is, I am pretty confident, the basking shark (*sclache maxima*) of the books, not unfrequently seen on the American coast, and which greatly resembles a huge catfish. Its flesh is said to be good eating, and a valuable amount of oil may be got from it. Around him, as usual, were pilot-fish, (*scomber ductor*,) shaped like a perch or small fat herring, and girdled beautifully with alternate rings of blue and white.

Monday, 11. Preached in my turn last evening, in the small cabin, and suffered still less than before. For several Sabbaths, we have had a separate meeting for the seamen, at 4 o'clock, held in the fore-castle, or on the forward deck. They all attend, and give respectful attention. I sometimes converse with them individually at sunset. They admit the importance of personal piety, and one or two are serious; but their great objection to giving themselves up *immediately* to God is, that they cannot maintain a devotional life, situated as they are at sea. Alas! there are always some to scoff at a religious messmate; and a sailor can bear any thing better than scorn. Sad are the responsibility and danger of the "*one sinner [that] destroyeth much good.*"

Friday, 15. Are at length north of the line again, and have been for a day or two within 24 hours' sail of Sumatra. Sixteen thousand miles of our voyage are now accomplished, in safety. 't has been oppressively hot for a fortnight, with daily showers of rain. Some of the gentlemen have refreshed themselves by swimming at the side of the vessel, when it was calm; and the captain has "rigged up" a nice bath, on deck, for the ladies, of which they gladly avail themselves.

It is pleasing to have ocular evidence, in rock-weed, tropic birds, &c., of our approach to *Aurea Chersonensis* and *Argentea Regio*, as the ancients called Burmah and Siam. They knew little more of these regions, than that they existed; and few moderns know much more. But the eyes of Christians are now turned on these lands with strong benevolence, and the world will know, not only their riches in gold and silver, in ivory and spices, but the condition of their teeming population, and the character and tendencies of their religion. The missionary shall feel at home on lands which white men knew not, and the knowledge

of God supplant their gloomy superstitions. Soon we shall say, "Thy light is come!"

January 18, 1836. Sailing to-day only 80 miles from the Nicobar Islands, and embayed among pagan countries, makes one feel already amid the heathen. On these pleasant islands the gospel was long and faithfully dispensed, and deliberately and finally rejected. Mingled emotions of pity for the deluded people, and admiration of true missionary zeal, force themselves upon us, when we remember the struggles and martyrdom of the faithful Moravians on these coasts. Eighty years ago, they began by sending six men to convert and civilize the people. Others came, as disease made breaches in their number. Thirty years long did these holy men exert themselves amid both hardships and discouragement. Obligated, at night, in their preaching tours, to sleep in trees, or bury themselves in the sand of the shore, to avoid venomous insects; often escaping, as by miracle, from alligators, serpents, and wild beasts; feeding on wretched shell-fish; lodged in poor huts; and laboring with their own hands for a subsistence, — they fainted not, nor ceased their toil. But no ear gave heed to their heavenly message; no heathen began to adore the true God; no idol was cast to the moles and the bats. Thirteen of the brethren, with ruined health, returned to Tranquebar, and died, while eleven more found graves in their little cemetery. The society, at length, ordered the only surviving missionary to abandon the undertaking, and bear his rejected tidings to another people. The lonely laborer, therefore, after kneeling on the green sod, where lay his loved companions and predecessors, and offering one more fervent prayer for the pitied islanders, left the country, [in 1787;] and "the voice of free grace" has been heard among them no more. — O ye Nicobarians! how have ye put from you the teachings of Jesus, and "counted yourselves unworthy of eternal life"! But the light now kindling on Burmah's shores shall strike your silent mountains, and wake from your dark valleys the exultations of the saved.

Tuesday, 26. Becalmed. Juggernaut's temple about 90 miles distant. — It is difficult to abstain from gazing over the side, perpetually, at the countless numbers and variety of aquatic creatures, which, far and near, sport themselves on the smooth, warm surface of the sea. Through the glass we discern numerous turtles, puffing-pigs, &c., while nearer at hand are sharks, dog-fish, sun-fish, toad-fish, cuttle-fish, porcupine-fish, snakes, sea-lice, spiders, &c.; and on every fragment of bamboo, or wood, or cocoa-nut husk, which floats along, are various shell-fish, suckers.

and worms. Different parties take the boat from time to time, and row about, getting fine turtles, and picking up a great variety of creatures, which we should be glad to preserve, if we had the conveniences. I began my portfolio by making drawings of several of the fishes. We got six or eight crabs, about as large as a half dollar; exceedingly beautiful and various in their colors. In a piece of porous wood, not exceeding four inches square, we found perhaps fifty different insects, all, of course, new and curious to us. What an opulence of divine power and skill is seen in this endless variety of animated beings!—all perfect in their kind—all happy in their way—all fulfilling some object for which they were made. “O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness and his wonderful works!”

Monday, Feb. 1, 1836. At our concert of prayer this evening, it was an affecting consideration that, on all this coast, from Cuttack to Calcutta, not a solitary evangelist holds forth the word of life! Commercial zeal maintains, at great expense, buoys, light-houses, telegraphs, and pilots, lest property should be lost on these numerous shoals; but Christian zeal has not lit up the torch of truth, to save the thousands of these people from the loss of the soul! How many other districts of equal magnitude are similarly destitute! O Zion! thy wealth cankers. Thy worldliness, in expenditure, in fashions, and in pursuits, oppresses thy graces, destroys thy power, and leaves whole nations unblest with thy light! O for some such devotedness as men of earth exhibit in the ways of pleasure and of gain! O that the millions of money annually wasted by professed Christians, in the United States, were expended, not in injury to the church, but in elevating from barbarism, misery, and death, the untaught millions of heathen!

3. Yesterday, about 8 o'clock, A. M., we got a pilot, and are now slowly ascending the Hoogly, hoping to find at Kedgerree, about 60 miles up, some conveyance for our friends who are going to Calcutta. The boat which brought on board the pilot was manned with nine lascars. My heart melted at this first sight of poor idolaters. Compassion and awe have been seldom more strongly excited. Looking round on the others, who stood looking over the ship's side, I found my eyes were not the only fountains of tears. To-day we have seen many more natives, who came off to us in their boats. Most of them have a very small white cotton cloth wrapped round their loins; some have it long enough to cover the shoulders also when they choose to loose it

for that purpose; and a few wear turbans of the same material: none have any defence to the feet. Their complexion is not much different from that of colored people in our Northern States, who have not generally the jet color of Africans. Some of the younger ones were not so dark, and had more of the red tint of the American aborigines. Their stature is small, limbs well proportioned, countenance intelligent, nose aquiline, teeth very white, hair black, and inclined to curl. A fishing-boat attached itself to our stern as we lay at anchor, and remained during the ebb tide, in company with another, which had come to offer aid in working the ship. It was interesting to observe the nicety with which they prepared their rice, and the enormous quantity they devoured. I should judge that each man ate two quarts; but it was boiled dry, and lay loose. It is to be considered, however, that they eat little else. They ate with the fingers, or rather the hand, pressing together as much as they could well grasp, and cramming as much of it as they could into the mouth, letting the remainder fall back into the dish again; then picking up a small morsel of fish. It was an ocular proof of the propriety of the Eastern custom of "washing before meat"—a custom which a mere American reader might regard as founded in superstition. After dinner, and smoking, they lay down to sleep. Untying the cloth round their loins, they made it answer as a sheet, and the bare deck formed their couch. Though we find it warm in the middle of the day, (thermometer, in the shade, 79°,) they all complained of the cold, and laid themselves in the full blaze of the sun.

The boats are similar to ours, but pointed at each end, heavier, and decked over, so that the rowers sit flat on the floor, or on a very low stool, having the oar fastened at the top of two small sticks, about two feet long, set up like the letter A. Most of the oars were bamboo rods, with a flat piece, about 18 inches long, at the end. They are short, and the rowers sit in pairs, side by side, while the boat is steered by an oar at the stern.

5. Went ashore, and, after visiting the telegraph officer at this station, strolled through the bazar. — We found rice, grain, sugar, milk, eggs, fowls, cocoa-nut and mustard-seed oil, mats, oranges, guavas, bananas, plantains, shattucks, (called here *pomelos*,) pine-apples, yams, sweet potatoes, onions, cabbages, carrots, Irish potatoes, lettuce, &c. &c., but no butcher's meat. Generally, the prices were *much* cheaper than with us; but such of the articles as do not properly belong to a tropical climate were of very poor quality. Mustard is cultivated in large fields, simply for the oil, which is prized not only for burning, but for cookery, and

especially for anointing oil, in which last mode the consumption is very great.

6. Having parted with Mr. Sutton and his company, we weighed anchor about 2 o'clock, and dropped down the river, to resume our voyage to Burmah. The navigation here is so intricate as seldom to be attempted at night, especially during this month, when fogs occur every night. From midnight till this morning at eight o'clock, the fog and dew sent down from the rigging a continual dropping, like a smart shower. A good rain of an hour's duration would not have wet the ground more deeply. What a merciful provision in a country where no rain occurs for so long a period! A fine wind and ardent sun clear the atmosphere about eight o'clock.

Feb. 12. Just now we have to the south of us the Andaman Islands. The chief of these is one hundred and forty miles long, and twenty-five wide, divided, however, in fact, into three islands, by channels, which extend across the whole breadth. This archipelago was known to Ptolemy, who calls it "*Insulæ bonæ fortunæ*." He declares the inhabitants to be *anthropophagi*, which horrid fact is confirmed by late travellers, though it seems they eat human flesh only in revenge towards enemies, or when impelled by famine, to which they are often exposed. They are genuine negroes, and uncommonly repulsive in appearance, having limbs disproportionally slender, protuberant bellies, high, round shoulders, very large heads, woolly hair, thick lips, and sooty skin. The average height of the men is about five feet. No two races of men are more distinct than this people and the nations around them. How they came here is a problem not solved. The general conjecture is, that a Portuguese slaver from Mozambique was some time wrecked here, and thus peopled the island. But we have the account of two Mahometan travellers, who journeyed eastward in the ninth century, six hundred years before Portuguese ships found their way to the Indian Ocean. Their description of these islanders is quite correct. They say, "The complexion of the people is black, their hair frizzled, their countenance frightful, and their feet very large. They go quite naked, and eat human flesh." Perhaps no people on earth stand lower in the scale of humanity. Going utterly naked, and therefore exposed to the annoyance of various insects, they are in the habit of daubing themselves from head to foot with mud, which, hardening, forms a complete defence, but gives them a hideous appearance. Their habitations are scarcely superior to the lair of the monkey. Four slender poles stuck into the ground,

tied together at the top, and covered with leaves, form the whole structure. A few leaves scraped into a corner make the bed. Their only manufactures are some poor bows and arrows, hardened at the end by fire, or pointed with bone; and some simple fishing-tackle. Addicted to war (!), and kept down by scanty food, their numbers amount to less than three thousand souls. Who will go to these? Who will carry the torch of truth into that thick gloom? Lord, send by whom thou wilt send!

14. Passed not far from the Preparis and Narcondam Islands. The former is accessible only on the eastern side. It is about seven miles long, entirely covered with a dense forest, and uninhabited. Monkeys and squirrels, said to be the only quadrupeds, are exceedingly numerous. Narcondam is regarded as of volcanic origin, and has on its summit the apparent crater of an exhausted volcano. Its form is conical, and, though the island is very small, its height is computed at two thousand five hundred feet. It is visible in very clear weather seventy miles.

17. Since leaving Kedgerree, we have held meetings every evening with the men in the fore-castle, and are rejoiced to find eight out of the ten avowing themselves subjects of deep conviction, and declaring their full purpose of heart to follow Christ in all his appointed ways. We usually preach a familiar discourse, and then converse with them personally. Their gradual progress has been very perceptible, and so far very satisfactory. Several of them pray in our little meetings with great propriety. Three of them give good evidence of conversion, and desire baptism. They are much the most sensible men in the crew, and one has an excellent education. We hope they will be found true to their new purpose, amid the temptations of the future, and redeemed at last by the grace of God.

CHAPTER II.

Arrival at Amherst—First Sabbath at Maulmain—Coasting Voyage—Moung-ma-goung—Curiosity of the People—Walk over the Mountain—Tavoy—Mata—Karens; their Piety, Liberality, Temperance, Gratitude; Letters from Young Converts; Churches.

MONDAY, Feb. 21, 1836. Cast anchor at Amherst. Thanks to God for his great mercy in bringing us to our desired haven in safety and peace!

Having yesterday sent a line to Mr. Judson at Maulmain, by a small boat, we had scarcely anchored before Mr. Osgood was on board to welcome us. It was a joyous meeting, saddened, however, by seeing in brother Osgood's face evidence of infirm health. He brought covered boats to take us to Maulmain, and at ten o'clock, the tide being favorable, we set out, and arrived about day-break. Brother J. received us with exultation at the aid we brought, and we were soon comfortably quartered—myself at brother J.'s, and the rest at the houses of brethren Osgood, Hancock, and Vinton.

Our first Sabbath in this dark land was, of course, full of interest. In the morning, we worshipped with the Burman congregation in the zayat. About seventy were present, nearly all Christians. Seldom have I seen so attentive and devout an audience. They sat, of course, on the floor, where mats were spread for their accommodation, a large bamboo, about eighteen inches from the floor, serving as a rest to the back. In prayer, the Americans knelt, and the rest, without rising from the floor, leaned forward on their elbows, putting their palms together. At the close of the petition, all responded an audible *Amen*—a practice truly apostolic, and strangely discontinued with us. Mr. J. preached with much apparent earnestness, and all listened with rapt attention. Several inquirers were present, some of whom applied for baptism.

At night, attended at the chapel, where worship in English is regularly maintained. About one hundred were present, chiefly soldiers. During the whole day, the gong resounded in different

parts of the city, and in the evening several theatres were opened. We were informed that one of the chiefs was giving a feast of seven days, on the occasion of his last child having his ears bored!

After holding a meeting early on Monday morning, to decide on the destination of Mr. Davenport, I returned to the ship, to superintend the discharge of the cargo, and got back in the night on Tuesday. During the intervals of loading lighters, I went ashore, and sketched Mrs. Judson's grave, and the tree over it.



The Grave of Mrs. Judson.

The head and foot stones are in perfect order, and, with the little grave of "Maria," are enclosed in a light bamboo fence. The mouth of the Salwen and the broad expanse of ocean opens on the left. It is a holy spot, calculated indeed to awaken the emotions which the sweet poetess has ascribed to the traveller.

Instead of attempting to describe my thoughts and feelings as I gazed upon the spot, I will give some stanzas written by Mrs. Sigourney, to whom I forwarded a copy of the picture, with the request that she would furnish a few lines.

THE HOPIA-TREE,

PLANTED OVER THE GRAVE OF MRS. ANN H. JUDSON.

“ Rest ! Rest ! The hopia-tree is green,
 And proudly waves its leafy screen
 Thy lowly bed above ;
 And by thy side, no more to weep,
 Thine infant shares the gentle sleep,
 Thy youngest bud of love.

“ How oft its feebly-wailing cry
 Detained unsealed thy watchful eye,
 And pained that parting hour,
 When pallid Death, with stealthy tread,
 Descried thee on thy fever-bed,
 And proved his fatal power !

“ Ah ! do I see, with faded charm,
 Thy head reclining on thine arm,
 The “ *Teacher* ” far away ? —
 But now, thy mission-labors o'er,
 Rest, weary clay, to wake no more
 Till the great rising day.”

Thus spake the traveller, as he stayed
 His step within that sacred shade :
 A man of God was he,
 Who his Redeemer's glory sought,
 And paused to woo the holy thought
 Beneath that hopia-tree.

The Salwen's tide went rushing by,
 And Burmah's cloudless moon was high,
 With many a solemn star ;
 And while he mused, methought there stole
 An angel's whisper o'er his soul,
 From that pure clime afar —

Where swells no more the heathen sigh
 Nor 'neath the idol's stony eye
 Dark sacrifice is done, —
 And where no more, by prayers and tears
 And toils of agonizing years,
 The martyr's crown is won.

Then visions of the faith that blest
 The dying saint's rejoicing breast,
 And set the pagan free,
 Came thronging on, serenely bright,
 And cheered the traveller's heart that night,
 Beneath the hopia-tree.

Tuesday, 29. Waited with Mr. J. on Mr. Blundell, the commissioner of the province, or governor, as he is here commonly called, and on Mr. Condamine, the second in office. They received us politely, and were able to answer me many important questions. Mr. Blundell is regarded as a skilful and prudent governor, and as earnestly desirous of the true prosperity of the country. He estimates the entire population of the provinces under his care at less than 300,000 souls; the provinces of Amherst, Tavoy, Yéh, and Mergui, at less than 100,000; and Arracan at about 200,000.

Having concluded unanimously, at a full meeting of the brethren, to call a general convocation of all our missionaries who could attend and return before the rains, it has become necessary that my visit to Tavoy and Mergui should be made before such meeting, which, in view of all considerations, we appointed for the 30th of March. In order to be exempt from the delays and disappointments attendant on waiting for casual vessels, we chartered a small cutter. She is a tiny craft, of 40 or 50 tons, but has a little cabin, which accommodates Mr. Abbott* and myself very well.

The coast presents noble mountain scenery, but is entirely uninhabitable, as is the case also with numerous islands, and which form almost a continuous chain, a few miles from shore. Dense forests cover the whole, presenting throughout the year a rich and varied verdure. To avoid three or perhaps four days' delay in going round Tavoy Point, and up the river, I was set ashore, with a few articles of immediate necessity, at *Moung-ma-goung*, a small Burman village, eight or ten miles' walk from Tavoy. It stands nearly a mile from the shore, with wide paths and good houses, beautifully shaded by noble trees, especially the bunyatha or jack, a species of the bread-fruit. While the necessary preparations were being made, I was conducted to the cool zayat, and was scarcely seated on its floor of split canes, when a woman brought a nice mat for me to lie on, another presented me with cool water, and the head man went and plucked for me a

* A fellow-passenger from America, destined for the Karens.

half dozen of fine oranges. None sought or expected the least reward, but disappeared, and left me to my repose. A constant succession of children, however, came to gaze at the foreigner, and some women, with babes on their hips, squatted at a little distance to gratify their curiosity; all, however, behaving with decorum and respect. In a Burman village, the zayat is the only tavern. It consists of a shed with a floor raised three or four feet from the ground, and wide verandas to keep off the sun. The quality of the building varies with the wealth and generosity of the villagers. Some are truly splendid. As chairs and tables are out of the question, and as every traveller carries his own provision, here is an ample hotel. The neighbors readily furnish water, and fruits seem free. A little fire, kindled near, cooks the rice; an hour's slumber follows the unpretending meal, and all things are ready for a start.

After some repose, the cooley (or porter) having adjusted the baggage at the ends of a pole, placed it on his shoulder, and walked on as guide. After passing some patches of pine-apple, and many noble fruit-trees of kinds unseen before, we entered the jungle, and began to wind our way over the mountains, which extend along all this coast, and terminate at Tavoy Point. Though no rain has fallen since October, the foliage was fresh and intense. Flowers, great and small, beamed on us at every step, and in some places filled the air with fragrance. Innumerable vines, creeping, climbing, and depending, seemed to intertwine the trees for mutual support. A great variety of parasites clung to the branches, sometimes with very large leaves, forming a complete and beautiful sheath to the entire trunk, and sometimes sending down long stems thirty or forty feet, waving to the breeze like small ropes. The lower portions of the mountain are of coarse, gray granite, the higher parts of some friable stone with which I was not acquainted; the soil generally a stiff, reddish clay. Near the summit of the mountain, we stopped at a shallow well, and, spreading a cloth on the ground, my servant produced the result of his morning cooking on board the cutter, with fine cool water, drawn in a joint of bamboo. In the midst of our frugal meal, a couple of ponghees came up, followed by servants bearing their baggage, and stopped under the shade of the same great tree, though on the opposite side. After dining, an ample plate-full was given to the cooley, while Jesse sat down and helped himself. The poor cooley took the plate, and, squatting down at some distance from the elder priest, reached forward with great reverence, and presented the whole.

The old man and his followers took a little, but with indifference. The bread he smelled, and examined, and tasted, but threw it away. His palate, I suppose, was not adjusted to such a novelty.

As we sat waiting for the sun to decline, Jesse engaged the old man in a religious discussion. They both pleaded with great earnestness and much gesture, though sitting ten feet apart. I could but pray earnestly that the poor gray-headed idolater might be convinced of the truth, and my recently-converted man be able to set Jesus savingly before him. How I longed to be able to proclaim to them the great salvation! The old man at length got out of patience, and moved off, followed by his company. The Lord grant that this people may be inclined to accept the heavenly boon which American Christians are offering them. About sunset, arrived at Tavoy, and was most kindly received by Mrs. Mason and Miss Gardner, the only missionaries now at the station.

March 14. The ten days spent in this city have been much occupied with the missionaries, in hearing statements, asking questions, examining accounts, visiting schools, giving advice, and such other official duties as will recur at every station. Such matters do not belong here, and my readers will not expect to find them in subsequent pages, though they form an important part of my duties.

The town and suburbs of Tavoy contain, as I am informed by the acting governor, 1845 houses, with a population of 9,045 souls, giving a fraction less than five to a house. Of these, about two hundred are Chinese men, generally married, and, of course, to Burman females. There are also Malays, Malabars, Mussulmans, &c. The streets are in good order, with much shade, and exhibit some stir of business. Good vessels are built here, and a regular trade maintained with the chief places along the coast from Singapore to Canton. This secures bakers and many other convenient mechanics.

Two days' journey from Tavoy, a considerable number of Karens, converted in different places, have been brought together, and formed into a Christian village; the heads of every family being members of the church. These Christians now amount to about two hundred, and conduct themselves with exemplary rectitude. By the aid of the missionaries, they have obtained goats, bullocks, oil-mills, seeds, &c.; and with these, and still more by the increased industry they have been taught to prac-

tise, they have been enabled to cease their wanderings, and acquire many comforts to which their countrymen are strangers. Cleanliness, in which Karens are universally deficient, has been attained in no small degree. The men have been exhorted to raise plenty of cotton, and the women induced so to apply themselves to spinning and weaving, as to furnish every one of their families with a change of raiment. They now wash their garments often, which before they scarcely ever did. Their ground, under their houses, which always used to be receptacles for filth and vermin, is all swept out clean every Saturday afternoon, and the rubbish burnt. On Sunday, they come to public worship perfectly clean, and, as their costume covers the person entirely, the sight would please the most fastidious American eye.*

But it is the spiritual change visible at Mata,† which is most delightful. In this respect, they present a most attractive spectacle. Punctual in all public services, they fill a large zayat on the Sabbath, and manifest a decorum and devotion far superior to any thing ordinarily seen in America. Being a musical people, and having a book of over a hundred hymns, composed by Mr. Mason, they, almost without exception, unite in the singing; and to my ear their psalmody was correct and sweet. After a prayer or a benediction, they all utter an audible "*Amen*," remain silent on their knees for the space of half a minute, and retire in perfect silence—a practice which would greatly improve our meetings. Mrs. Wade has been in the habit of holding daily a prayer-meeting with them at sunrise. Almost every morning, before day-light, many gather at the zayat, and commence singing hymns. As soon as Mrs. Wade is seen issuing from her door, at sunrise, they strike the gong, and presently the multitude come together. It is remarkable, that not one man or woman refuses to pray when called upon. On Sunday, a Sunday school is held in the morning, at which all the children of proper age attend; those that are not professors being formed into one company, and the others into another, superintended by the missionary and his wife alternately. Public worship and preaching are held morning and evening. The afternoon is

* Friends who wish to make little presents to the Karen Christians, might send fine-tooth combs, brown soap, writing-paper, slates and pencils, quills, strong scissors, cotton cloth, thread, large needles, and penknives. Garments of any description are not wanted.

† The name given their village, importing, literally, "Love." Sometimes they call it Mata-myu, or City of Love.

often employed in baptizing, or administering the communion; and when this is not the case, prayer-meetings are held at the houses of the sick. Some fifty or more members of the church live at different distances in the country, as far round as five or six miles. These attend punctually, generally walking in on Saturday afternoon, that they may lose no part of the blessed day.

It will of course be supposed that this people, so lately wild and wandering, without books, without even the forms of religion, and furnished as yet with no part of the word of God in their own tongue, and but a single manuscript copy of the Gospel of Matthew, would be exceedingly ignorant of the claims of Christianity. They are indeed so. But it is exhilarating to see the readiness and cordiality with which they enter into the performance of every duty, as soon as it is made known to them. Time would fail to describe all the instances which illustrate this remark; but one or two may be named. Mrs. W. had on one occasion read to them that chapter in Matthew, which, describing the judgment, speaks of visiting Christ (as represented in his disciple) when sick or in prison, &c. They at once saw how regardless they had been of persons under sickness and sorrow; and the very next day began to perform services to the sick, such as they had never thought of doing before. A poor widow, who had a leprous sort of disease, and a child about two years old, similarly affected, were visited by many of them the very next day. They performed many repulsive offices for her and her child, brought water, cleaned the house, gave them rice and other articles, and so enriched and comforted the poor creature, that she was bewildered with delight. These attentions have continued constantly. Another, who was bed-ridden with loathsome sores, was attended to in the same way. Since that time, no one is suffered to want any thing which the rest enjoy. These kindnesses are done with studied concealment, and can be learned only from the beneficiaries themselves.

On being told of the persecution of Moung San-lone and others at Rangoon, and how they had been chained, imprisoned, and excessively fined, they unexpectedly proposed subscribing toward paying his fine and releasing them from prison; and out of their deep poverty actually sent to Rangoon 50 rupees for this purpose. They have built, of their own accord, a sufficient house for the residence of their missionary and his family, and a *zayat*. A greater evidence of Christian generosity is seen in their missionary zeal. Those whose abilities, as assistants or school-mas-

ters, warrant the missionaries in sanctioning it, are ever ready to part with their families, and go wearisome journeys of six months at a time, among distant villages, where they are utterly unknown, carrying on their backs tracts and food, sleeping on the way in trees, or on the ground, and enduring many privations. Young men, whose services are very important to their aged parents in clearing jungle and planting paddy, are readily spared, and go to various points, during the rainy season, teaching school, for which their salary is from two to three dollars a month — half what they could earn in other employ. About twenty school-masters and assistants are now thus employed. Mr. Mason has, in his excursions, baptized many converts who were brought to the knowledge of the truth by these assistants. His last journey among the retired villages between Tavoy and Mergui has been cheered by the reception of a number of such.

The change in regard to temperance is not less remarkable. Unlike the Burmans, whose religion utterly forbids strong drink, and who scarcely ever use it, the Karens use it universally, and generally to excess: every family make arrack for themselves, and from oldest to youngest partake. Drunkenness, with all its train of horrors, is rife among them, of course. But no sooner do any become serious inquirers, and consort with the disciples for further instruction, than they totally abandon the accursed thing. In Mata, therefore, not a drop is made or drank. The children of the very men who were sots are growing up without having tasted or seen it. The consequences to domestic peace and general welfare may be supposed.

It will be recollected that they knew nothing of letters or books, till Mr. Wade reduced their language to writing, about three years ago. It is found that the system he has adopted is eminently philosophical, and so easy for learners, that, in a few weeks, pupils who have never seen a letter learn to read with facility.

As evidence at once of the benefit of Mrs. Wade's school, and the piety of the young converts, I will here give translations of some letters received from pupils on coming away from Tavoy. They are part of some twenty or more, and are a fair specimen.

Letter from a female Scholar aged 15 years.

“ O Great Teacher!

“ We put our trust in Jesus Christ, the eternal God. O great teacher, having heard that you have come to Tavoy, I have a great desire to see thy face. Therefore, O great teacher, when thou prayest

to God, I beg thee to pray for me : when I pray, I will remember thee, O great teacher ! When I heard of thy arrival, I had a great desire to go to you. I said to my father, I will go ; but he did not give permission. My mind was cast down, and my tears fell much, O great teacher ! O pray for me, and I, when I pray, will much pray for thee.

“ A letter of affection from

“ NAW POO MOO.”

From a Girl of 16, who had been to School nine months.

“ O Great Teacher ! Sir,

“ Great is the grace and glory of Jesus Christ, the Son of the eternal God ! In former times, we heard not the word of God. But now, sir, we endeavor very much to keep his commands. I heard of your coming, and my mind was very happy. But I greatly desire to see you ; therefore do come to Mata, O great teacher ! By hearing of your arrival, my tears fell much. Great sir, in order that I may keep the word of the Lord, do pray for me, and that we may meet together amidst the joys of heaven : as for me, I trust I exert myself in prayer truly to God.

“ The affectionate letter of the disciple

“ MOO YAI.”

From a Girl 16 years of age.

“ O Great Teacher !

“ We put our trust in Jesus Christ, the Son of the eternal God. When you pray to God, pray for us ; and when we pray, we will pray for thee ! When I set out to return, by means of longing after thee, I cried much ; but by thinking on the grace of God, my mind was somewhat let down. Notwithstanding, during the whole day in which we were separated from you, my longings did not cease. I thought that in this state we see each other but a small moment ; but when we arrive in heaven, we shall behold each other age upon age ! Then we cannot be separated. O great teacher, I have a painful desire to see your country. In order to go with you, I asked and obtained permission of my mother. If you consent, please write me a kind letter immediately. But if you do not give permission, do not write. As for me, I have an earnest wish to see the country of the teachers and their wives.

“ NAW MOO KLUR.”

I might add many interesting facts and incidents, which filled me with pleasure and thankfulness on their behalf. But I am not drawing a picture, for the sake of exhibiting glowing colors. Christian benevolence does not depend on success. If it did, the town of Mata, amid the solitude of the great mountains of Tavoy, exhibits facts, which, if they were all the effects our whole

missionary operations could boast, are sufficient to assure the most incredulous of the blessedness of our enterprise.

When endeavors to do good fail, it is a sweet reward to see those we meant to benefit grateful for our interference. And when good is really done, our pleasure is often neutralized by the pain of being ungratefully requited. Those who support our enterprise ought to know that this people testify aloud their continual gratitude toward the Christians of this country for the knowledge of Christianity. They often compare their former degradation and misery with their present comforts and hopes. The pastor of the Mata church frequently speaks of these things in moving terms—himself once a sot, and cruel. The missionaries cannot remain in the forest during the rains, so that this church is left six months in the year to itself. Their return is the occasion of a general rejoicing. When they are ready, many come to Tavoy to accompany them out, and to carry portions of the articles to be transported; and, where the way is sufficiently level, carry Mrs. Wade or Mrs. Mason in a litter. As the long file winds under the trees, along the narrow crag, or up the bed of a torrent, songs of Zion echo among the dark recesses, and nature rejoices to see her Maker glorified by men who for ages received his favors brutishly. Warned of their approach, the villagers come forth in troops, some hours' walk, and, after glad greetings, fall in behind, (for the path admits no double file,) and the lengthened train comes into the village with resounding joy.

Nor is Mata alone in its brightness, amid Burman shades. All along the jungle as far as Mergui to the south, and above Maulmain on the north, Karens are turning to God. The missionaries properly discourage their always collecting into exclusively Christian villages; but in some cases it seems expedient and necessary. Among the Karens in the Tavoy provinces are the following churches, beside Mata, which are also regular out-stations:—*Toung Byouk Galæ*, two and a half days south of Tavoy; 16 members, 25 inquirers: *Pee-kah*, four days south of the last-named church; 15 members, 43 inquirers: *Kah-pah*, three days south of Peekah, on a stream of the same name, navigable for boats; 20 members, and within a day's walk, 34 inquirers, most of whom have asked for baptism: *Tah-mlah*, on the Tenasserim, three days from Mergui; 9 members. All these have good places of worship, built by themselves; and each has a native pastor and a Christian school-master. There are also in the region six other schools, under Christian masters; and measures are in train to form others. On an average, last year, ten

learned to read in each school, some of whom are middle aged, and some quite old persons. The names of the pastors are not given here, because, being young men, they are changed every year, to give each an opportunity of being with the missionary half his time in the acquisition of Christian knowledge.

I had the pleasure, in my voyage from hence down the coast, to be accompanied by Rev. Mr. Wade; and, after four days, arrived at Mergui. The only European with whom we had intercourse there was Captain McLeod, the commissioner, or acting governor of the province, who received us to his house with the utmost cordiality. He communicated, with great frankness, many important facts, beside patiently answering a wearisome round of questions. There are but 35 British inhabitants in the place, including common soldiers.

Mergui, or, as the natives call it, *Bike*, is beautifully situated at the mouth of the middle branch of the Tenasserim. This noble river has three principal mouths, and several minor ones. The chief is that about four miles north, and receives, a few miles before it enters the ocean, the Byng River from the north. A fine island, opposite the town, shelters it from the south-west monsoon, and makes a safe though small harbor.

The site of the city embraces a high hill, surmounted, as usual, with conspicuous pagodas. Next to the sea it rises abruptly; and the houses of the English, which are erected on its summit, have a magnificent view of the lower town, the harbor, and the ocean. Most of the town cannot be seen in the picture. The rear of the hill slopes gradually, and is thickly built with native houses, on regular streets, sheltered from the sun by fine fruit and other trees, almost as close as in a forest. Among these, the cocoa-nut, jaek, and papaya, are the most frequent. At the time Captain Alexander Hamilton visited this city, it was in possession of Siam. He calls it *Merjee*, and says that "in former times there were many English there." The massacre of these, which was succeeded by the expulsion of those in Siam, occurred in 1687. The chief exports are sapan wood, dennee, mats, ratans, sea-slug, tortoise-shell, and edible birds' nests. It was founded within a century by the Burmans. The ancient fortifications are still seen, though rapidly vanishing by the use of the bricks for other purposes. It is thus with the ramparts of all the towns in British Burmah, it being useless to retain extensive walls for a handful of troops, which, if occupied by hosts of natives, might help them in resistance.



The whole province of Mergui has a population of only 10,000 of which above 6,000 are in this town. This great scantiness of people in one of the finest regions of the earth is chiefly owing to the intolerable government under which they have lived. About twenty years ago, it was unusually severe under the viceroyship of Daing-woon, who was engaged in repelling the Siamese. The atrocities of this monster were incredible, and drove forty or fifty thousand inhabitants from the province, besides the multitudes which he destroyed. In speaking to the Burmans of hell, even at this day, no circumstance is so appalling, as to assure them that Daing-woon will be there!

Here, as at Maulmain and Tavoy, I find numerous Chinamen married to Burman wives. They are at once the most valuable of the community for mechanical and mercantile conveniences, and the most pernicious for introducing and vending, wherever they go, *arrack* and *opium*. Without them, Europeans would suffer many discomforts, and through them, the natives are greatly corrupted. Their superiority, in civilization and intelligence, to the various nations with whom they are intermixed in every part of the East, is very striking.

Beside the usual quantity of pagodas and kyongs, there are four mosques, for the use of the Mussulman part of the population, and a Popish chapel. About four hundred of the inhabitants, descendants of the early Portuguese, profess to be Christians. No converts, that my informants knew of, have joined the number from among the Burmese, except some who unite in order to be married to those who belonged before.

The present period of the year on this coast is the latter part of the dry season, and is marked by heavy squalls and showers. After these, there are about six weeks of clear weather, increasingly hot, after which the monsoon changes to the southwest, with violent squalls, and the rains set in for six months. In this return voyage to Maulmain, we experienced three of these storms, accompanied by much thunder, each severely testing the power of our anchor and vessel. The rocky coast furnishes no harbor except Mergui, Tavoy, and Amherst; and the high mountains which skirt the shore seem to draw together the utmost fury of the elements.

One of these storms, experienced off Tavoy Point, will be memorable to all on board. As night drew on, the thunder, which had been growling on the mountains, grew more violent.

It was evident we should have a hard blow ; and, the tide turning against us, we were obliged to anchor in an exposed situation. After dark, the wind and lightning increased, and we got top-mast, gaff, &c. upon deck, and, paying out much cable, waited the issue, uneasy. At length it blew a hurricane, and the lightning kept up a glare bright as mid-day. It was but at intervals that it was dark, even for a moment, the light flickering constantly like a torch in the wind. We were in the very midst of the electric cloud, and the sharp, cracking thunder was deafening. Torrents of rain drenched the poor fellows on deck, (for there was room for only two or three below,) and even in the cabin I had to gather my desk, &c. under an umbrella ; for the neglected seams let in the water in twenty places. The little cutter pitched heavily at her anchor, and the loud roaring of a lee surf told what we should experience if she parted her chain. We left all in the hands of God, and were sitting in silence below, when a universal shout of terror brought us on deck—a ball of fire rested on the mast-head ! The consternation was universal ; the captain and every one of the crew vociferating prayers, one to the Virgin Mary, another to Mahomet, &c., each in different language. They seemed frantic, and their voices rose on the tempest like the swelling wail of dying men. One declared it was the devil, and proposed to drive him away by burning a certain mixture to make a horrid smell. They seemed comforted, however, to see us confident, and aware of its cause. The Christian Karens were tranquil, but awe-struck, and lay on their knees with their faces to the deck, uttering prayer each for himself, in a low but audible voice. It staid clinging to the mast amid all the rocking of the surges, till the lascars were nearly ready with their incantations, and then disappeared. It was an hour of great danger ; but the good hand of the Lord was upon us, and our frail bark rode out the storm, which abated in its violence before morning.

Aside from the danger of navigating this side of the bay of Bengal, (except from September to March, when the weather is exceedingly fine,) the inconveniences are not small, from the bad construction and management of the vessels employed, and the annoying insects, &c. with which they abound. My little cutter is superior in all those respects to the Burman vessels, which I expect generally to sail in from place to place. I can stand up in the cabin, while in those one can only sit, and that on the floor. I have a little quarter-deck, which they know nothing of. And we have an iron anchor, while theirs is but a

piece of wood, shaped like a fish-hook. On the score of insects, too, I am informed that my condition is far better. In the latter point, however, I can by no means boast. Hundreds of ants, great and small, black and red, move in endless files every where. Cockroaches, flying and creeping, spotted, striped, and plain, walk over me and about me all night, but, through mercy, they do not bite, and are, withal, quite shy when there is a light burning, and so do not interrupt me when engaged. I now and then kill a forward fellow; but it is in vain to think of abating the nuisance, for their "name is legion." I have nice sugar-cane laid in a corner for the ants, to keep them away; but some of them are blood-thirsty, and bite me with all zeal. I sometimes watch a bold fellow, as he runs over my hand; and, when he finds a suitable spot, he raises himself perpendicular, and digs into me, kicking and struggling, as if he would go through the skin. The spiders I kill without mercy; and busy enough they kept me, the first day or two. Some of them have bodies as big as the joint of one's thumb, and occupy, as they stand, a space as large as the top of a coffee-cup. Mice nibble my clothes at night. I have seen but two or three centipedes, and succeeded in killing them; but there are, doubtless, more on board. But the mosquitoes! They are a torment day and night. I am comforted with the assurance that strangers suffer most with them, and hope they will not "make a stranger of me" much longer.

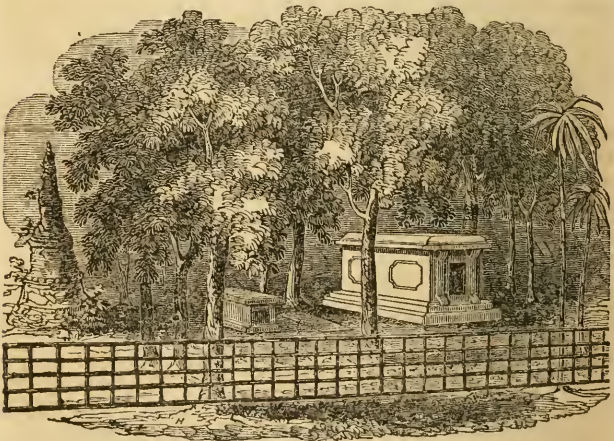
Among all these enemies, I have no auxiliaries but two or three nimble lizards. These I carefully befriend, and they consume as many of the vermin as they can. But what are these among so many? Beside their services in the butchering department, they interest me by their sudden and adroit movements on the walls and ceiling, and, withal, sing for me every night, as soon as the candle is out.

The variety of costume on board is striking. My man is from Madras, and wears generally nothing but a pair of calico drawers. The captain has nothing but a piece of check wound tight round his hips, and drawn up between his thighs. The owner's agent, or supercargo, is a Mussulman, and wears, beside the waist-cloth, a muslin jacket with sleeves, tied in front, so as to discover the left breast. The *su-cún-ny*, or steersman, is a half-blood Portuguese, and wears drawers, and a short shirt or jacket, of red calico. One of the sailors has a regular short gown and petticoat, and the other, short drawers only. The Karens wear nothing but a long shirt without sleeves, made of

substantial cotton cloth, ingeniously figured in the loom. Diversity in dress is still greater in the towns, arising from the great mixture in the population. I have, however, already become so accustomed to it, that it ceases to excite attention.

We have one person on board, who excites my notice — a Christian disciple, who was a Karen Bhookoo, or prophet. He was so struck with fear, when the “great teacher” sent for him into the cabin, to ask him some questions, that I got but little from him. He declared that, at first, he felt impelled, he knew not how, to predict the coming of a deliverer in six months, and sincerely believed it. But when the lapse of that time proved him wrong, he became wilful, and deliberately endeavored to impose on the people’s credulity, to keep up his influence.

Among my luxuries at Tavoy, were several visits to the graveyard where, among others, is the tomb of Boardman. It was once a Boodhist grove; and a dilapidated pagoda still remains within the enclosure. I made the sketch below, in the assurance that the friends of missions would love to see the resting-place of that great, good man, and where other beloved ones may yet lay their bones.



Boardman's Tomb.

CHAPTER III.

Return to Maulmain — Missionary Conference — Preaching — Balu Island — Kareu Churches near Maulmain — Water Festival — Chinese Ceremony — The Mohurum — River Excursion — Remarkable Caves — Karen Christian Village — Church-meeting and Baptism — Population of Maulmain; Commerce, State of Boodhism, State of the Mission, English Influence.

By the utmost diligence in overseeing the boatmen, and taking advantage of every tide, and every breeze, I got back to Maulmain, in mercy, the morning of March 30, the very day on which our conference was to convene. We began our session accordingly, having present brethren Judson, Wade, Kincaid, Bennett, Hancock, Mason, Osgood, Vinton, Howard, Webb, Haswell, and Abbott. Every day, except the Sabbath, was diligently spent in the business, and, beside many important topics, which, though fully discussed, did not come to a formal vote, the following subjects were acted upon, beside minor ones: — The establishment of a seminary for native assistants; its location, temporary preceptor, and course of studies and by-laws; new fields of labor proposed and described; native schools; polygamy among natives, and the management of such cases in regard to applicants for baptism; reducing the size of the Burman character; the plan of giving English names to native children; boarding-schools, and the best mode of their endowment. Considerable time was taken up in designating the new missionaries to their fields of labor. They seem to be as jewels, which each was anxious to seize. Every man felt keenly the claims of his station or neighborhood, and longed to see more laborers in what he deemed so promising a field. It was a noble strife of disinterested love, and so small was the reinforcement, compared with the admitted wants, on all sides, that it was difficult to decide where aid should first be sent.

The next Sabbath, being the first in April, I preached to the brethren and sisters by vote of the convocation. We met in the new and unfinished chapel, built for the native church. The building, though large for Burmah, is scarcely larger than many dining-rooms in India; yet, as our little band arranged themselves in one corner, we seemed lost in the space. There was, however, moral power in the meeting; and, when I reflected on the recent origin of the mission, its small beginnings, and its various dangers

and hinderances, the company before me was a most refreshing sight. Here were twelve missionaries, beside Misses Gardner and Macomber, and the missionaries' wives. Elsewhere in the mission were four evangelists and a printer, not computing those in Siam. The text was, "Glorify ye the Lord in the fires;" and every heart seemed to say Amen, as sentence after sentence came forth. It is delightful preaching to greedy listeners; and long had most of these been deprived of the refreshment of sitting under a gospel sermon. Mr. Judson had not heard a sermon in English for fourteen years.

As my eye rested on this loved little company, it was sweet to contemplate the venerable founder of the mission, sitting there to rejoice in the growth of the cause he had so assiduously and painfully sustained. His labors and sufferings for years; his mastery of the language; his translation of the whole Word of God; and his being permitted now to be the pastor of a church containing over a hundred natives, — make him the most interesting missionary now alive. What a mercy that he yet lives to devote to this people his enlarged powers of doing good! And we may hope he will very long be spared. His age is but forty-seven; his eye is not dim; not a gray hair shows itself among his full auburn locks; his moderate-sized person seems full of vigor; he walks almost every evening a mile or two at a quick pace, lives with entire temperance and regularity, and enjoys, in general, steadfast health. May a gracious God continue to make him a blessing more and more.

A day or two after the close of our conference, I accompanied Mr. Vinton to Balu Island, to counsel with him on the final choice of a spot for a new station, and to visit some Karen villages, where as yet the gospel had not been dispensed. This island forms the right bank of the Salwen River, from Maulmain nearly to Amherst. It is about seventeen miles long, and six or seven wide, settled chiefly by Karens. No portion of these Tenasserim provinces is more fertile, or more carefully and successfully cultivated. The population of course is dense, amounting to over 10,000. Along the whole island, from north to south, stretches a fine chain of moderately-elevated mountains.

Having coasted the northern end of the island, and passed down its western side a few miles, we came to a creek, navigable for row-boats, except at very low tide, and pulled up it to within about two miles of the proposed spot. From the mouth of the creek, the rice-fields engross each side as far as the eye can reach, covering an immense flat, but little above common

high-water mark. The walk from the boat to the spot proposed led through villages and rice-fields, till we began to ascend the mountain, and then presented enough of the beauties of an Oriental forest to keep a transatlantic eye intent. Being the midst of the hot season, we of course were deprived of its full glories; but many trees bore large and gorgeous flowers, beside shrubs and smaller plants, in great variety. American forests have more large trees, and less undergrowth, but they have fewer leaves, and scarcely any flower-bearing trees. We were never a moment without a variety of blossoms in sight, and many fruits.

Arrived at the spot, I found it near one of the lower summits, overlooking rice-fields, limited north and south only by the extent of vision, and to the west commanding a wide view of ocean, distant five or six miles. From the summit of that ledge, a few yards eastward, a view scarcely less extensive is had of the Salwen River, Amherst, and the ocean.

It would seem that, though in the jungle, this spot must be salubrious, from its complete exposure to the sea breeze, and its great elevation; but I fear it will prove too much out of the way from the main path. After breakfasting on the spot, we descended to the village of the Karen chief, and spent the day making contracts for house materials, and testifying to them the grace of God.

Though we lodged each night in the boat, we spent our time and ate among the people. The glance thus gained at native character was very gratifying. We saw no house where poverty seemed to dwell, (though we passed through four or five villages,) and no disorder in any place. Wherever we stopped to eat, we entered a house freely, and were immediately offered clean mats, and treated with the utmost hospitality. Able and willing to supply our wants, they sometimes expostulated with the servant, as he was cooking our meals, that he had brought rice and fowls, instead of allowing them to furnish our table. This trait is prevalent among the Karens. Native assistants go from village to village among them, even where the gospel has never been heard, and take literally "neither scrip nor purse." They are bountifully supplied, even where their message meets only with opposition. Mr. Vinton, on one occasion, went several days' journey among Karen villages, without servant or food. Every where they killed for him their best fowls, and spread before him rice, fruits, honey, and whatever they had, and gave him their best place to sleep.

Among that portion of the Karens lying contiguous to Maulmain, Mr. Vinton is the only laborer. There are in this province three churches — 1st, At Ko Chet-thing's village, on the Salwen River, two days above Maulmain; thirty-seven members, five or six inquirers, Ko Chet-thing pastor: 2d, *Newville*, on the Dagaing River, three days from Maulmain; twenty-eight members, Ko Tau-pau pastor: 3d, *Boo-tah*, on the River Attaran; thirty-four members, Ko Taumah pastor. The station at Chummerah has been abolished by the removal of all the people. The place is no longer inhabited. This part of the mission to the Karens has five valuable native assistants, including the three pastors just named, besides several young members of the church, in training, who give evidence of being called to the ministry. One hundred and twenty-three persons have been baptized in all.

When the amount of labor which has been bestowed on this portion of the Sgau Karens is considered, these results will appear exceedingly encouraging. Miss Cummings went to Chummerah to acquire the language, but died before she was able to speak it. Mr. Judson commenced this department of the mission, and resided among the people a few months. He, however, retired thither chiefly to be undisturbed in translating, and devoted but a small part of his time to direct missionary labor. Mr. and Mrs. Vinton came out in December, 1834; and their time, of course, has been almost wholly occupied in getting the language. They have already made a beginning in proclaiming the gospel, but much of their time will still have to be spent in study. They are now the only laborers among this people; and six months of the year they must leave these infant churches, and retire from the jungle to their new station on Balu Island. The past dry season, they visited them each, and, passing up the Un-za-len River, twelve days from Maulmain, established several schools in important villages. They hope to be able to reside on this island during the rains, continuing the itinerant system in the dry season.

The festivities which usher in the new year (commencing at the April new moon) have, for several days past, kept the town excited. Before every Burman house is erected a slight bamboo palisade, six or eight feet long, decorated very tastefully with young palm-trees, and pots of water, filled with various beautiful blossoms. The moistened streets send up an enlivening freshness, which, with the odors of the flowers, makes the street like a charming avenue in a garden. The absurd yet amusing

ceremony to which these are preparations seems peculiar to Burmans. It is a general war of water. Every one is at liberty to wet his neighbor, but the compliment is chiefly paid by women to men, and men to women; the children taking the principal share of the business into their hands. I have just been riding along the principal streets to witness the scene; but no one offered to compliment me, or other foreigners, with a bowl of water. They know that foreigners, whose raiment is not so easily changed, do not relish the sport; though sometimes, out of ill-timed complaisance, they submit to it. Almost universally the people take it pleasantly; but occasionally I saw little fellows chased and overthrown in the dirt, who played off on men. It certainly requires some command of temper, to show entire nonchalance when the children project a forcible stream from large bamboo syringes directly into the eyes and ears, creeping up slyly for the purpose, and running off with exultation. Not a native is to be seen with dry clothes; but "holiday clothes" on this occasion are their poorest.

No one can assign any origin or signification to this custom. It seems as if it must have originated in some notions of purification from the sins of the old, and entering cleansed upon the new year; but Boodhists have no idea of the remission of sins, in any way. Their only hope is to balance them with merit.

Beside this harmless and merry custom, the religious celebrations of several classes of foreigners have kept the town in confusion for a fortnight past. The Chinese have just had their annual ceremonies in memory of deceased ancestors. Hearing, a few mornings since, an uncommon din of great gongs and other discordant instruments, I went to the veranda, and saw the procession pass to the cemetery. It was a meagre affair as to pomp, but doubtless quite as absurd as if it had been in their own country. A succession of tables, borne, like biers, on men's shoulders, were spread with hogs, goats, and poultry, roasted whole, and various other eatables; the horrid music followed, and a procession with streamers, terminated by a man or two with muskets, firing at short intervals. A priest, in proper costume, walked on each side of the tables.

Nothing can exceed the revolting exhibitions made by the Hindoo Mussulmans, who also are now holding their annual feast of Mohurrum. By nature almost black, they make themselves entirely so with paint; many of them adding blotches and hideous figures, not only on their faces, but on every part of their body, and of every colored earth they can find. Some go further, and

put on masks of infernal ugliness, with horns, snouts, and indescribable distortions. I never beheld them but with fresh horror. Moving about the streets in companies, they writhe every muscle, some throwing their arms about as if ready to attack every one they meet, others slapping long, flat sticks together; some beating on drums, and pieces of brass, others filling the air with yells and clamor. Man could not more brutify himself, even in the madness of intoxication.

These three ceremonies are, perhaps, pretty fair specimens of the habits of the three nations of idolaters. Surely they furnish no ground for the boast of the infidel, as to the purity and nobleness of human nature, evinced by pagans whose morals have not been contaminated by Europeans.

Desirous of seeing the people, as much as possible, in their own retired villages, where foreign influence is unknown, and of ascertaining the numbers, locality, &c. from personal observation, I occupied the latter part of April in making two excursions into the interior; one up the Dagaing, and the other up the Salwen River. In the first, Mrs. Judson accompanied me, and in the last and longest, Mr. J. himself. We slept generally in the boat, stopping at shady villages to cook our food, distribute tracts, &c.

The whole region immediately above Maulmain is alluvial; the rocks chiefly blue limestone of excellent quality. The country is flat, fertile, and beautiful, but, though once populous, is now thinly inhabited. The scenery is rendered romantic and peculiar by small mountains, rising abruptly from the level fields to the height of four, five, and six hundred feet; the base scarcely exceeding the size of the summit. In most parts, trees and shrubs cling to the sides; but here and there the castellated and perpendicular rocks project above the foliage, like the turrets of some huge ruined tower. On the summits of many of them, apparently inaccessible to human feet, Boodhist zeal has erected pagodas, whose white forms, conspicuous far and near, remind the traveller every moment that he surveys a region covered with the shadows of spiritual death. Some of the smaller of these hills I ascended. My heart sickened as I stood beside the dumb gods of this deluded people, looking down and around on a fine country, half peopled by half-civilized tribes, enjoying but half the blessings of their delicious climate, borne by whole generations to the chambers of death. They eat, and drink, and die. No inventions, no discoveries, no attainments, no enjoyments, are theirs, but such as have descended to them age by age

and nothing is left to prove they have been, but their decayed pagodas, misshapen gods, and unblessed graves.

Most of these mountains contain caves, some of them very large, which appear to have been, from time immemorial, specially devoted to religious purposes. The wealth and labor bestowed on these are of themselves sufficient to prove how great the population has been in former ages. I visited, in these excursions, three of the most remarkable — one on the Dah Gyieng, and two on the Salwen. They differed only in extent, and in the apparent antiquity of the idols they contained. Huge stalactites descended almost to the floor in many places, while, in others, stalagmites of various magnitudes and fantastic shapes were formed upon the floor. In each, the bats occupied the lofty recesses of the ceiling, dwelling in deep and everlasting twilight. In one they seemed innumerable. Their ordure covered the bottom, in some places, to the depth of many feet. Throwing up some fragments of idols, we disturbed their noon-tide slumbers, and the effect was prodigious. The flutter of their wings created a trembling or pulsation in the air, like that produced by the deepest base of a great organ. In the dusk of the evening, they issue from the cave in a thick column, which extends unbroken for miles. The natives all affirmed this to be the case every evening; and Mr. Judson himself, when here with Major Crawford and others, saw the almost incredible fact.

This cave has evidently been long deserted, except that a single large image at the entrance is kept in repair, before which were some recent offerings. I might, therefore, have easily obtained images for my friends; but, Mr. J. being afraid of an injurious influence on the native Christians who were with us, I abstained, and afterward obtained a supply by regular purchase.

The last one we visited is on the Salwen, about fifteen or twenty miles above Maulmain. The entrance is at the bottom of a perpendicular but uneven face of the mountain, enclosed in a strong brick wall, which forms a large vestibule. The entrance to this enclosure is by a path, winding along the foot of the mountain; and nothing remarkable strikes the eye till one passes the gate, where the attention is at once powerfully arrested. Not only is the space within the wall filled with images of Gaudama of every size, but the whole face of the mountain, to the height of eighty or ninety feet, is covered with them. On every jutting crag stands some marble image, covered with gold, and spreading its uncouth proportions to the setting sun. Every recess is converted into shrines for others. The smooth surfaces

are covered by small flat images in burnt clay, and set in stucco. Of these last, there are literally *thousands*. In some places, they have fallen off, with the plaster in which they were set, and left spots of naked rock, against which bees have built their hives undisturbed. No where in the country have I seen such a display of wealth, ingenuity, and industry. But imposing as is this spectacle, it shrinks to insignificance, compared to the scene which opens on entering the cavern itself. It is of vast size, chiefly in one apartment, which needs no human art to render it sublime. The eye is confused, and the heart appalled, at the prodigious exhibition of infatuation and folly. Every where, on the floor, over-head, on the jutting points, and on the stalactite festoons of the roof, are crowded together images of Gaudama — the offerings of successive ages. Some are perfectly gilded; others incrustated with calcareous matter; some fallen, yet sound; others mouldered; others just erected. Some of these are of stupendous size; some not larger than one's finger; and some of all the intermediate sizes; marble, stone, wood, brick, and clay. Some, even of marble, are so time-worn, though sheltered of course from changes of temperature, that the face and fingers are obliterated. In some dark recesses, bats were heard, and seemed numerous, but could not be seen. Here and there are models of temples, kyongs, &c., some not larger than a half bushel, and some ten or fifteen feet square, absolutely filled with small idols, heaped promiscuously one upon another. As we followed the paths which wound among the groups of figures and models, every new aspect of the cave presented new multitudes of images. A ship of five hundred tons could not carry away the half of them.

Alas! where now are the successive generations whose hands wrought these wonders, and whose hearts confided in these deceits? Where now are the millions who came hither to confess their sins to gods that cannot hear, and spread their vain oblations to him that cannot save? The multitudes are gone, but the superstition remains. The people are left like the gleanings of the vintage, but the sway of a senseless, hopeless system is undiminished. Fewer bow in these dark recesses, but no better altars witness holier devotions. May we not hope great things from the effect of a full toleration secured by the present rulers, and a full tide of missionary effort set forward by American churches? Thanks be to God that a Christian nation rules these provinces, and a Christian community sends forth light and truth. Happy and auspicious is the mental dawn

which now begins to break! May Christians pray it into perfect day.

On the third day after leaving Maulmain, we arrived at the newly-formed Christian village of which Ko Chet-thing, so well known in America, is pastor. It numbers as yet but thirteen houses, of which most of the adults are Karen disciples, drawn together to enjoy the means of mutual edification. Thirty-nine members constitute the church, and others are about to remove thither. Few of the great effects produced at Mata are yet visible here; but religion has already placed this little band far above their wandering brethren in many respects. At least, it has saved their souls! Did it leave them in all their destitution of comfort and refinement, the deficiency, when compared to the gain, would be a grain of sand,—to the universe!

Mr. Vinton was absent on a preaching tour up the river. Mrs. Vinton received us with a hearty welcome, and the disciples were not behind in paying their cordial respects. My intended visit had been announced to them a fortnight ago, and a church-meeting and communion season appointed. Some Christians from other villages had arrived, and others kept emerging from the jungle all day. Several brought presents of eggs, plantains, honey, &c., and the occasion evidently possessed in their minds great interest. A number of serious inquirers and hopeful converts presented themselves. Several, who had for some months given evidence of a spiritual change, asked baptism, and the evening was spent in warm devotional exercises. We lodged in little rooms partitioned off at the end of the chapel, and most of those who came from a distance lodged in the building. It was truly refreshing to hear them conversing, till a late hour, on the things of the kingdom. As one after another at length grew sleepy, he engaged in private prayer in a low tone of voice, and stretched himself for repose on the clean bamboo floor. The voice of prayer was in this manner kept up till midnight.

Next morning, we had a church-meeting, at which, among other business, three candidates for baptism were received. Some others were deferred for the present. The rude-looking assembly (lately so rude indeed, and so ignorant of eternal things) transacted their business with much order and great correctness of judgment. Now, and several times before, I addressed them officially, through Mr. Judson, examining into their degrees of religious knowledge, and leaving them various injunctions relating both to temporal and eternal things. In the afternoon, we met again, and, after religious exercises, walked in

procession to the water side, where, after singing and prayer, I baptized the candidates in the name of the Holy Three. The river was perfectly serene, and the shore a clean sand. One of those lofty mountains which I have described rose in isolated majesty on the opposite shore,* intercepting the rays of the setting sun. The water was perfectly clear, the air cool and fragrant, the candidates calm and happy. All was good. May that lonely mountain often, often echo with the baptismal hymn and the voice of prayer. Next morning, we had the Lord's supper, and departed, amid the tears and prayers of these lovely children of the forest.

How blessed and golden are these days to Burmah! Men love to mark the glorious sunrise. Painters copy it; poets sing it; all derive pleasure and elevation as they gaze while it blazes up the heavens, turning to gorgeous purple every dull cloud, gilding the mountain tops, and chasing the mists from the valley. God seems present, and creation rejoices. But how much more glorious is the dawn I am permitted here to witness! All the romance which swells the bosom of the sentimentalist, gazing on early day, is coldness and trifling, compared to the emotions a Christian may cherish when he sees the gospel beginning to enlighten a great nation. Surely, we may hope such is the case here, and that the little light which has invaded this empire of darkness will issue in perfect day. I see a dim twilight; others will rejoice in the rising sun, and others in the meridian day. O Lord, come with thy great power. Inspire the churches to do all their duty, and prepare all people for thy truth.

I have now seen much of the Karens, and gathered what information there is respecting them, which will be introduced, with notices of other tribes, in a subsequent chapter.

The city of Maulmain was only a few years ago a jungle, though some intelligent natives affirm that it was once a large city, and the metropolis of a Shyan kingdom, then independent. After the cession of these provinces to the English, it was selected as a military post, and a town sprang up, which has continually increased, and numbers now 18,000 souls. The rest of the province contains about 30,000 more, of whom some thousand are Karens and Tounghoos. The city consists principally of one street, which extends along the river about two and a half miles. The river is about a mile wide, with a tide of twenty feet perpendicular rise. In the rear, distant about a quarter of a mile, is a long, narrow hill, running parallel to

* Containing also a cavern filled with idols, which, however, I had not time to visit.



the river, presenting along its summit a string of pagodas mostly fallen to ruin. From a fine road, made here by Sir A. Campbell, the whole city, with the river, shipping, and high hills on the opposite island of Balu, are in full view. The accompanying picture is taken from the summit of the hill. The distance is too great to allow of distinctness in sketching the town. The large house near the centre is the residence of the governor. The mission premises are close to the river, nearly over the heads of the two soldiers, who sit on the summit of the hill, near the point from whence the view was taken. On the extreme right is the city of Martaban, with its conspicuous pagoda. The location of the city has been found exceedingly salubrious, and gentlemen in the Company's service are glad to resort hither for health, from the opposite shore of the Bay of Bengal. The settlement is too recent to be adorned with noble shade-trees, like Tavoy and Mergui, but is well laid out, and the Burmans, always tasteful in such matters, have planted them to a sufficient extent. Over the water-courses are handsome bridges of substantial masonry; and fine roads are made, and being made, in various directions.

Being the metropolis of British Burmah, the commissioner or acting governor resides here. The garrison consists of a regiment of the line, a detachment of artillery, and some companies of sepoy. The officers of this force, and the gentlemen connected with the civil service, make a considerable circle of English society, which, with soldiers, traders, &c., and their families, insure all the conveniences of an abundant market, various mechanics, and well-supplied shops. In the market may always be had fresh beef, pork, goat, venison, and poultry, butter, eggs, milk, &c., with great plenty of the finest fish, fruits, and vegetables. In passing through it one day, I counted thirty-two different kinds of fruit, besides vegetables. The price of articles, with some exceptions, is cheaper than in our cities, — fowls, two rupees a dozen; rice, half a rupee a bushel. The best of bakers' wheat-bread is sold at about our rates, and British goods are in general cheaper than with us. On the whole, it is perhaps as pleasant and desirable a residence as any part of the East.

On commerce and trade there are no restrictions. Vessels pay no tonnage, and merchandise no duty. Even pilotage is established at low rates, and such as choose to dispense with a pilot, pay only a small sum, for the benefit of the buoys. Ship and boat building, on English and native models, is done to the amount of some thousand tons per annum.

The imports from Tavoy and Mergui are principally attaps, or dennees, (leaves stitched upon strips of ratan, ready for thatching,) damar torches, cardamoms, sapan wood, guapee, ratans, preserved doryans, mats, salt, yams, and ivory. In return are sent to these places cotton, oil, English goods, paddy, beef, lime, and tamarinds.

From Rangoon are imported catch or catechu, stick lac gram, oil-seed, earth-oil, sesamum-oil, lappet, (tea,) wheat, ivory lackered ware, glazed pottery, jaggery, (black sugar,) Burman silks, tamarinds, chillies, garlic, &c.; and in return are sent areca-nuts, cotton, dates, English goods, cocoa-nuts, &c.

From Penang are brought umbrellas, muskets, torches, dates, coffee, &c.; and in return are sent chiefly paddy and rice.

From Calcutta are brought specie, English goods, wines, ginger, steel, rose-water, sugar; and almost the only important return is teak timber. The same may be said of Madras. This is about the whole commerce of Maulmain. From eight to twelve vessels enter and clear per month.

Among the inhabitants are 500 Chinese, and above 2,000 other foreigners, most of whom are from Bengal and Madras. Each class has a place of worship, and adheres to its national costume and habits. The English have a Company's chaplain, and a capacious church. Here service is regularly performed, and the troops are required to attend. The English Baptist church have also a good meeting-house of teak, and one of the missionaries always acts as pastor. At present, Mr. Osgood discharges this duty, in connection with his engagements at the printing-office.

Though there is not the slightest restraint upon idolatry in these provinces, the people are certainly less devoted to their superstition than before the war. It is scarcely possible to discover, from the appearance of the streets, when the worship-days occur; and the number of priests is much less than it would be among an equal population in Burmah Proper. The people are evidently ripening for some change. There is therefore eminent necessity for following up, with the utmost vigor, the means for extending Christianity. The morals of the people would greatly suffer by the loss of their religious system, if no other were to be substituted. Such a crisis is not altogether improbable, and the people of God are most affectingly called upon, by the state of the case, to send out more teachers forthwith.

Still, Boodhism is as yet by no means a neglected system. New pagodas are making their appearance in different parts of the city. There are twenty-nine kyoungs, containing

somewhat more than 500 priests, including novitiates, who are plentifully supported. The kyongs are vastly superior to the dwellings of the common people, and some of them are situated in delightful groves with ample grounds. Here and there is a sacred bannian-tree, carefully nurtured, and occasionally lighted with lamps at night. In the city and suburbs are seventy-eight pagodas.

My evening walks with Mr. and Mrs. Judson, were upon the hills, and near the principal of these pagodas. The ascent is fatiguing, though part of the way is facilitated by brick stairs 12 or 15 feet wide. The pagoda, as usual, is entirely solid. Around its base are smaller ones, and numerous shrines built of brick nicely stuccoed, like little temples, from the size of a large dog-house up to the size of a small dwelling. Within and around these are images of Gaudama, precisely like the pictures of him common in America, generally well gilt. Little paper flags, &c. &c. are before them,—the offerings of the devout. Tall flag-staffs are numerous planted on the crown of the hill, with various streamers, some of which are tasteful and elegant.

A large and substantial house stands beside the pagoda, literally filled with images of Gaudama, most of them of colossal size. These are made of brick, with a thick coating of plaster, perfectly smooth, and resembling marble. There are some hundreds of these, all in perfect repair, many of them apparently placed there by these deceived idolaters, quite lately. The number continually increases. One of these images is in a recumbent posture, and must be at least forty feet long. Some of the images represent worshippers, in a most reverent attitude, before certain figures.

While walking among these distressing evidences of folly and misery, we often saw scenes like the following:—A poor man struggled up the back part of the mountain with a little child on his hip, less than three years old, plucking a few green twigs from the bushes as he passed. He went up to a great bell, suspended in the area, and, taking a deer's horn lying on the ground for the purpose, struck it twice or thrice. Then, reverently entering the image-house, he prostrated himself, and taught his little one to do the same, which it did so readily as to make it certain it was not its first attempt. He then prayed with the palms of his hands placed together, and raised to his forehead, while the poor little babe lisped out some of the same words. At the conclusion, he walked up to the idol he had

addressed, and laid before it, with great solemnity, his offering of green leaves, and, taking up the babe, descended the mountain.

O ye parents, who take no pains to teach your little ones to adore, and trust, and serve the eternal God, be reprov'd and abashed! That poor idolater may confront and condemn you at the last awful day!

Thank God, the gospel is slowly extending its happy conquests in this place. Two very respectable people applied for baptism last Lord's day, and many are persuaded that Boodh is no God. A hundred Christians hold forth the truth, and a teeming press presents to the people the divine testimony. But we must pray for the Spirit's influence. May not this be our chief deficiency?

The mission here was established by Mr. Boardman with the first settlement of the town by the British in 1827. Mr. Judson came in a few months, and Mr. Boardman left the place to commence the station at Tavoy. It is now the principal point in our mission, having the printing-office, five houses for missionaries, an English chapel, a large teak-wood zayat, and smaller zayats in different parts of the town. Belonging to the station are Mr. Judson, Mr. Hancock, Mr. Osgood, and Mr. Bennett. The latter is wholly engaged in teaching an English high-school for native children, and is nearly supported by the salary allowed by the Company.

The printing-office is of brick, two stories high, 136 feet long by 56 wide. It is in the form of an \perp , so that the picture, which was taken from Mr. Judson's veranda, shows only a part. It contains four hand-presses, and a power-press, equal to two more; twelve small founts of English type, one of Burman, one of Karen, and one of Taling. For these last, there are punches and matrices complete, so that they may be cast anew at any time. The expense has, of course, been enormous, there being about one thousand matrices for the Burman fount alone. A new set of punches and matrices has just been ordered for the Burman character on a size reduced one third. The upper rooms of the office are devoted to a bindery, storage, &c. The capabilities of the bindery are fully equal to the work of the printing-office. Every part of the labor, in printing and binding, is performed by natives; of whom, on an average, 25 are constantly employed.



Printing-Office at Maulmain.

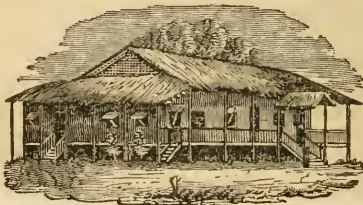
The native church under Mr. Judson's care has more than a hundred members. Some sixteen or eighteen are valuable assistants, of whom a part are generally employed at other stations. Such as are employed here, meet Mr. Judson every morning at sunrise, and give an account of their labors during the previous day, often rehearsing the very conversations. An excellent opportunity is thus obtained for enlarging and rectifying their views, and giving them helpful ideas in particular cases. On Sunday, the congregation consists of but few beside the church-members. If any attend three or four Sundays, they are pronounced disciples by their friends, and indeed generally become so.

English influence, in a variety of ways, improves the temporal condition of these provinces. It has abolished those border wars, which kept this people and their neighbors continually wretched. None but those familiar with the country can describe the evils produced by a Burman war. The troops are drawn from the remotest provinces, and, as they march, laborers, stores, money, boats, and cattle, are taken without compensation. They have no tents, no pay, no regular rations, and suffer every sort of hardship. Every where, as they go, the people fly into the jungle; and such property as cannot be carried away is plundered without restraint. Poverty and distress are thus spread over the whole kingdom, even by a petty border conflict. Of course, at the seat of war,

every evil is magnified a hundred fold. The mode of raising troops is the worst possible. Each chief is required to furnish so many, and is sure to get rich by the operation. He calls first upon those who have money, and suffers them to buy themselves off, taking finally only those who have no money. So, if he want boats, the richer boatmen pay a bribe and get off, and the poorer must go. So with carts, and, in fact, every thing. The suppression of war cuts off a large portion of the chances for these extortions.

In the Tenasserim provinces, various improvements are perceptible. Coin is getting introduced instead of masses of lead and silver; manufactures are improving; implements of improved construction are used; justice is better administered; life is secure; property is sacred; religion is free; taxes, though heavy, are more equitably imposed; and courts of justice are pure, generally. Formerly, men were deterred from gathering round them comforts superior to their neighbors, or building better houses, for fear of exactions. Now, being secure in their earnings, the newly-built houses are much improved in size, materials, and workmanship.

Presuming that my readers would be glad to see Mr. Judson's residence, and desirous of giving a specimen of the houses of our Burman missionaries, I made a drawing, which is given in a reduced size below. It contains three good-sized rooms and two small ones. It is built precisely like the natives' houses, only larger and better, and cost about three hundred dollars. All our Burman missionaries use similar ones. During my pleasing residence with this great and good man, the small room on the extreme left was my chamber, and the large one, with two little fir-trees under the windows, my study. The centre room is the dining-hall, and the farthest one Mr. J.'s chamber. His study is a large apartment partitioned off from one end of the chapel. The kitchen, or "cook-house," is always a small, separate building.



Mr. Judson's House.

CHAPTER IV.

Population of Rangoon ; Commerce ; Prices of Living — Shoodagōn Pagoda — Slaves of the Pagoda — Sunrise Worship — Rainy Monsoon — Mission — Voyage to Pegu — Evidences of former Greatness — Shoomadoo Pagoda — Voyage up the Irrawaddy — Boats — Mode of Fishing — Prome — Leper Village — Gaudama's Foot — Burman Energy — Earth-oil Wells — Shyan Caravan — Ruins of Paghan — Attempt to buy Beef — Buffalo Herdmen — Curiosity of Natives — Toddy — Arrival at Ava.

ON the 14th of May, the sad hour of bidding adieu to the dear missionaries and their interesting disciples arrived; and I embarked for Rangoon. Every day had increased my regard for them, and the probability of seeing them no more made the last few days truly sorrowful.

The change of the monsoon, which now takes place, is often accompanied with severe squalls; but these coasting vessels have little fear of them, and never lay up on that account. Often the season passes without any that are serious, as it has this year. We had two or three flurries, with rain; but they helped us on powerfully, and the 17th (of May) found me at Rangoon, without accident. The entrance of the river, though six miles wide, is difficult to find, the channel very narrow, and the coast very shoal for a great distance above and below; while a perfectly flat shore, scarcely above high tides, gives the mariner no certain land-marks. There are no pilots to be had, but by sending a boat to the city. On one point is a cluster of trees, which has been called "the elephant," from a fancied resemblance to that animal; but my imagination was too dull to discern much shape. The sands have extended some miles to the southward, since the coast was first surveyed.

Having passed the ordeal of the custom-house, without any special vexations, I found Messrs. Webb and Howard, with their wives, in usual health, and received from them a kind and cordial reception.

The name of Rangoon is so conspicuous in the annals of our mission, and occurs so often in the narratives of travellers on this coast, that I naturally entered it with feelings of peculiar interest. Association of ideas, of course, keeps up some of that interest; but so wretched a looking town, of its size, I have no where seen.

The city is spread upon part of a vast meadow, but little above high tides, and at this season resembling a neglected swamp. The approach from the sea reveals nothing but a few wooden houses between the city wall and the shore. The fortifications are of no avail against modern modes of attack. They consist of merely a row of timbers set in the ground, rising to the height of about 18 feet, with a narrow platform running round inside for musketeers, and a few cannon, perhaps half a dozen in all, lying at the gateways, in a useless condition. Some considerable streets are back of the town, outside the walls.

The entire population is estimated at 50,000, but that is probably too much. There is no other seaport in the empire, but Bassein, which has little trade, and the city stands next in importance to Ava; yet there is literally nothing in it that can interest a traveller. A dozen foreigners, chiefly Monguls, have brick tenements, very shabby. There are also four or five small brick places of worship, for foreigners, and a miserable custom-house. Beside these, it is a city of bamboo huts, comfortable for this people, considering their habits and climate; but in appearance as paltry as possible. Maulmain has already many better buildings. The eaves of the houses generally descend to within six or eight feet of the ground; very few being of more than one story, or having any other covering than thatch. Cellars are unknown, and all the houses are raised two or three feet above the ground for coolness and ventilation. As the floors are of split bamboo, all dirt falls through, and what is not picked up by crows, dogs, fowls, &c., is occasionally swept out, and burned. For nearly half the year, the city presents a most singular appearance, half sad, half silly. By a standing law, on the setting in of the dry season, all the thatch must be removed, except a particular kind, not common, made partly of split bamboo, which will not easily burn. Were it not for the people in the streets, and the cloths of various kinds put up in the houses to keep off the sun, it would seem, at these times, like a city deserted.

The streets are narrow, and paved with half-burnt bricks, which, as wheel-carriages are not allowed within the city, are in tolerable repair. There is neither wharf nor quay. In four or five places are wooden stairs, at which small boats may land passengers; but even these do not extend within twenty feet of low-water mark. Vessels lie in the stream, and discharge into boats, from which the packages, slung to a bamboo, are lugged on men's shoulders to the custom-house.

The commerce of the place is still considerable, though great-

ly crippled by enormous port-charges, and absolute prohibitions against exporting rice or the precious metals. Specie is exported, but only by adroit smuggling. Could rice be exported freely, a most beneficial trade, both to government and people, might be carried on, the agriculturist receive a better reward for his toil, and the price of land be raised throughout the kingdom. Paddy is now selling at five rupees the hundred baskets; that is, about \$2,50 for a hundred bushels!

The best clean rice is twelve annas a basket—about forty cents a bushel! Wheat, as good as I have ever seen, is selling at twenty dollars per hundred bushels. Such prices would send here half the vessels in Bengal Bay. How strange that governments must always be doing damage, by dabbling in matters which, if left to themselves, would prosper!—However, the policy is certainly more wise than that of Great Britain, which lets some of her subjects annually starve, and others constantly suffer, by keeping bread-stuffs away.

Other necessaries are equally cheap in Rangoon—fowls, about one dollar per dozen; black tea, brought down the Irrawaddy from China, twelve cents a pound; rice, a cent for three pounds; coffee, ten cents per pound; sugar, ten; bread, twice our price; eggs, fifty cents per hundred; milk, forty-five cents per gallon; wages, six dollars per month, without food or lodging; oil for cooking and lamps, eight cents per pound; washing, four dollars per hundred; fuel, about seventy-five cents per month. Almost every kind of British manufactures may be had in the bazar, at rates not higher than they cost in Boston. Medicines are not easily procured, and many kinds are excessively dear.

During the long wars of Europe, in the days of Napoleon, many vessels were built here, chiefly by the English, amounting, on an average, from 1790 to 1802, to three or four thousand tons per annum. At the time of Colonel Symmes's visit, in 1795, there were several ships on the stocks, of from 600 to 1000 tons' burden. This branch of business is now almost annihilated.

Two miles from Rangoon is the celebrated pagoda, called *Shoo-da-gôn*. It stands on a small hill, surrounded by many smaller pagodas, some fine zayats and kyoungs, and many noble trees. The hill has been graduated into successive terraces, sustained by brick walls; and the summit, which is completely levelled, contains about two acres.

The two principal approaches from the city are lined on each side, for a mile, with fine pagodas, some almost vieing for size with Shoodagon itself. These are in every state of repair; from

beautiful white new ones to mere grass-grown heaps. In most of them the apertures still remain, through which the English soldiers penetrated, to take the treasure always deposited in them. Even the great pagoda did not escape ; but it is so perfectly repaired, as to show no signs of the indignity.

Passing these on your way from the city, you come to a flight of time-worn steps, covered by a curious arcade of little houses of various forms and sizes, one above another, some in partial decay, others truly beautiful. After crossing some terraces, covered in the same manner, you reach the top, and, passing a great gate, enter at once this sad but imposing theatre of Gaudama's glory. One's first impressions are, what *terrible* grandeur ; what *sickening* magnificence ; what absurd imagery ; what extravagant expenditure ; what long successions of devotees to procure this throng of buildings of such various dates ; what a poor religion that makes such labors its chief meritoriousness. Before you stands the huge Shoodagon, its top among the clouds, and its golden sides blazing in the glories of an Eastern sun. Around are pompous zayats, noble pavements, Gothic mausoleums, uncouth colossal lions, curious stone umbrellas, gracefully cylindrical banners of gold-embroidered muslin hanging from lofty pillars, enormous stone jars in rows to receive offerings, tapers burning before the images, exquisite flowers displayed on every side, filling the air with fragrance, and a multitude of carved figures of idols, worshippers, griffins, guardians, &c.

Always, in the morning, men and women are seen in every direction kneeling behind their gift, and with uplifted hands reciting their devotions, often with a string of beads counting over each repetition ; aged persons sweep out every place, or pick the grass from the crevices ; dogs and crows straggle around the altars, and devour the recent offerings ; the great bells utter their frequent tones ; and the mutter of praying voices makes a hum like the buzzing of an exchange. The whole scene is so strange, so distressing, that one is relieved to stroll away among the huge trees, and gaze from the parapet on the unlimited scene around. It is one wide, flat jungle, without a single hill, but that of Syrian in the distance ; but it is *nature*. It is the true temple of the true God ; the only representation he has given of his natural perfections, as the Bible is of his moral ones. All the rest is distortion, absurdity, and crime. Of inferior pagodas, (though some surpass in size any I have seen elsewhere,) there are, in Rangoon, more than five hundred, occupying as much space as the city itself, probably more. Most of them stand a

little out of the city, interspersed with groves, embowering costly kyongs and commodious zayats. The latter are particularly numerous, to accommodate the hosts of worshippers who resort hither at certain seasons of the year.

In the vicinity of the hill are 150 families of "slaves of the pagoda," containing about two hundred men, and, as their chief told me, "plenty of women." They do not appear to be poor or despised, and their quarter of the city is not distinguished by any particular feature. They become so, not always because of crime, but often by merely incurring the displeasure of a great man; or he gives them as an act of piety. Most of them are so by birth, for the progeny of such persons are forever in the same condition. They are not allowed to marry, except among themselves.

I visited the pagoda frequently, about sunrise, as it is the only direction in which one can ride. There were always twenty-five or thirty worshippers scattered up and down; and on the regular worship days, several hundred. They come and go during the cool of the morning, remaining about fifteen minutes, and amounting, I was told, in the whole, to two or three thousand. A few remain all day in the cool zayats, often repeating their worship, and spending the intervals of the time in friendly chat. Some, as an act of particular merit, stay all night. No priests are in official attendance, nor, indeed, did I ever see any there performing their own worship. The act of worship is called *shee-ko*, though the name is often given to the mere act of prostration which accompanies it.

Every one brings a present, often a bunch of flowers, or only a few green twigs, plucked on the way; but generally the nicest eatables ready cooked, beautiful bunches of flowers, articles of raiment, &c. The amount of offerings here is very great. Stone vases, some of which will hold fifty or sixty gallons, stand round the pagoda, into which the devotees carefully lay their leafy plates of rice, plantains, cakes, &c. As these are successively filled, appointed persons from among the pagoda slaves empty them into their vessels, assorting the various kinds. The beautiful flowers remain all night, and are swept out in the morning. No one ever objected, however, to my gathering them at pleasure. A gift once deposited is no more regarded. I have seen crows and dogs snatch the gift ere the offerer had well done his prayers, without the shadow of resistance being offered.

The reproof of Jehovah to Israel by the prophet often came strongly to my mind as these crowds passed on with their

beautiful flowers, and the finest of the fruits of the earth. — “She did not know that I gave her corn, and wine, and oil, and multiplied her silver and gold, which they prepare for Baal: therefore I will take away my corn and my wine, and will recover my wool and my flax.” Hosea ii. 8, 9. How boundless the goodness and forbearance of God! “Will a man rob God? Yet these rob him of the tithes and offerings” bestowed on their senseless images, and take *his* fruits of the earth to do honor to the things his soul abhors. I could not but feel, as I gazed upon the rich landscape and bright heavens, and marked the joy of the young men and maidens as they passed on, that He who then forbore would in his abundant mercy “give them pastors after his own heart, who shall teach them knowledge and understanding.”

The rainy monsoon has been considered fairly set in, since the 10th of May, but it rains as yet generally only towards night, and the weather is every way delicious; every tree being ever-green, a few showers bring forth all the beauties of midsummer. Though the sun is nearly vertical, the clouds and showers so cool the air, that the thermometer seldom rises above 86° or 87° at noon, and goes down to 80° before morning. I have now passed the ordeal of the entire hot season; and of nothing am I more convinced, both from experience and observation, and especially from the testimony of very many intelligent foreign residents, than that the climate is as salubrious and as pleasant as any other in the world. I have suffered from heat greatly more in Italy, and even in Philadelphia, than I have ever done here, and have never found a moment when I could not be perfectly comfortable by sitting still. To go abroad in mid-day, is, however, more intolerable, and, for any but natives, is eminently hazardous.

The mission to this city has had great disadvantages, and the apparent results are at this time very small. The first missionaries, who were English, chose a situation outside the town near the pagoda, and erected a building far too sumptuous. One afterward chose another field, and the other, another employment. The station was never effectively occupied till by Mr. Judson, who, being without native assistants, without the language, without tracts, without experience, and living in the same house, was here many years before he began to make direct evangelical efforts among the people.

All travellers accord to Burmans the praise of uncommon energy, and in this respect they doubtless stand very far above their neighbors. But though possessed of much muscular power, and ready at times to exert it all, their activity will not

compare with that of northern men. In negotiations of all sorts, they are particularly slow, crafty, and suspicious. From the day of my arrival, I looked out for a boat to convey me to Pegu, Ava, &c., and several times thought I had succeeded in hiring a suitable one; but have been finally compelled to purchase. Being a mere hull, it has been necessary to build upon it the customary appurtenances, and I have found it impossible to expedite the business. Through the kind offices of Mr. Lanceigo, collector of the port, I have an excellent and experienced old *pen-in*, or head boatman, who, with six men, engages to take me to Pegu and Ava for a given sum.

On the first of June, I set forward to visit Pegu and adjacent towns, accompanied by Mr. Webb, two of the native assistants, and a servant. A clear sky enabled us to get every thing on board without wetting, and we got on finely for a couple of hours, when a squall came up, which nearly swamped us; but it was soon over, and we baled out the boat, and proceeded with renewed obligations to praise Him "who walketh upon the wind and maketh the clouds his chariot."

The comfort and confidence with which, in this region, one may travel for half the year, secure from storm or shower, are now reversed. It rains daily. The atmosphere, loaded with moisture, insinuates its dampness every where, making musty and mouldy the very clothes in one's trunk. Those who are at home here can do very well by wrapping things in flannel or waxed cloths, or putting them in tin boxes, &c. But the traveller, and the voyager in a small boat, has none of these conveniences.

Entering the Pegu River about an hour's pull below Rangoon, we ascended to the ancient and famous city of Pegu in three tides. Had we not stopped to look at towns, distribute tracts, &c., two tides would have answered, by which I judge the distance to be about sixty miles. The river empties into the Rangoon by a wide mouth, but soon narrows to two hundred yards, and before we get to the city, to as many feet. Only small boats ascend it further. The banks are luxuriant flats, covered with a grass ten or twelve feet high, (the *saccharum spontaneum*,) much used in thatching. For the first forty miles, no habitations are to be seen. Monkeys, alligators, cranes, and vultures, were numerous. Elephants, deer, wild hogs, tigers, &c., are said to be abundant, but we saw none. This fair and fruitful region is almost abandoned, while whole nations struggle to glean from barrenness and frigidity a hard subsistence.

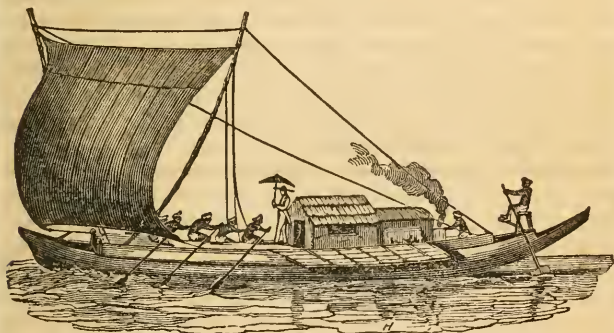
Within twenty miles of Pegu, we found villages, and gave tracts, accompanied with exhortations from Mr. Webb and the assistants. In these towns, no tracts had ever been given, no Christian teacher had ever been seen. Many refused our books, suspecting some snare; but the most received them gladly. Most of the tracts were Extracts from the Old Testament, Mark, Luke, and Life of Christ. The latter is a copious harmony of the four Gospels, wholly in Scripture language.

Having made considerable alterations in my boat, suggested by experience in going to Pegu, I left Rangoon for Ava, accompanied by Mr. Howard, as interpreter, on the 14th of June. The weather was fine, and before the end of the flood tide, we had rowed twenty-five miles on the Panlang, one of the mouths of the great river of Burmah. The country was flat, inundated at high tides, and uncultivated, till toward evening, when the banks were higher, the lands laid out for rice, and villages numerous.

Stopping, at the expiration of the next tide, at Kew-new, twenty-five miles further, we found a cluster of large villages, amounting to fifteen or sixteen hundred houses. Innumerable boats, large and small, were taking in rice, salt, fish, &c., for the upper country. Hiring two small canoes, which could penetrate among the crowd of boats, we supplied tracts to all who would accept them on both sides of the river; thus sending the truth to perhaps a hundred different villages. Before getting the canoes, I gave to all the boats passing by, and was affected to see some who could not come near, plunge into the river and swim to me for them, and, bearing them back with upraised hand, sit down instantly to read them aloud. Some women applied for books, who proved their claim by reading fluently. In most of the boats, large and small, were women and children, who seemed at home, and, I am told, spend much of the year (in some cases all of it) in this way. In the small craft, they generally steer the boat while the husband rows.

The boats on this river, though of all sizes up to 200 tons, are but of two general descriptions. All retain the canoe shape, sharp at each end. Large boats have one mast, and a yard of long, slender bamboo, to which is suspended a square sail. The sail is made in sections, the centre ones only being used in strong winds, and the others added at the sides when necessary. Sometimes a small sail is temporarily fastened above the yard to the ropes, by which it is sustained. The deck extends from five to ten feet beyond the sides, with large bamboos fastened beneath; making at once a platform for the men, when using their

setting-poles, &c., and an outrigger to prevent their upsetting. The vessel itself is wholly covered with a regular Burman house, well thatched, which carries part of the cargo, and furnishes cabins to the family and boatmen. This gives them just the appearance of the pictures of Noah's ark in children's books. Over this roof is a platform, on which the men stand to work the sail. They are manned by from fifteen to twenty-five or thirty men, and sometimes forty or more; the captain, or owner, having their wives and whole families on board. A better idea of these boats may be gained by the picture of Sagaing, in which two are introduced.



Ascending the Irrawaddy.

My boat is a sample of such as persons in moderate circumstances use for going from town to town, and in the small way of trade along the river. It is a canoe hollowed out of one log, forty-six feet long, deepened by a single plank fastened on each side. The stem and stern are left solid for three or four feet, and curve upward out of the water, especially aft. The forward half is decked with bamboo and thatch. As Burmans sit cross-legged on a floor to row, this accommodates them in using both oars and poles, and furnishes a sleeping-place beneath for the native assistants. The boatmen always sleep on deck. About twelve feet of the after half is occupied by two little cabins for myself and Mr. H., one for sleeping, and the other, which contains a table, chair, &c., serving as a parlor. The sides of the latter are made of light mats, the upper half turning up for a window. The sleeping-room is but three feet high, as baggage, food, &c., must be kept under it; but the floor of the sitting-room being

near the bottom of the boat, enables us to stand up in it. Behind the rooms is the kitchen, viz. a shallow box filled with earth; beneath which is wood and water; while at the side hangs a hen-coop. Round the rooms is an outrigger, to enable the men to pass back and forth without intruding on me, and to prevent her oversetting. This last appendage is not common to boats of this size. Finding her to roll heavily, we fastened at the water-mark a bamboo, ten or eleven inches in diameter, running nearly the length of the boat. The sail, which is square, is fastened between two bamboos, which stand up abeam of each other, in the form of the letter V.

Such is my *home* for much of this "rains." For the first few days, I was so cramped for room, and so incommoded with rain, heat, smoke, and mosquitoes, that it was difficult to do any thing in the way of study. But now I am quite at ease; the mosquitoes are left behind; my little matters are all adjusted, and I find it luxury to enjoy the entire command of my time — a luxury for many years almost unknown.

Ten days' diligent progress brought me within a day or two of Prome, where the unbroken level of the vast delta of the Irrawaddy begins to be relieved by the occasional sight of distant hills. A few miles onward, they approach the river, where their abraded bases present the now novel sight of stones and gravel. The rocks are red calcareous sandstone, quartz, and breccia, the gravel chiefly quartz. Undulations now begin to appear in the surface of the country, and on the whole the scenery is attractive. More delightful weather could not be. A fine shower or two, nearly every day, lasts half an hour or so, and the temperature varies agreeably from eighty to eighty-five degrees in the day, descending two or three degrees at night, while at all times there is a fine breeze. This, for the hot season, as it now is, was much cooler than I had expected. The banks now begin to be high, and dry enough to admit walking along the shore, and I find it pleasant to pass through the beautiful groves of mango, tamarind, and palm-trees, which divide the villages. Hitherto we have had villages in sight almost every moment, sometimes several at a time. It is so, still; but on ascending the bank, we find others, not visible from the boat, stretching along a mile back from the river. Beyond are extensive paddy-fields, with large herds of buffaloes.

The river is now thirty feet above its lowest stage, and spreads for a mile or two on each side, not in one vast sheet, but cutting up the country into innumerable islands. We follow the remote

windings to avoid the powerful current of the main stream, and thus find many villages where no white face was ever seen. These are generally small, but consist sometimes of several hundred houses. As no missionary has gone up the river to give tracts in the rainy season, there is little doubt but that many of these people now for the first time receive the knowledge of the true religion. On the great river, we often find persons who have had tracts, and now utterly refuse them. But in these by-ways, all receive them with gladness.

I feel especially anxious to furnish the boats with books. Issuing, as they do, out of every creek, they will carry some knowledge of the eternal God to hundreds of villages where no missionary is likely to penetrate for years.

Several times, lately, I have observed an ingenious, and to me novel mode of fishing. A score or more of gourds are suffered to float down the stream, from each of which depends a hook and line. The fisherman, in his little canoe, passing from one to another, takes up what is caught, baits the hooks, and when he has followed them a mile or two, returns with his fish, or begins again.

A strong southerly wind brought us to Prome (*Pyee-myu*, as the natives call it) early on the afternoon of the 24th, and gave us sufficient opportunity of viewing the city. For eight or nine miles, the villages had been contiguous, some of them very large. We walked over a good deal of the city. It exhibits every where symptoms of poverty and decay; and, from an estimate made on a height in the suburb, I should judge it to contain less than five hundred houses. The walls are mostly fallen down, the ditch filled up, and the stately remains of ancient superstition hastening to ruin. We went a little way beyond the city to a fine hill, on which stands a pagoda not much smaller than that at Rangoon, and gilded from top to bottom. The ascent is by brick stairs, covered with a succession of zayats. In some respects, it is a more interesting spot than the hill of Shoo-da-gon. The city is more plainly seen, the vicinity is far more beautiful, and the distant mountains form a fine back-ground. Around the pagoda are many smaller ones, containing beautiful marble images, some as large as life. A very handsome temple is appropriated to a copy in stucco of the impression of Gaudama's foot, a copy of which is given in another part of the volume. A profusion of tees, gilded streamers, and other objects usually seen around pagodas, occupy the enclosure; and the whole air of the place is that of solemn antiquity. In one of the zayats

sat an old man, thin, and of a fine intellectual countenance, eating a nice dinner, which some women had brought him, who were sitting near to return with the dishes. He has determined to spend his remaining days or years on that venerated hill. What is brought him he eats. When nothing comes, he fasts. In different places were seen persons at prayer, or piously cutting up the grass which obtruded itself in the joints of the flagging. The bells, struck by coming worshippers, yielded deep, soft tones, and the chime from the lofty tee was particularly clear and sweet. The sun, descending with uncommon splendor, threw his mitigated rays under the roofs of the ancient temples, casting twilight pomp upon the stately idols in the deep niches; silence reigned among the retired terraces and time-worn shrines; the free, fresh breeze diffused luxurious coolness, and, as the shade of evening gathered on, the place seemed just such as a devoted Boodhist would choose for his abstractions. A Christian could not but recur to holy themes, and be warmed with fervent aspirations for the coming of the Lord.

Descending by different stairs, a polite citizen pointed out the evidences of a magnificent arcade, which was accidentally burnt several years ago. It was the rulers' way to the pagoda. Over the low grounds beyond it is a fine causeway of brick, some hundred yards long. On each side, groves of palm, interspersed with kyoungs and little bridges, formed altogether a scene of great beauty. All this to the honor of a frail man, who died and was buried, as his own worshippers admit; while He who gives the rain in its season, and in whom they live, receives no reverence! All this to "change the glory of the incorruptible God into an image," and "the truth of God into a lie"! All this to "worship and serve the creature more than the Creator, who is God over all and blessed forever"! O that this people may soon know the riches of the goodness and long-suffering of God! Alas! that the best we can hope of this unliappy people, is, that, having "sinned without law, they shall perish without law"!

Before reëntering the city, we passed through a little village allotted to lepers. Four men and a woman seated themselves in a row, by the way-side, as we came up, and modestly solicited alms. Before giving any thing, I stopped some minutes to observe the effects of this terrible disease. They made no clamor, did not repeat their solicitations, showed off no affectations, but were cheerful and entirely without pain. Much bodily suffering is not endured in this disease, except at the commencement. One was not much affected: each of the others had lost all of their

fingers, and most of their toes. They were thin and haggard. The distressing scene brought powerfully to mind the gracious cures of our Divine Master. There are about thirty-five or forty of these persons in the city, occupying two villages.

A couple of hours' sail from Prome, with our fine monsoon, brought us to a narrow pass in the river, resembling the highlands of the Hudson. On one of the highest western summits is the famous pagoda Poo-o-dong, visible among the trees. Here Gaudama lived, and here is shown on a rock the print of his foot, *evidently* fabulous, one would think, even to a Burman; for no human foot was ever of such a shape. Copies on stone, in plaster, or in painting, of this great wonder, are preserved in many places, and regarded with great veneration. I afterward obtained one of these, from which the drawing is made.

On every side, for some days, we have indigo growing, and the large jars in which it is steeped, frequently stand in rows beside the river. Both soil and climate here are said to be eminently favorable to this plant, and the cultivation of it in experienced and scientific hands would certainly prove lucrative. Most of the product is consumed in this region, which is particularly devoted to manufactures. Large quantities of cotton cloth are daily seen hanging up at the villages, in the course of being dyed. Some of it is of a brilliant red, procured from native woods called *nee-pe-zay* and *soo-ban*. These are preferred even to the sapan wood, as yielding as good a color, and more durable.

In every respect the landscape has now changed. Instead of an interminable level, devoted mainly to coarse grass and paddy, without trees, without birds, and without houses, except in large villages, we have every variety of beautiful landscape; fine hills, cultivated in patches, even to the summit, scattered houses, fenced fields, noble trees; with horses, cattle, hogs, fowls, and numerous birds. Among the trees the beautiful and stately tamarind now begins to be seen.

The number of trading boats on the river is astonishing. We pass scores every day, and sometimes hundreds. My boat being small, in mere ballast trim, and well manned, we pass every thing, and thus have an opportunity of supplying numbers of them with tracts. The largest of them carry ten or twelve thousand bushels of uncleaned rice, the smaller three or four hundred. Their chief lading seemed to be rice, salt, and gna-pee. In ascending, they are, for the most part, drawn by the crew with a rope from the bank, or propelled by setting-poles; sailing

only when the wind is fair, and neither too strong nor too weak. They are generally from three to four months in ascending from the delta to Ava.

No one can ascend the river without being impressed with the hardihood, skill, energy, and good-humor of Burman boatmen, and the happy adaptedness of their boats to the navigation. In ascending, much of the way must be accomplished by setting-poles. For these they use straight bamboos, of a species which is almost solid, and very strong. The end is applied, not to the front of the shoulder, as with us, but above the collar-bone, or on the top of the shoulder. Bending forward till their hands touch the deck, they bring the resistance perpendicular to the spine, and thus possess far greater power than is possible by our mode. When but slight exertion is required, the pole is applied as with us. On many boatmen and coolies, a callus is formed on the top of the shoulder, which looks like a small swelling. Getting aground is a daily occurrence, and sometimes frequently in a day, owing to the continual shifting of the sands, and uncertainty as to the height of the water. In such cases, the men are instantly in the water, to shove off. In pulling the boat by ropes, we frequently meet streams and nullahs, over which they swim without a moment's hesitation. If a bamboo or an oar fall overboard, they instantly plunge in and recover it. In fact, they seem almost amphibious; and Burman costume is most happily adapted to aquatic exigencies. The strength and energy with which they surmount difficulties, transcend any thing I ever saw among the boatmen on our own western waters, and in point of temper and morality they are immeasurably superior. In this trip and my various previous ones, I have never seen a quarrel, or heard a hard word. Cross accidents have occurred, and we have frequently been entangled with other boats; but all difficulties have been met and surmounted with good temper, and even hilarity.

Familiarity with the watery element seems to prevail in Burmah, wherever there are streams. I have seen women and children swimming with ease and confidence; and several times little children, scarcely able to walk alone, frightened at the white foreigner, have plunged into the water to swim to their mothers in the boats. The practice of mothers taking their infants daily to bathe, renders them perfectly fearless of the water.

June 27. For some days the river scenery has been increasingly interesting. The country seems generally under tillage; cities and towns line the shores, and the hills are covered with fine forests. Italy itself might justly be proud of the scenery. The

improvements and population appear to extend, however, in some places at least, but a short distance from the river.

Before sunset, June 28, came to for the night at Yay-nan-goung, a village important only for its trade in petroleum. The wells being but two miles from the village, I immediately set out to walk to them. The way was well beaten by bullock carts, often crossing the bed of the torrent, (now dry,) whence the village derives its name. A more rugged and desolate region can scarcely be imagined. The rocks are sandstone, pudding-stone, and petrifications; the soil, sand and blue clay. Small hills on every side rise abruptly, like waves in a chopping sea, sterile and unsightly. One plant only seemed to find a congenial soil. It resembled a prickly pear, growing to the height of thirty feet, with stem a foot in diameter.

The wells are very numerous, said to be more than 400, occupying a space of about 12 square miles. They are from 200 to 300 feet deep, of small calibre, and sustained by scantling. The temperature of the oil, when first raised to the top, is 89°. Men do not go down, but an earthen pot is lowered in and drawn up over a beam across the mouth, by two men running off with the rope. The pot is emptied into a little pool, where the water with which it is largely mixed subsides, and the oil is drawn off pure. It is exported in earthen jars, containing about 30 pounds. The price now, including the pots, is about a tical for 2½ viss, or about 50 cents for ten pounds. A well yields about 400 or 500 viss per day, and is worked by three or four men. Sometimes 700 are obtained. The amount depends on the quantity of water drawn up with the oil. A duty of one twentieth is paid to government.

This most useful oil is very extensively used for lamps and torches, and is exported to all parts of the empire whither it can be taken by water. It is also used for preserving wood, mat partitions, palm-leaf books, &c. from insects and from the weather, and is an admirable article for these purposes. Even the white ants will not attack wood which has been brushed with it.

For several days, we have noticed on the shore great quantities of petrified wood, and have gathered specimens, which exhibit the fibres and cells perfectly. Some trunks of trees, ten or twelve feet long, lie in the edge of the water, entirely petrified. Teeth, bones, &c. are found in the same state. The inhabitants assured me that they sometimes picked up petrified leaves.

Sal-lay, a day's sail above the oil wells, though not large, is an important city. It is the metropolis of a fertile district, and

drives a considerable trade in jaggery, catch, cotton, onions, &c. Here, as at several places before, we found Shyans, comfortably bivouacked on shore, and bartering blue jackets, stick lac, &c., for salt and salt-fish. Their commodities are brought in carts, and in panniers on the backs of bullocks. They seemed in no haste, were engaged in little manufactures for sale, and would probably remain till the close of the rains. They are instantly distinguished from Burmans, by wearing a regular round-about jacket and wide trousers of blue nankeen, reaching to the knees. The jackets are frequently quilted very neatly. I have seen various companies of them in different places, trading in the same manner. They always appear decidedly superior to Burmans in intelligence and civilization. There is, however, great difference in this respect between the different tribes. The information I have obtained respecting this nation, from the people themselves, and other sources, with what I may hereafter collect, will appear in another place.

The scenery since leaving the oil wells, is wholly changed. The hills are more naked, and the whole country wears a peculiar aspect of desolation; villages are few, and the population evidently sparse. In some places, the western shore rises abruptly to the height of two or three hundred feet, of very soft sandstone. The eastern bank is less elevated. Thousands of birds have made perforations in the side for their nests. Among these, the common sparrow and the wild pigeon seemed most numerous. Inland are rugged and bleak hills, covered with shrubs and stunted trees. The soil of the valleys is the debris of sandstone and breccia, with very little loam.

The remains of the once magnificent Pa-ghan stand in the midst of this region, so destitute apparently of the means of supporting human life. Such a locality, however, have some of the greatest cities in the world, and still more frequently the ruins of great cities. Man's presence and power can make a garden in a desert, and his departure brings desolation over the fairest scenes. This city is said to have been founded A. D. 107; but none of the ruins have ascribed to them a higher date than A. D. 860. An American could scarcely assign half this age to any building of brick. But these bricks are uncommonly fine, the masonry exceedingly massive, and the chunnam, or stucco with which they were coated, almost indestructible, in so mild a climate. The edifices, being regarded with religious veneration, have been preserved from all intentional dilapidation. The plants and trees, too, which overgrow deserted edifices elsewhere,

and, by insinuating their roots into crevices, hasten their ruin, are here not seen. This last peculiarity has been thought to arise from the influence of the adjacent earth-oil wells and springs, on the atmosphere.

As would be expected by all who have seen a Burman city, these ruins are of sacred edifices only. The frail bamboo houses of the people perish almost as soon as deserted. I entered the place from the north, where a common cart-way crossed the crumbled ridge of a great wall. Gullies and torrents cut up the environs on this side, and it is probable that the city never extended over this region. Every spot, however, which would accommodate a pagoda, has one upon it. Within the wall, the ground is level, though very high, and commanding a wide prospect. Here, for the first time, I saw buildings which could be called temples; many of the pagodas being built hollow, with noble rooms devoted to images and image worship. Some of these, as well as those which are solid, are of the noblest description; little injured by time, with here and there some remains of the exterior gilding in sheltered places. We entered some, and found superb carved and gilded ceilings, sheltering at once great, ghastly, half-crumbled Gaudamas, and herds of cattle. Marks of fire, in some, showed them to be used by the people for occasional homes, or perhaps by herdmen.

I could not attempt to count these venerable piles. They are thickly scattered, not only over all the site of the city, but for miles around. Many of them are more than a hundred feet high. One, which seems to have been occasionally repaired, is two hundred and ten feet high. The difference between their shape and that of those in the lower provinces is very striking. Instead of the solid mass of masonry, rising with a tapering spire, these are ponderous, wide-spread buildings, whose noble interiors entitle them to the name of temples. The arches are lofty, in both Grecian and Gothic forms, and the ceilings in many cases gilded and ornamented with painting and tracery. The exterior is equally unlike the pagodas of Pegu, from the profusion of labored cornices, turrets, and spires, which are scattered over the whole surface. The general resemblance is to that given in this volume, page 142.

It is evident that great reverence yet exists for this spot; for many of the pagodas, of a size scarcely inferior to their venerable neighbors, are certainly modern, and a few are new. Such a feature, in a landscape of ruins, is truly rare, and keeps the mind fastened on the sad thought that the cold and gloomy system

which reared these "vain oblations," has not passed away with the infatuated generation who constructed them.

That the people should come to these abandoned shrines, and add others also, to be left unhonored by the passing through, is perhaps accounted for by the fact, that on this spot this religion was first proclaimed in Burmah. Ah-ra-han, the successful missionary of Boodhism, here proclaimed its doctrines nearly a thousand years ago. At this place, (then the metropolis,) under the patronage of King Ah-nan-ya-tha-mon-zan, he taught his "new religion;" and its spreading influence utterly supplanted polytheism, and all the ancient superstitions. Thus may man, with kingly aid, change the *forms* of human faith; but, oh, how hopeless are our efforts to change the *hearts* of this people, without divine aid! God grant that the period of Boodhist delusions may soon cease, and leave these new structures only to mark the melancholy prevalence of former sin!

The boatmen having intimated, some days ago, that cattle were very plenty here, and that I might get a calf cheap, I inquired if they wanted veal themselves. They rather reluctantly confessed their desire, knowing me to be aware of their religious scruples; but I readily agreed that, if they would procure me a calf, my Madras servant should kill it, so that they might eat without compunction. Accordingly, at Noung-oo, the penin bought a fat yearling for a rupee and a half, (67½ cents.) But as the late owner was leading it to the river, half a dozen of the neighbors set up a clamor, because he had sold his beast to be killed; a crowd gathered, the penin slunk away, and the disappointed owner led back his heifer! The proper way to get meat is to shoot any fat animal you see, then pay its owner for the damage, and bear off your prize. The owner in such case escapes blame, and is gratified to get the money.

In this region, cattle are very numerous, both buffaloes and the braminy breed. We were offered, at the next village, a fine pair of very fat oxen for six rupees. The roads are good here, and much inland transportation is carried on. We every evening saw herds brought over from the islands, where they had been pastured during the day. It was amusing to observe the skill of the herdmen in swimming them across the wide and rapid current. With a short stick, they swam behind, making them keep their heads up stream, bringing up those who lag, jumping often on their backs, and walking from one to another; now standing up on an ox, now sitting at ease upon him, now dashing down or up for a straggler, and seeming to be as much in their element as the buffaloes themselves.

It has often been very amusing to see the consternation or the curiosity of the people, many of whom have never seen a white man before. Even the dogs set up an unusual barking; but the fiercest of them run, if I step a moment. I have sometimes put to partial flight a herd of buffaloes, to whom my white face and white dress are as terrific as to the dogs. As I sit to eat in the boat, a range of women and children often squat on the ground to gaze. If I go toward them, they generally vanish. Often, on entering a house among the Karens, on some of my tours, the whole family would run away, and leave me in sole possession. Many times, as I walk along the bank, and, by turning a corner, come suddenly upon young girls drawing water, they instantly leave their pots and fly. To those who are too old to feel terror, I am generally an object of curiosity. They turn up my pantaloons, admire the seamless stockings, feel under my vest, and wonder that we should wear so many garments. Sometimes they call me a *nat*. I am constantly struck with their politeness. They desist from any thing on the slightest intimation; never crowd around to be troublesome; and if, on showing my watch, pencil-case, or any thing which particularly attracts them, there are more than can get a sight, the outer ones stand aloof, or keep seated, and thus wait till their turn comes, or, as is oftener the case, when I have not time to wait, forego the sight altogether, without any signs of turbulence.

After passing Paghan, the palmyra is very common. This is the species of palm which here yields the toddy, and is therefore called by foreigners *toddy-tree*. To many of them, slight perpendicular ladders are fastened, by which the owner ascends every morning to obtain the sap from a cut made for the purpose. But the regular climbers want no such aid. They tie their feet together, about six inches apart, and thus can apply the soles of each foot to the tree. Locking their fingers together, they clasp the trunk with their arms, and thus ascend with rapidity and ease. The sap or toddy is generally drunk immediately, when it is sweet and wholesome, or made into sugar, which resembles that obtained with us from the maple. When suffered to stand four or five hours, it ferments, and becomes more intoxicating than wine; but is rarely used in this state by Burmans, and almost never to the point of intoxication. From Paghan to Ava, this species of palm is very abundant, and produces a large amount of jaggery, which sells for two thirds of a cent, our money, per pound.

July, 5th, 1836, brought us in sight of the "golden city," after a voyage of three weeks. The distance is about 400 miles, by

my computation, though it is generally made 500. Since leaving the Delta, it has seldom rained, and only in warm and transient showers. We had some perils, at one time having the mast and sail carried away in a squall, and several times rolling heavily in rough places, so as to dip water on both sides. We were never without apprehensions of robbers, who always infest the river more or less. Several times, when we had moored for the night, the chief of the village came to assure us that many bad men lived in that neighborhood, and that we could not be safe without moving farther to where many boats might be lying, or a village. On several occasions, suspicious boats hovered round, which my men affirmed were robbers, but I was never attacked.

Thus a voyage in which I expected only discomfort and peril, has been performed with safety, and many conveniences. How foolish are uncomfortable anticipations, while we have reason to think we are in the path of duty!

On the way up, we have visited and distributed tracts in eighty-two towns, cities, and villages; supplied 657 boats and vessels, many containing families, and from fifteen to thirty men; beside handing them, in a multitude of cases, to persons along shore. Generally, we moored before sundown at some village, where the assistants would divide themselves, and, getting two or three congregations, spend the evening in preaching and discussions. In general, the tracts were received with the utmost avidity, and those who got one would often clamor for another. Scores waded or swam to the boat after them; and often we were so thronged with applicants, when moored to the shore, that we could scarcely eat or sleep. But this fact is far from proving a general desire among the people for the knowledge of the new religion. A tract is in every respect a curiosity. They have never seen such *paper*, their own books being made of palm-leaf, or black pasteboard, which is written upon with a steatite pencil. The *printing* is a great curiosity. The *shape of the book* is a curiosity. Besides, it is *property*, and no Burman will refuse a gift, without a strong reason.



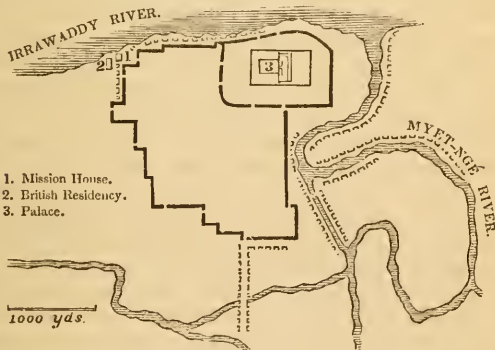
Burman Ox Cart.

CHAPTER V.

Ava—Splendid Kyoungs—Pagodas—Priests—Palace—Population—Arts—Prices—The Mek-a-ra Prince—Mea-wa-de Woon-gyee—The Burman Pontiff—Sur-ra-wa Prince—Climate of Ava—History of the Mission in Ava—Roman Catholics—Sagaing—Marble Quarries—Mengoan Pagoda—Coral strands—Take leave of Burmah.

My stay in Ava amounted to four weeks. The concerns of the mission, and the acquisition of information respecting the country and its tributaries, occupied, of course, all business hours. Daily habits of active exercise, however, gave me an opportunity of making such observations on the city and vicinity as naturally find a place in the diary of a traveller.

The name of the city is Ang-wa, or Awa, pronounced by Europeans Ava, a term which they sometimes apply also to the



Ground Plot of Ava.

kingdom. The city is surrounded by a wall twenty feet high, embracing a space of about seven miles in circumference. Within this is a considerable area, enclosed by a better wall, with a broad, deep ditch, called "the little city." This space is chiefly occupied by the palace, hall of justice, council-house, and the dwellings of some of the nobility, but contains also some well-built streets, and many inhabitants. The palace itself, and public buildings, are enclosed in a third wall, which is itself en-

closed in a stockade. A very large part of the city is outside of all these walls, on the margin of the rivers. On the east is the river Myet-nga, or Little River, a fine stream, a hundred and fifty yards broad, extending far into the interior. The Irrawaddy, opposite the city, is without islands, and compressed to a breadth of eleven or twelve hundred yards.

The sacred edifices, as usual, are the prominent objects, which, on every side, seize the attention. They are almost as numerous as at Pagan, and some of them of equal size. Viewed from the river above, their white and gilded spires give the city an exceedingly imposing appearance, which is not realized on entering it.

I shall not attempt minute details respecting these edifices; but Ava has little else to describe. Here are no hospitals, prisons, schools, societies, factories, &c., whose principles or modes would aid the philanthropist, or throw light on Burman character; no literature, nor literary men, to describe; nor even sects whose opinions, practices, numbers, &c. might be usefully traced. I will try, however, to give my reader some further ideas of Ava.

One of my first visits was to Bong-jeaw, a kyoung or monastery built by the present king. There are three separate houses, each as large as a common church, connected by galleries, and occupying a noble enclosure in the midst of the city. The roofs have of course the royal and sacred peculiarity of successive stages, one above another. Every part, except the very tiles, is richly carved in bass-relief, and covered with gold. Every inch of surface in the interior, except the floor, is similarly carved and gilded. The effect is dazzling, but rather childish than sublime. We found the pong-hee, ra-han, or president, in a vast apartment, with lofty ceiling supported by many pillars, reclining on the floor near the principal image, with his couch, books, writing apparatus, betel-box, &c. by his side. He was modest, sensible, and frank, utterly unlike the great majority of his brethren, so far as I have hitherto known them. He conversed freely for half an hour, and seemed much pleased with our visit. While we were there, a young priest came and worshipped him, precisely as the idol is worshipped, and, on going away, presented an offering of flowers, which he took in his hand, and laid on a vase near him, which was already piled with flowers, apparently received the same way.

I afterwards inspected several other kyoungs, quite as splendid. Certainly none but the monarch himself has so splendid a dwelling as the priests.

The pagodas are even more various in their shapes than at Pagan, and far surpass in taste and beauty any I have seen. Most of them are over one hundred feet high, and some more than two hundred. Of one of them I made a drawing, which will be given in another place. Colossal images of bell-metal, marble, and brick, covered with stucco, are innumerable. One which had just been finished out of a solid block of white marble, is truly stupendous. I had no mode of taking his vast proportions, but measured his hand, and found the breadth twenty inches. As his proportions were just, this would make his height, had he been in a standing posture, about thirty-five feet!

It is said there are in the city twenty thousand priests, including novitiates; and the number and size of the monasteries seem to sanction the computation. The queen's monastery has five hundred; and that which I have described above had three hundred regular priests, and about the same number of novitiates. It should be remembered, they are in fact colleges, and nearly all who are receiving a regular education are in them as novices.

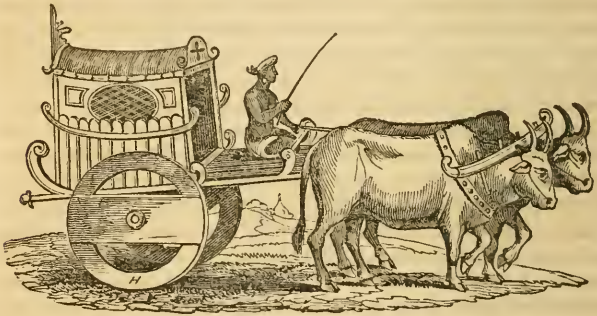
These buildings are found in almost every part of the city, enclosed by fine brick walls and shady walks. They are the only specimens of beauty and grandeur which the city can boast, except the pagodas, the palace, and a few zayats. Aristocratic feelings prevail even in these abodes of pretended sanctity; and into some of them, none but youth of the higher classes are admitted. A number of our disciples, who have been novitiates, speak unfavorably of the morals of the priesthood. Dressed like other citizens, they may go any where after dark without being recognized.

The palæe is entirely of wood. It consists of nearly a hundred buildings, of different sizes, and occupies a space about a quarter of a mile long, and almost as broad. The roofs all have the royal order of architecture. The hall of audience is in a sumptuous and convenient building, standing on a terrace of stone and mortar, which constitutes the floor, and is coated with stucco, hard and polished. Lofty pillars, richly carved, support the roof, and, like the rest of the building, are covered with gold. The roof rises like a steeple, with many stages, and is a hundred and ninety-five feet high.

In looking at such buildings, or at the numerous boats of his majesty and the nobility, of which every part, and even the ours, are covered with gold, one wonders whence all this wealth is derived, and is distressed that it should be so absurdly bestowed. The money expended in pagodas, kyongs, temples, and gold and

silver bawbles, would fill the country with canals, bridges, and durable houses.

The streets of Ava cross each other at right angles, and are wide, straight, and clean, but not paved. The centre is kept smooth and clean for foot-passengers, while the sides are appropriated to wheel-carriages, elephants, &c. Much of the labor of transportation is done by bullock carts. Their bodies are framed of timber, with bamboo yoke, and the wheels of wood, without tire. (See page 86.) I saw no horses used for draught; but handsome bullock carriages are used by the wealthy. They are without seats, of course, and the floor is nicely matted or cushioned. The animals, being used only for this purpose, trot along quite briskly. Around their necks are strings of bells. The houses



Burman Gentleman's Carriage.

are not generally better than in other large towns, but, thatch being entirely prohibited, they look more respectable. The roofs are covered with short pieces of bamboo, so arranged as to look exactly like shingles. Great men generally live in the centre of some square, surrounded by the houses of their many retainers. Most of them have a good brick building, of two or three rooms, intended not for occupancy, but as a fire-proof depository for their valuables. These have very lately become common, and with some fine brick monasteries just erected, and a sort of arsenal now in progress, indicate a general introduction of brick houses. Nothing but the absurd prohibition of the government has prevented this long ago. In some of these enclosures are pleasant gardens and fruit-trees.

As to the population of the city, I was at much pains to obtain correct information. The accounts obtained from government officers did not differ much from each other. They said a cen-

sus was recently taken, which gave 30,000 houses for the city and suburbs, without including any adjacent villages, and that ten per cent. ought to be added for omissions. They computed seven persons to a house, and thus make the population 200,000. As the government actually receives taxes on 30,000 houses, there does not seem room for estimating the number lower; but I am confident it must include the district. Mr. Crawford allows only 30,000. A severe fire occurred just before my arrival, which was reported by the proper officers to the king, as having destroyed 1,000 houses, beside huts and temporary residences. I examined the ground carefully, and compared it with the rest of the city, over all of which I rode, repeatedly. The result of the whole induces me to estimate the population of Ava at about 100,000. The whole city and kingdom being divided into tens of houses, under an officer, and every ten of these officers being under a superior, who has charge of them and their hundred houses, a census, at least under the very eye of government, must be tolerably correct. Taxes are assessed on families as such, without regard to wealth. The head man is the tax-gatherer. If he can tax one hundred houses, and report only ninety, he puts the balance into his pocket. A Burman census is thus almost always less than the truth.

The city abounds with shops, containing nearly every article of foreign goods, and an ample number of mechanics; though in some particular branches there are none. I purchased specimens of carpentry, jewelry, tin-ware, toys, *das*, lackered boxes, earthen-ware, gongs, &c., which were highly creditable to their skill. Their boat-building, carving, sculpture, gilding, basket-making, and weaving, are as good and ingenious as in America, for aught I could see, making due allowance for the differences of form, &c., established by national custom. I got some paintings executed in their best style by native artists, one of whom is the king's painter, which are about equal to the pictures on common clocks and looking-glasses. In landscapes they fail utterly, having no idea of perspective. Many of our trades are wholly unknown to the Burmans.

The market is abundantly supplied with fruits, vegetables, and fresh fish, of various excellent kinds. Beef and veal are generally to be had, but not every day. Fowls are much dearer than at Rangoon, costing, generally, a tical (about 50 cents) for four. Rice is also nearly double the price which it bears at Rangoon. Wages are five ticals (\$2,50) a month for men, or four annas (12½c.) per day; the laborer finding his own food.

Having seen much of humble life, in retired villages, and among individuals of this class, with whom I am constantly coming in contact, I was glad to multiply opportunities of noting the condition and manners of the great. My second visit of this kind was to the widow of the governor of the city, who so greatly befriended Mrs. Judson in her trials here during the late war. She was surrounded by retainers, and had as visitors at her house some distinguished females; but, except in the costly jewels about her person, and various valuables in her coon-box, was not to be distinguished from common people. Her house, in America, would have been deemed the abode of poverty. She was glad to see one who had been personally acquainted with Mrs. J., and several times remarked that she had always loved her as a daughter. She listens respectfully to religious subjects, but does not appear to be shaken in her attachment to Boodhism.

My next visit of the kind was to the Mek-a-ra prince, son of the late king, and uncle to the present one. He is grandson to the famous Alompra, and is said to bear a remarkable family likeness to that monarch and his descendants. He received us with great urbanity, and readily gave me information on various points, for which I had prepared myself with questions. My having been the intimate friend of Dr. Price, whose memory he cherishes with very affectionate respect, seemed of itself a passport to his regard.

He is much the most literary Burman in the kingdom. He reads English, is a good mathematician, is well acquainted with geography, and has considerable mechanical ingenuity. In his library are a number of good English books, among which is a complete set of Rees's Cyclopædia. He has also various instruments, models, &c. Withal, Burman-like, he is an alchemist. Mathematics is his favorite science, and he rejects every thing which cannot be demonstrated like a problem. I carried for my present* some small charts, exhibiting a condensed view of languages and their classification, governments and their condition, heights of mountains, lengths of rivers, &c., with which he expressed himself pleased, and upon which he asked Mr. Kincaid many questions, indicating both an excellent intellect and extensive information. He gave me minutely the last census, and his own opinion respecting the amount of population, voluntarily

* In all visits to the principal men, it is expected that a person when first introduced will make an offering. Indeed it is common under any circumstances.

writing for me the items on the spot. He is said to be remarkably free from national prejudices. A slight evidence of this occurred now. We all (Messrs. Kincaid, Simons, and myself) sat on the floor, of course, on a rug which was laid down for our accommodation; and I was pretty comfortable, with my back against a post. But one of my feet was before me; and his wife pointed the attention of a servant to that fact. The prince instantly forbade that I should be disturbed, and begged me to sit in any posture which I found most convenient. Sitting with the feet towards another is considered particularly disrespectful, and a Burman would hardly dare, for the price of his head, to take such an attitude before one of the royal family. I have since learned to sit *à la mode*, i. e. with my feet behind me, on one side, or crossed in front, as a tailor.

Though far from being a bigoted Boodhist, the prince, with all his reading, seems to be decidedly attached to that system. Mr. Kincaid gave him Gallaudet's book, on the soul, just issued from our press at Maulmain, translated by Mrs. Bennett. He received it with pleasure, but said he could not believe it, unless it proved the matter clearly, by making it just as plain as that two and two make four. I told him it presented a different kind of evidence, and endeavored to explain the difference between a mathematical and a moral certainty. But it was all in vain, till I begged him just to take his pencil, and prove to me, by figures, that he was not a dead man! He looked perfectly nonplused for a moment, then burst into a laugh, and seemed by further explanations to get the idea. He promised to read the book with earnest attention, and, on taking leave, begged Mr. Kincaid would bring me again.

Under the auspices of Colonel Burney, I had a very pleasant interview with the Mea-wa-de woon-gyee. He has long been chief woon-gyee, or prime minister, though much of his power is engrossed by Salé Men, the queen's brother. The venerable old man, whose countenance is very fine, received us very kindly, and with evident pleasure. Colonel Burney had told him that I had visited various parts of Europe, and he is very fond of hearing of foreign countries. He spoke of the great distance of America, and, taking up his circular coon-box, pointed out accurately, as on a globe, the relative positions of Burmah, America, England, &c. He added, however, perhaps on account of his retainers present, "Our system has a Myenmo mount,* and puts your country so and so." In accepting my presents, he said he

* See chapter on Burman religion.

knew not what to give us Americans and English, for we seemed to have every thing already; and neither he nor any other sent me any thing. Producing a gilded casket, he exhibited, apparently in corroboration of his remark, various handsome articles, chiefly of English manufacture, which had been given him; among the rest, a watch presented by the famous General Bandula, just before the contest with the British, in which he lost his life. There was also his Tsal-o-ay, which he handed us to inspect, and then wore during the rest of the interview. He spoke of our country with much approbation, and expressed a strong desire that we should open commercial relations. It was replied that their present restrictions on exports disabled our vessels from selling their cargoes; that if specie and rice were allowed to be exported, they could pick up what little lac, ivory, &c. there might be in the market, and, selling the rest of their goods for rice or specie, proceed elsewhere to complete their homeward cargo; but he could not see the propriety of sending away rice or specie. The wisdom and candor manifested on several topics which came up, encouraged me to lay before him the oppressive conduct of the rulers at Rangoon, and especially at Maubee, toward the missionaries and disciples. He declared himself entirely ignorant of these transactions, and much displeased. I remarked, among other things, that he knew the Karens had no religion; that their conversion threw no slur on the state religion; that Christianity must make better subjects of these wild and uncivilized people; and that in our country entire freedom of religious opinions was allowed without injury. He assented fully, and said, if I would have a full statement of the case written and laid before him, he would sift it to the bottom, and effectually prevent the repetition of such acts. This was accordingly done afterward through Colonel Burney.

This woon-gyee was a poor boy, and has risen, chiefly by his own merit, through many grades of office, to his present premier-ship; thus furnishing a strong exemplification of a peculiarity in this government, resembling a boasted trait in our own. No offices or titles here are hereditary but the kingship.

During the visit, two Shyan Chobwans came in, and gave me an opportunity of extending my information respecting routes to China. These men are, in point of fact, kings, at home, but they approached the minister with the greatest deference. They were waited on by the late Burman governor of Bamoo, another of the routes by which I am seeking to ascertain the accessibility of China.

A visit to the *Tha-then-a-byng'*, or supreme pontiff of the empire, was less pleasant. I was not surprised; much less displeased. He, of course, saw in me a patron and strengthener of the mission — an object he naturally abhors. He afterward gave as a sort of excuse for his reserve, that we did not sheeko at our entrance. If this was really his difficulty, it adds a proof to many I have had already, of the excessive pride of these priests. His monastery was as splendid as Burmans know how to make it; carved and gilded in every part, within and without.

The *Sur-ra-wa* prince, to whom Mr. Kincaid next introduced me, received me with the greatest urbanity. He is the only full brother of the present king, a few years younger, and is more likely to succeed him than the proper heir apparent.* He is said exactly to resemble the king, and certainly there could scarcely be a more intelligent and manly countenance. The *Alompra* forehead, which distinguishes this family, slopes backward somewhat too rapidly for a good head, but is high, and has great breadth. When speaking, his countenance is lighted up with great animation. Though less literary than his uncle, the *Mekara* prince, he is considered more talented, and to possess more general information. He spoke in high terms of our country, and acknowledged the impolicy of the restrictions on exports, and other impediments at Rangoon. In remarking on various countries and their institutions, he showed not only an enlightened, but a reflective and strong mind. Respecting the tribes between here and China, he gave me much valuable information. The object of my visit to the golden city being explained to him, I expressed much satisfaction, in finding our missionaries here fully protected and enjoying all the rights of citizenship. He immediately drew a comparison between the liberal usages of this country, in receiving and protecting all foreigners, and the policy of China, in excluding them; invited me to place teachers in the adjacent cities; and recommended me to travel in the interior, and see more of the country.

During the interview, his lady was introduced, with a lovely infant, two or three years old; and nothing occurred to indicate that odious haughtiness which so generally attaches to men of his rank in the East. On taking leave, he invited us to visit his garden next day, which we did; for I deem a garden a test of civilization. We found a large space, perhaps an acre, well laid out, with raised brick foot-paths, plastered, and resembling stone. Marble tanks, artificial ponds, with gold and crimson fish, numer-

* He ascended the throne, on the death of his brother, in 1837.

ous water-courses and reservoirs, and several men engaged in drawing water from wells, showed how much attention to irrigation is necessary to a garden at Ava. He had the peach, apple, coffee, fig, and many other foreign fruits, beside the varieties of luscious ones which are native. In an adjacent enclosure he had wild animals and some singular birds, perfectly gentle, and going at large. On the whole, it was a tasteful and pleasing spot. Men of rank, in this city, generally have such gardens, on which they bestow great expense. I visited one or two others, which had handsome zayats in them, where the owner reposed sometimes as in a summer-house, or received his intimate friends.

Not to multiply accounts of visits to great men, it will be enough to remark that I found all, to whom I was introduced, intelligent and affable. Having read of them as gorgeously arrayed on days of state ceremony, I was disappointed to find them dressed precisely like other men, i. e. with waist-cloth and turban only. These, however, were of the best materials. If it was the cool of the day, they wore also the en-gy, or muslin coat. Their dwellings now are temporary buildings, outside of the city wall, and are, in fact, mere shanties. By what is, perhaps, a necessary precaution, in such a government, when the king goes out of the city, all the nobles must go out also, and stay out till he returns. He is now residing at his water-palace, so called — a collection of wooden houses, one story high, between the city wall and the water.

During my whole visit here, Colonel Burney was in the habit of sending to me the distinguished persons who called upon him, who could give me information, from their own knowledge, of the tribes between this city and China. Among others was the lately famous Duphá Gám, who rules the largest part of the Singphoos. He came with a sera-dau-gyee, or chief secretary, and rode a horse richly caparisoned. The skirts of the saddle were circular, a yard in diameter, and completely gilded. In other respects, he had no marks of a prince but his intelligence. Among other inquiries, I asked if he would protect Christian teachers, and suffer them to give books, if we sent some to his tribe. He assured me that he would, and that all quiet foreigners were secure in any part of his dominions. Beside a small present of penknife, scissors, &c., he accepted a copy of the New Testament, an assortment of tracts, and a map of the world, lately lithographed by the missionaries, with the names in the Burman language. Mr. Kincaid endeavored to impress on his mind some leading truths of religion.

Beside the information gained from such persons, it was no small advantage to have the populace, who followed them, see the mission thus noticed by great men, and see their numerous retinue going away with our books and tracts in their hands. The influence of such a sight can only be realized by those who have seen the profound respect paid by Orientals to persons in authority.

The climate of Ava, most of the year, is delightful. The cool season lasts from the middle of October to the early part of April. During this period, heavy fogs prevail early in the morning, but they soon disperse, and leave a sunny sky. The thermometer at night, and toward morning, descends to 45° or 50° ; sometimes, though very rarely, to 40° ; rising in the middle of the day to 60° or 70° . Toward the end of April, it begins to be hot, and the last of that month, and whole of May, are the trying portion of the year. The thermometer ranges from 85° to 100° , rising sometimes even to 110° , in a fair exposure at mid-day; but it is always many degrees cooler at night. About the 1st of June, some dashes of rain occur; the sky is always cloudy, and the periodical inundation of the river spreads vast sheets of water over the low grounds. These, with the south-west monsoon, which rarely intermits, spread a cool freshness on every side. The present is the rainy season on the coast, and on the mountains north of Ava, but around the city it rarely rains; in some years, so little as to cut off all crops, and create almost a famine. It was during this period that my time was spent in Ava, and more delicious weather could not be. The thermometer has not been above 93° , and rarely above 87° . The average at mid-day has been about 83° or 84° . Before morning, I always find it necessary to draw over me a flannel sheet. The river is now from thirty to forty feet above its common level. About the middle of August, the waters begin to subside; the clouds are less dense; and for a short time very hot weather returns, but not so oppressive as in May. The cool season then sets in, as above mentioned. The river owes its rise not so much to rain in the upper country, as to the rapid melting of the snow on the lofty mountains connected with the Himalaya range, where the Irrawaddy rises, in common with the Kyendween, Burampooter, and great Camboja rivers.

Missionary efforts were begun in this city by Messrs. Judson and Price in 1822; but Mr. Judson very soon returned to Rangoon. Immediately on rejoining Mr. Price, with Mrs. Judson, in

1824, the war broke out, during which the missionaries were called not to act for Christ, but to suffer. At the close of the war, Mr. Judson proceeded to Amherst. Thus scarcely any thing was done to create a general knowledge of Christianity, or to convert individuals; Dr. Price being chiefly engrossed with his medical profession, and a school of noblemen's children. He was, however, a faithful and laborious man, so far as his bodily strength, wasted by a slow consumption, would permit. He preached to his retainers, and such as would come to his house, every Sabbath, and impressed religion on many with whom he came in daily contact, but never went among the common people as an evangelist. Had he lived to complete the education of the youth intrusted to him, he would have done an incalculable service to the country. He had obtained permission to carry several of them to Calcutta, to finish their studies at Serampore; and, though worn down by disease, could not be dissuaded from making it the last effort of his life. In spite of weakness, which confined him almost constantly to his bed, he finished all his arrangements, and the day of sailing arrived. He arose and dressed as usual. But, though he could disregard debility, he could not escape death. On that morning, his attendants, having left him for a short time, returning, found him dead in his chair! The British resident has since tried in vain to obtain another set of youths to go to Calcutta for education.

No conversion occurred at Ava, nor indeed can the mission be regarded as fairly begun, till the arrival of Mr. Kincaid, in June, 1833. He had been in the country since November, 1830, and had so far acquired the language, as to be able to pray and expound a little, but had not attempted to deliver regular discourses. He took a large quantity of tracts and books, of which he gave away 17,000 on the way up: this was the first general distribution made on the river. A house was obtained; preaching was kept up regularly on the Sabbath, and every week evening; and Ko Shoon and Ko Sanlone, excellent assistants from Maulmain, occupied public zayats, and taught from house to house. The first convert was Mah Nwa Oo, wife of a disciple whom Dr Price had brought with him from Rangoon. She, with another, was baptized in October of the same year. Since then, twelve others have been received into the church; all Burmans but one, an Indo-Briton. Mr. Kincaid's published journals make any further history of this station unnecessary, except to say, that in September, 1835, Mr. Simons joined the station, and has been

employed chiefly in teaching school, and giving tracts to such as came to the house. He has not yet so far acquired the language as to preach, or communicate much with the natives.

The present aspect of the station is full of encouragement. Mr. Kincaid is completely at home in the language, and the native assistants, among whom is Ko Shoon again for a season, are laboriously engaged. Beside these, Ko Gwa, the deacon, a wise and valuable old man, is employed much of his time very usefully in private conversation through the city. He had charge of the late king's bearers, amounting to several hundred men, and possesses not only a large acquaintance, but some influence. Two or three of the other members are of very respectable worldly standing, and three young men give promise of becoming useful in the ministry. They are studying English, geography, &c. at the mission-house, under Mrs. Simons, and two of them will probably join the school at Tavoy.

All the disciples except two who reside forty miles off, and one who is often kept away in attendance upon his sister, a maid of honor in the palace, are regularly at worship every Sunday, and attend the concert of prayer, and such other meetings as may be appointed.

Ava is a great centre, to which persons resort from every part of Burmah and its tributary states. Many of these come to the mission for books, not so much to hear about "the new religion," as to see white foreigners, especially ladies. Except Mrs. Judson, (who, of course, was little seen abroad during the war, and, as the governor's widow stated, part of the time wore the full Burman costume, to avoid molestation,) no white female has ever been seen here, till the establishment of the British Residency. There they dare not go to satisfy their curiosity, and they flock to the mission-house, for the ostensible purpose of obtaining a tract. During my stay, there were always some in the house, often a complete throng, staring at every thing, feeling every thing, wondering at every thing. Often, when their attention is secured for a moment to divine truth, they begin to feel your hands, or examine the intricacies of your raiment, or the joints of your table, and you perceive your words are lost upon them. Sometimes they seem absorbed with wonder at the tract you have given them, and, in trying to find out how it is put together, pull it to pieces before your eyes. Many have heard that Mr. Kincaid has globes and an orrery, and come avowedly to see those. Our mode of eating is an especial marvel; and we generally have many spectators in the room, or at the door.

Such facts, together with those I have already mentioned in relation to tracts, must be remembered by the friends of missions at home, lest they make very erroneous inferences from the naked statements of missionary journals.

It has been inferred from these, that persons have come hundreds of miles for a tract, or to hear of Christ, from its being stated, that a person from such or such a distant point came for tracts, &c. ; whereas the person, being at the station on other business, came as a matter of curiosity. It has been inferred, too, that a general spirit of inquiry has been excited throughout the empire. Alas! the very contrary is the fact. In general, tracts are received more cordially at first than ever afterward ; and often, on visiting a village a second or third time, few will accept a tract at all. A writer in America has stated that "whole villages have been converted unto God." There has been no such event. Two Christian villages have been *formed* by collecting converted Karens together, and others may yet be formed ; but, as a general measure, it is deemed unsafe and undesirable. The great stumbling-block with Burmans, as with those to whom apostles preached, is "Christ crucified." They cannot get the idea of an *eternal* God ; and that Christ was a *man* seems to put him on a footing with Gaudama. They bring up the fact of his being "born of a virgin," just as infidels do. Thus that glorious doctrine, which, to such of them as come to feel the power and guilt of sin, is the sweet theme that fills their heart with peace, is, to the multitude, the "hard saying," which they cannot bear.

Near Ava are eight or nine hundred Catholics, chiefly the descendants of French and other prisoners, brought by Alompra from Syrian, at his conquest of that place in 1756. They are settled in six small villages, the chief of which is Kyun-ta-yuah, which has one hundred houses. In 1784, two priests were sent by the Propaganda. The troubles of Europe prevented their receiving any remittances for thirty years ; but their scanty wants were supplied by their poor flock, and by the practice of medicine. They were quiet, literary men, and much respected. One died in 1823, and the other in 1832. Their places have been supplied by young priests from Italy. I cannot find that here, or elsewhere in Burmah, the Catholics make much effort to gain converts to the Christian faith ; and, though half a century has elapsed since the arrival of the first missionaries, they have never given their people any portion of the Scriptures in their vernacular. The service is in Latin, of course ; but such as preach, do so in Burman. These Catholics live and dress just as



other Burmans, and are only to be distinguished from them by their deeper poverty and grosser immorality.

A visit to Sagaing, opposite to Ava, and once the metropolis, gave me not only an opportunity of noting what my official duty required, but of visiting the tomb of Dr. Price. The intimacy that subsisted between us, and the fine points in his character, came vividly before me as I walked over the fallen walls of his dwelling, or in his garden in ruins,

“And still where many a garden-flower grows wild,”

or under the huge tamarinds which shaded his walks. 'Twas a dark day for Burmah when he died! The Lord has blessed his memory by the conversion of his two sons, now in America. May they become apostles for Burmah!

The population of Sagaing is perhaps 50,000, and the small district or township belonging to it about 80,000 more. There seems to be no obstacle to the immediate settlement of a missionary, except that we have no one familiar with the language who can be spared. Many Chinese reside here, who read tracts and Bibles in their own language. The few we have been able to distribute in this vicinity, for a few months past, have been most gratefully received, and sundry individuals, in applying for others, have proved they had been attentively read.

In several respects, this city is a more eligible location for our mission than Ava. The view which is here given* was taken from Mr. Kincaid's door in Ava. The great abundance of fruit-trees which are allowed to occupy every vacant spot, conceals the houses, and makes the picture resemble a champain country, rather than a great city. In this very thing, however, it conveys a correct idea of Burman cities and towns in general. On the extreme right is seen, dimly because of the distance, the famous Schway-kyet-yet, mentioned on a subsequent page.

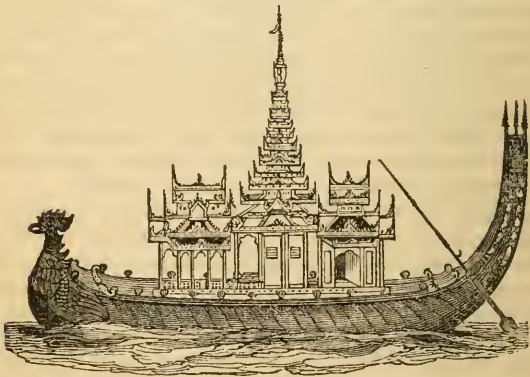
Three miles north-west of the city are the quarries of statuary marble from which most of the stone images of Gaudama are made. It is also used for water-spouts, and other purposes about sacred edifices, and shines conspicuously round all the pagodas in this part of the country, in the polished claws and grinning teeth of the huge lions (so called) which guard the precincts. The real lion is unknown in Burmah, and these images, which, though of all sizes, are perfectly alike, are the most atrocious caricatures of the king of beasts. A picture of one is given in the chapter on Burman religion.

* See Engraving opposite.

From eight to fifteen miles farther north is a region resembling the "licks" of our western country, where vast quantities of salt are made.

Five miles south-west from Sagaing, and about a mile from the great manufactory of idols, is the Kyoung-moo-dau-gyee pagoda, famous for its size. Its shape is precisely like a thimble, one hundred and seventy feet high, and one thousand feet in circumference at the base. It looks, in ascending the river, like a little mountain. An inscription within the enclosure gives the date of its erection, which corresponds to our A. D. 1626.

The Mengoon pagoda, above Umerapoor, would be vastly larger if finished, surpassing some of the pyramids of Egypt. When not more than half advanced, the king grew so cool toward Boodhism, and had so exhausted his means and the liberality of the nobles, that he abandoned the undertaking. His Brahminical astrologers furnished him an excellent pretext by giving out that so soon as finished he would die, and the dynasty be changed. The lions were finished, and though intended, of course, to bear the usual proportion to the size of the edifice, they are ninety feet high. A huge bell was also cast for it, stated, in the thirty-fifth volume of the authorized Burman History or Chronicles, to weigh 55,500 viss (about 200,000 lbs.); but the chief woon-gyee declared to me that its weight was 88,000 viss.



King's Boat.

On the way to Umerapoor, we saw the royal barges, a drawing of one of which is given above, and visited the pagodas

and zayats of *Shway-kyet-yet*, or "the scratch of the golden fowl." The group stands on a bluff jutting into the river, opposite the range of hills back of Sagaing, which terminate at the shore. The whole is now in fine order, some having been lately re-coated with stucco, and the whole fresh whitewashed. It forms the most beautiful object from Ava, resembling, at that distance, a noble palace of white marble.

Here Gaudama wears a form not given to him elsewhere, I believe, except in paintings, viz. that of a cock. The legend is that, when he was in that form of existence, he was king of all fowls, and, passing that place, he scratched there ! Hence the sanctity of the spot, and hence the noble structures which distinguish it ! The face of the stone cocks which ornament the niches, is somewhat human, the bill being brought up to his eyes, like a huge hooked nose. In the zayats at this cool and delightful retreat, commanding the best view of Ava, and much of the river above and below, we found a number of well-dressed men reposing on clean mats.

The immediate cognizance of the king secures this part of the empire from many of the severe oppressions, under which more distant sections constantly groan ; and tends in several other ways to increase its comparative population. It is, beyond doubt, the most densely inhabited part of the kingdom. Those whom I deemed best able to inform me, stated that within a radius of twenty miles, there must be at least half a million of people.

On the third of August, 1836, came the sad adieu to the kind friends in Ava, who for a month had left nothing untried to make my stay pleasant, and aid my official duties. To Colonel H. Burney, the British resident, I am under many obligations, not only for attentions and assistance in the acquisition of information, but for personal kindnesses, bestowed in the most delicate manner. To him, and scarcely less to Mrs. B., the mission is largely indebted. At Tavoy, of which province Colonel B. had charge some years, they were as parents to the lamented Boardman. At Rangoon, where he has occasionally resided, since holding his present appointment, they were not less kind to the missionaries, even watching them day and night in their sickness. At Ava, our brethren and their families not only receive daily and expensive kindnesses, but are ever so treated as to give them the highest possible estimation among the people.

The first two days of the descending voyage passed delightfully. My boat, too small for two, is ample for one, and I soon

got all my matters nicely adjusted. Secure from interruption, and being alone, little exposed to distraction, it was encouraging to be able to get to work in good earnest, to arrange and digest the hoard of memorandums gained during the past busy month. It creates, too, something like a feeling of *home* to be, any where, "monarch of all you survey," and to be surrounded by none but such as you may command; and especially, there is satisfaction in reviewing your steps after an errand is pleasantly accomplished. With all these advantages, the river, now forty feet above its common level, bore me along at the rate of four miles an hour, and so loftily, that I could see over the country far and near; the banks being but a foot or two above the flood. Instead of being dragged along by ropes, under a sultry bank, seeing only such houses and trees as stood on the brink, or, if under sail, "hugging the shore," to avoid the current, we now swept gallantly down the mid stream, higher from the top of the boat than the level country, and seeing the noble hills to their very base. The whole landscape, refreshed by occasional rains, presents, at this season, scenes which are not surpassed on the Rhine, or on our own more beautiful Connecticut.

7th. Alas! a traveller has little cause to give patience a furlough because he gets a visit from pleasure. Here I am, the fourth day of the trip, moored not "under the lee," but alongside of a sandy island, just enough "a-lee" to get a constant drizzle of sand upon every thing, and into every thing, and not enough to shelter us from the huge waves that render it impossible to do any thing, while the wind has full sweep at me, and will not suffer a paper to lie in its place. The men have done their best to "keep moving;" but the wind defies both oars and tide. Yesterday we had much ado to make headway against it, and it probably will not alter much, as it is the midst of the monsoon. It, however, generally subsides before night, and we must catch our chances. If my Master be not in haste to get me to Rangoon, why should I be? My eyes, partly from over-use, and partly from the glare upon the water, have become bad again; and as there is no one to speak to, I am ensconced here, deprived of book, pen, and conversation. If this order of things should continue, I shall soon have a satiety of my lordly lonesomeness.

August 13. Through divine goodness, I am now in sight of Rangoon, having made the passage in eleven days, without accident. For the sake of expedition, I floated a good deal in the night, as the wind then always subsided, and we made better progress than in the daytime with six oars. But the boatmen

were sadly uneasy at doing so, and we were constantly assailed by accounts of recent robberies and murders. At one village, we found in the house of the head-man several persons who had that afternoon been robbed of their boat, and all it contained. Frequently, as we passed a village, the officers would call out that we must wait for other boats and proceed in company. Sometimes they would take a boat, and come out to compel me to stop, saying that, if I was murdered or robbed, they might have to answer for it with their heads. I always answered that I must proceed; and, making them some little presents, they would desist. On several occasions, they had no sooner left me, and it was perceived along shore that I was going on, than a little fleet of boats would put off, and I went abundantly escorted. They had all probably been detained for the same reasons, and, supposing me well armed, as foreigners always are, were glad of my protection.

What a wretched government is this, which, while it taxes and burdens the people to the very utmost, grants them, in return, no security for person or property! - Hence the huddling together in little wretched villages. A Burman with any thing to lose would not dare to live on a farm even one mile from a village. No such case probably exists in the empire. The very poorest, and the Karens, who are always very poor, venture to live in villages of three or four houses in the jungle, and cultivate patches of rice. The people at large live in the bondage of constant fear. Not only is thieving common, but robbing by bands. Thirty or fifty men, well armed and disguised, surround a house, while a detachment plunders it, and permit no one to go to their aid. On the rivers, robberies are even more frequent, as the chance of detection is less. We have scarcely a missionary family that has not been robbed. So much was said, by some of my kind English friends in Rangoon, of the folly and danger of going unarmed, as I had hitherto done, and of the imputations which would be cast upon *them*, if they suffered me to go in this manner, that I consented to borrow a pair of pistols and a bag of cartridges. I never opened my bag of cartridges till to-day, when, seeing alligators along shore, and desirous to see if they were as impenetrable as travellers assert, I went to my bag, but found they were all musket cartridges, and not one would go in!

The region between Kyouk Phoo and Akyab is an extensive and yet unexplored archipelago of small hilly islands, for the

most part uninhabited. In winding among these, instead of putting out to sea, the scenery, though wild, is often very fine —

“ An orient panorama, glowing, grand,
 Strange to the eye of Poesy ; vast depths
 Of jungle shade ; the wild immensity
 Of forests, rank with plenitude, where trees
 Foreign to song display their mighty forms,
 And clothe themselves with all the pomp of blossom.”

Lawson.

The shores for the most part are coral. Specimens of great size and beauty, white, yellow, red, and black, are gathered here. To walk on “ coral strands ” was not less new to me than to see beautiful shells, such as are on mantel-pieces at home, moving over the moist sand, in every direction, each borne by its little tenant. The study of conchology has long seemed to me to bear about the same relation to the animal kingdom, that the study of the coats of unknown races of men would be to the human family. But to see the creatures *in* their robes ; to watch them as they sought their food, or fled to their holes at my approach ; to mark what they ate, how they made their holes, and how, when overtaken, they drew all in, and seemed dead ; how they moved, and how they saw, &c., was delightful. I felt myself gazing at a new page in nature’s vast volume. I rejoiced that *my* God is so wise, so kind, so great, and that one day I should read his works “ in fairer worlds on high.”

Some of these shells resembled large snails, but of beautiful colors ; others, still larger, and more elegant, were of the shape used for snuff-boxes ; others were spiral cones, five or six inches diameter at the base. Each had claws, which it put forth on each side, and walked as a tortoise, but much faster. When alarmed, the head and claws were drawn inward so far as to make the shell seem empty. As my ignorance of conchology prevented my distinguishing common from rare specimens, I refrained from encumbering my luggage with either shells or coral.

The forest was too thick and tangled to allow us to penetrate many yards from shore, except where there were villages. Recent tiger tracks, too, admonished us not to attempt it. Alas ! here is a fine country, with but one fortieth of the land inhabited ; and the forests thus left render the climate injurious to the few who remain. Such are the bitter fruits of war. War has made this wilderness, where there might have been a garden, and given back the homes of men to beasts of prey.

Leaving the shores of Burmah, probably forever, inflicted on me no small pain. The dear list of names who compose our band of laborers there seemed before me as the shore receded. Personal intercourse had been rendered endearing by intimacy, by mutual prayers, by official ties, by the kindest attentions, by a common object of life, and by similarity of hopes for the world to come. To part forever could not but wring my heart.

“’Tis sad to part, e’en with the thought
That we shall meet again ;
For then it is that we are taught,
A lesson with deep sorrow fraught,
How firmly, silently, is wrought
Affection’s viewless chain.

Long ere that hour, we may have known
The bondage of the heart ;
But, as uprooting winds alone
Disclose how deep the tree has grown,
How much they love is only known
When those who love must part.”

Happy I am to be able to bear solemn and decided testimony to the purity, zeal, and economy of our missionaries and their wives. I have no where seen persons more devoted to their work, or more suitable for it. No where in all Burmah have I seen “missionary palaces,” or an idle, pampered, or selfish missionary. As to the female missionaries, I am confident that, if they were all at home this day, and the churches were to choose again, they could not select better. I bear testimony that what has been printed respecting the state and progress of the mission is strictly true ; though I found that the inferences which I and others had drawn from these accounts were exaggerated. Every thing I have seen and heard has tended to satisfy me of the practicability and usefulness of our enterprise, and to excite lamentation that we prosecute it at so feeble a rate.

Divine approbation evidently rests upon every part of the undertaking. The life of Judson has been spared so long, that we have a translation of the whole Bible, and several tracts, more perfect than can be found in almost any other mission. We have nearly a thousand converts, beside all those who have died in the faith ; and sixty or seventy native assistants, some of them men of considerable religious attainments. A general knowledge of Christianity has been diffused through

some large sections of the empire. Several of the younger missionaries are now so far advanced in the language, as to be just ready to enter on evangelical labors. Very extensive printing operations are now established, producing about two millions of pages per month; and the whole aspect of the mission is highly encouraging.

The little churches gathered from among the heathen added much to the sense of bereavement inflicted by this parting. The faces of the preachers and prominent members had become familiar to me. With some of them I had journeyed many weary miles. Through them I had addressed the heathen, and distributed the word of God. To some of them I had endeavored to impart important theological truths. I had heard them pray and preach in their own tongue to listening audiences. I had marked their behavior in secret, and in hours of peril. Not to love them would be impossible. To part from them for life, without pain, is equally impossible. May it but prove salutary to myself!

The consciousness of a thousand imperfections in the discharge of my duty, forms the principal trial. Still there has been good devised, and good begun, and evil checked, and plans matured, which I trust will be found in the great day among the things which perish not.



A Statue, such as guard the Gates of Burman Temples.

PART II.

DIGESTED NOTES ON THE
BURMAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

The Term India — Hither and Farther India — Boundaries of Burmah — History of the Empire — War with the British — Dismemberment of the Tenasserim Provinces.

BEFORE passing to other countries, I will here insert the result of my observations and inquiries respecting the natural, moral, political, and religious state of the country.

The term *India* seems to be derived from the Greeks, who applied it to the vast regions beyond the river Indus, to them almost unknown. It is never given to any part of this region by the natives themselves. Both Darius and Alexander pushed their conquests beyond this famed river, though not so far as the Ganges; and from the officers employed in these expeditions, the first historians seem to have derived all their accounts. When the country, some centuries afterward, came to be better known, it was divided by Ptolemy (A. D. 150) into "Hither and Farther India;" making the Ganges the boundary. This distinction is still observed, and seems exceedingly proper. "Hither India" is but another name for Hindustan, including the whole peninsula between the Arabian Sea and Bay of Bengal, and extending northward to Persia and Thibet. "Farther India," or India beyond the Ganges, embraces Burmah, Asam, Munnipore, Siam, Camboja, and Cōchin-China; or, to speak more comprehensively, all the region between China and the Bay of Bengal, southward of the Thibet Mountains.

The term "Chin-India," which has been lately given to this

region, seems to have no propriety, and creates confusion. Malte-Brun increases this confusion by inventing the name "Indian Archipelago," embracing Ceylon, the Laccadives, Maldives, Andaman's, Nicobars, Moluccas, Philippines, Borneo, Sumatra, Java, Celebes, and all their minor neighbors. This name is adopted by some other writers, but with very different boundaries. Crawford, in his History of the Indian Archipelago, limits it thus:—From the western end of Sumatra, to the parallel of the Aroe Islands, and from the parallel of 11° south to 19° north, omitting the islands of the Bay of Bengal. Of the countries which compose Farther India, Burmah is the most important, and in all India, is second only to China. The natives call their country *Myamma* in their writings, and in common parlance, *Byam-ma*, which is spelled *Bram-ma*, of which foreigners make Burmah. The Chinese call the country *Meën-teën*. It included, before the late war with England, what were formerly the kingdoms of Ava (or Burmah Proper), Cassay, Arracan, Pegu, Tavoy, Tenasserim, and the extensive territory of the Shyans, extending from Thibet on the north to Siam on the south, and from the Bay of Bengal on the west to China on the east. This territory is about one thousand and twenty miles long, and six hundred broad. It now includes Burmah Proper, the greater part of Pegu, a small part of Cassay, and nearly all the Shyan territory. The extreme length of the kingdom is seven hundred and twenty miles, and the extreme breadth about four hundred.

The rest of Cassay is now independent; while Arracan and the Tenasserim provinces, embracing a territory of about forty thousand square miles, now belong to the British.

Innumerable fables, founded on a wild chronology, make up the Burman history of the origin of their nation; which they throw back several millions of years! The earliest probable date in this stupendous chronology is the epoch of Anjina, the grandfather of Gaudama, which corresponds to the year 691 B. C. In the sixty-eighth year of that epoch, or before Christ 623, Gaudama was born. From that period their tables seem worthy of regard, and are certainly kept with great appearance of accuracy. There is, however, nothing in them that demands a place here.

The seat of government can be traced back to Prome, which seems to have been founded in the year B. C. 443. About this time, the Boodhist religion is supposed to have been introduced. Prome continued to be the metropolis three hundred and ninety-five years, when the government was removed to Pa-glan, where it

continued nearly twelve centuries. During this period was established their common vulgar era, the commencement of which corresponds to A. D. 639.* About A. D. 1300. the government was removed to Panya, and soon afterward to Sa-gaing. Both these cities were destroyed by the Shyans in 1363, under their king Tho-ken-bwa, in revenge for his father's being given up to the Chinese, after having fled to the Burman court for protection.

About 1526, the Shyans from the region of Mogoung invaded Burmah, put the king to death, overran the country as far as Prome, and for nineteen years reigned at Ava over these acquisitions. The Burmans then recovered their old boundary. The dynasty at this time seems to have been Peguan.

About A. D. 1546, the more hardy natives of the highlands threw off allegiance to this dynasty, and established one of their own families on the throne. Pegu, however, was never regarded as a conquered province, but remained identified with the northern districts. Soon after this, the territory of the Shyans was conquered, and the kingdom began to assume a consequence it had never possessed before. It was, however, much less extensive than now. In 1567, the Burmans, aided by Laos or Shyan tributaries, conquered Siam, and held that country in subjection for thirty years. It afterwards regained its independence; but a deep-rooted enmity remained between the two nations, and war frequently recurred.

About the year 1740, the Peguans, gathering a strong faction in Prome and Martaban, raised the standard of revolution. For twelve years, a ferocious and obstinate civil war distressed the country. At length, being aided by the Portuguese, the Peguans pushed their conquests to the metropolis, which surrendered at discretion. Dweep-dee, the king, was made prisoner, and a southern king once more assumed the throne. But a year had scarcely elapsed, before Alompra, (more properly spelled *Aloung Pra*,) the courageous chief of Moke-so-bo,† gathering a few intrepid adherents, commenced a resistance which issued in a revolution. After some minor successes, his countrymen flocked to his standard, and marching to Ava, that city fell into his hands. Extraordinary courage, prudence, and wisdom, marked his movements; success every where followed; and, after a sanguinary war of several years, Peguan authority was once more subverted, and has never since been ascendant.

* April, 1838, was the commencement of their year 1200.

† A small village, twelve miles north of Ava, and the same distance back from the river.

Alompra, of course, retained his preëminence, and took possession of the throne he had established. Proceeding in his successful career, he attacked Munipore or Cassay, and reduced to complete subjection the Shyans. With scarcely any cause, he attacked and conquered Tavoy, then an independent kingdom. The Tavoyers, however, instigated by Siam, who was jealous of her growing neighbor, revolted, and were aided by many Peguans and Siamese. Alompra soon crushed the rebellion, and advancing against Siam, invested Mergui by sea and land. It soon submitted, and with it the ancient city of Tenasserim.

After resting and refreshing his army at the latter place, and effectually reducing the entire province, he passed through the whole length of Siam, and invested its capital. This was on the point of yielding, which without doubt would have been followed by his annexing the whole country to his dominions, when he was seized with violent illness, and died in a few days, aged fifty years. The fact was concealed from the army, which broke up its camp in good order, and returned without much molestation. On arriving at Martaban, in his own dominions, then a great city, the sad disclosure was made, and the funeral rites took place. Siam has never recovered the province of Mergui.

Alompra was succeeded by his eldest son, Nam-do-gyee-pra, who made Sagaing again the capital, but reigned only four years. His death brought to the throne Shen-bu-yen, the next younger brother. He removed the capital again to Ava, and reigned twelve years with considerable eclat, though he was regarded as a profligate prince. He invaded and conquered Cassay, suppressed a revolt among the Shyans, and added to his Shyan dominions the region of Zemmai. In 1767, the Chinese, elated with their recent conquests in Bukharia, seemed resolved to annex Burmah to their already vast empire. An immense army crossed the frontier, and, after a few skirmishes, approached the capital; but after being reduced to extremity for want of provisions, they were routed in a pitched battle, and so many made prisoners that few escaped to report the disaster. A second army shared a similar fate, and the two countries have since lived in peace.

On application of the Shyans at Zaudapori for aid against the Siamese, the Burman king sent a large army into Siam, which reduced the country to great straits, and again took Ayut'hia, the then capital. The Siamese give a horrid description of the conduct of the conquerors, though not unlike other histories of Eastern warfare. Plunder and slaves seem to have been the chief objects; and, in getting the former, every atrocity seems to

have been committed. Shenbuyen prepared, in 1771, another expedition against Siam, which failed in consequence of disaffection in the army, a large part of which was raised in Martaban and Tavoy.

Shenbuyen died in 1776. He was succeeded by his son Shen-gu-za, who, after a reign of five years, was assassinated in a mutiny of his officers. These placed on the throne Moun-g-moung, sometimes called *Paon-go-za*,* from the place of his residence, son of Namdogyee. This man was almost an idiot; but, having been brought up by this faction, and being thoroughly under their influence, was deemed a fit tool for their ambitious projects. But he was too imbecile, and his party too discordant, to resist the aspiring energies of Men-der-a-gyee, fourth son of Alompra, who now claimed the throne of his father. Moun-g-moung was seized and imprisoned, and, on the eleventh day of his reign, was publicly drowned, in conformity to the Burman mode of executing members of the royal family. Forty of the late king's wives, with all their children, were placed in a separate building, and blown up with gunpowder. With many other cruelties he confirmed himself in the kingdom.

Menderagyee† was in the forty-fourth year of his age (A. D. 1782) when he found himself seated on the throne of his distinguished father. He soon detected several conspiracies — one by a general in the army, who was put to death; another, by a descendant of the former dynasty, was near proving successful. This last effort having originated at Panya, he put every soul of that city to death, destroying the houses and obliterating every trace of its existence. His reign lasted thirty-seven years, during which the country remained in a high state of prosperity. He founded the city of Umerapoor, six miles farther up the river, and transferred to it the seat of government. In 1783, he added Arracan to his already extensive dominions. In 1786, renewing the old feud with Siam, he contended for the provinces of Tavoy and Mergui, which had revolted under the patronage of the Siamese. This war continued till 1793, when he finally suc-

* It is exceedingly difficult to ascertain the private names of Burman sovereigns. It is considered presumptuous and indecorous in any subject to call the king by his youthful name. Indeed, most persons change the name in growing up. It was often inquired what my name was when a child, and great surprise exhibited to find that it remained unchanged.

† “Gyee” is the term for *Great*, and “Pra” is *Lord*, or an object of reverence. The expression *Great Lord* is thus a general term for royalty, like *Pharaoh*, or *Cesar*, but has been appropriated to this monarch.

ceeded, and the provinces continued to be a part of Burmah till given up to the British at the close of the late war. The Siamese, however, several times made irruptions into these provinces, held them a few weeks, and retired with what spoil and captives they could carry away. In 1810, he fitted out a respectable armament to take Junk Ceylon from the Siamese, and for a time held possession. But the enemy soon mustered a formidable force, and compelled the Burmans to surrender. On this occasion, some of the chiefs were barbarously beheaded, and others carried to Bangkok to work in chains, where Crawford saw some of them so employed in 1822.

This monarch seems at first to have been inclined to be religious, or at least to have suffered strong compunctions for the violent and murderous manner in which he came to the throne. In the second year of his reign, he built the costly temple called Aong-mye-lo-ka, at Sagaing, and gave it four hundred and forty slaves. He studied the Bedagat, consorted much with priests, built various religious structures, and commenced the stupendous pagoda at Mengoon, which, if finished, would equal in size some of the Egyptian pyramids. At length he knew so much of the books and the priests as to overthrow all his piety, and exasperate him against the whole system of popular religious belief. He built and gave gifts no more. The immense edifice at Mengoon was left unfinished on the pretext that the Brahminical astrologers predicted his death as soon as it should be completed—a decision obtained probably by himself. He proclaimed the priests to be utterly ignorant, idle, and luxurious, reprobated their fine houses, and finally issued an edict expelling them all from their sumptuous abodes, and requiring them to live according to their neglected rules, or return to labor. For a long time, there was scarcely a priest to be seen; but, falling into his dotage, and dying soon after, in his eighty-first year, things reverted to their former order, and they now are as numerous as ever.

The throne was ascended, in 1819, by Nun-sun, (literally, "he enjoys a palace,") grandson to Menderagyee. His father had long been heir apparent, and was eminently loved and revered by the people, but died before the throne became vacant. The king immediately adopted Nunsun as his successor, to the exclusion of his own sons. The kingdom had now become extensive and powerful, embracing not only Ava and Pegu, but Tavoy, Tenasserim, Arracan, and Munipore. Cachar, Assam, Jyntea, and part of Lao, were added by Nunsun.

He was married in early life to a daughter of his uncle, the

Mekara prince; but one of his inferior wives, daughter of a comparatively humble officer, early acquired great ascendancy over his mind, and, on his coming to the throne, was publicly crowned by his side. On the same day, the proper queen was sent out of the palace, and now lives in obscurity. His plans for securing the succession show that he was aware that even the late king's will would not secure him from powerful opposition. The king's death was kept secret for some days, and the interval employed to station a multitude of adherents in different parts of the city, to prevent any gatherings. On announcing the demise, the ceremony of burning was forthwith performed in the palace-yard, at which he appeared as king, with the queen by his side, under the white umbrella, and at once took upon himself all the functions of royalty. Several suspected princes were soon after executed, and many others deprived of all their estates. Some of the latter still live at Ava, subsisting by daily labor. The Mekara prince, his uncle, either became or feigned to be insane, and his papers showing no indications of his having interfered in politics, he was spared. He became rational two years afterward, and has since devoted himself to literature. My interview with this prince is mentioned page 102. Two years after his accession, the king resolved to restore the seat of government to Ava. To this he was induced partly from the great superiority of the latter location, partly from the devastation of a fire which burnt a great part of Umerapooora, with the principal public buildings, partly from a desire to erect a more splendid palace, and partly (perhaps not least) from the ill omen of a vulture lighting on the royal spire. The greater part of his time, for two years, was spent at Ava in temporary buildings, superintending in person the erection of a palace, twice the size of the old one, and other important buildings. During this period, many citizens, especially those who had been burnt out, and numbers of the court, settled in the new city, and the place became populous. On completing the palace, (February, 1824,) the king returned to Umerapooora, and, after brilliant parting festivities, came from thence, with great pomp and ceremony, attended by the various governors, Chobwaus, and highest officers. The procession, in which the white elephant, decorated with gold and gems, was conspicuous, displayed the glories of the kingdom, and great rejoicings pervaded all ranks. Umerapooora still retained a numerous population, which even at this time is supposed to equal that of Ava.

It was but a few weeks after this festival that news arrived of a declaration of war by the East India Company, and that their troops were already in possession of Rangoon. Difficulties on the Chittagong frontiers had been increasing with that government for twenty-five years, in regard to numerous emigrants from Burmah, whose leaders were averse to the present government, and even laid some claims to the throne. They had been in the practice of making predatory incursions into Arracan, and retiring to the British side, where Burman troops were not allowed to follow. Some decisive measures of the emperor had recently ripened the quarrel, and the government of British India deemed it proper to proceed to open war.

The court of Ava learned the fall of Rangoon with surprise, but without alarm. So confident were they of capturing the entire British army that the only fear was that they might precipitately retire! Many of the ladies at court actually stipulated with the field-officers for a number of white slaves, and the army, collecting to proceed to Rangoon, manifested the most exuberant spirits.

There were three English gentlemen at Ava, who naturally fell under suspicion; especially when it was discovered that some of them had been apprized of the declaration of war. They were all imprisoned, and together with Messrs. Judson and Price, who were soon added to the number, experienced for many months the excessive hardships which are detailed in the Memoir of Mrs. Judson.

Calculating on friendly coöperation from the Peguans, who, it was thought, would embrace this opportunity to throw off the Burman yoke, and knowing that the best period for rapidly ascending the river is during the south-west monsoon, the British forces arrived May 10th, 1824, just the beginning of the rains. But the innumerable boats ordinarily found on the river had all disappeared, partly perhaps by order of the viceroy, and partly from fear. The boats of the transports were as nothing toward conveying an army, and it became necessary to halt in Rangoon. But even this was well nigh fatal to the army. The city had been so completely evacuated by the affrighted people, that not a soul was left but a few aged and helpless persons, who either could not fly, or had nothing to lose. There were, of course, no servants, no bazar, no provisions. Sick officers in vain offered five or six rupees for a single fowl, and the whole army was obliged to depend on ship stores. This, with the nature of the

season, and the fatigue of frequent skirmishes, produced sickness among the troops, and some thousands were cut off before any advance was made. After the lapse of nearly a year, the army proceeded up the river, receiving but one serious check, and retired, June, 1825, into barracks at Prome for the hot season. On the third of November, hostilities recommenced. Melloon was stormed on the 19th of January, 1826, and Paghan on the 9th of February. On the 24th of February, a treaty of peace was formed at Yan-da-bo, and on the 8th of March, the army took boats for Rangoon.

By this treaty, the Burmans relinquished part of Martaban, and the whole of Arracan, Yeh, Tavoy, and Mergui; and agreed to pay the English 5,000,000 dollars toward defraying the expenses of the war. At the same time, Asam and Muni-pore were taken from them, and the latter declared independent, under British protection.

From that time, the kingdom has been rather advancing in civilization and prosperity. No longer at liberty to make war upon its neighbors, its frontier is quiet and secure. Acquainted better with foreigners, its pride is abated, and beneficial innovations are less resisted. The government, though unaltered in its model, is in some respects better administered, and commerce is increased.

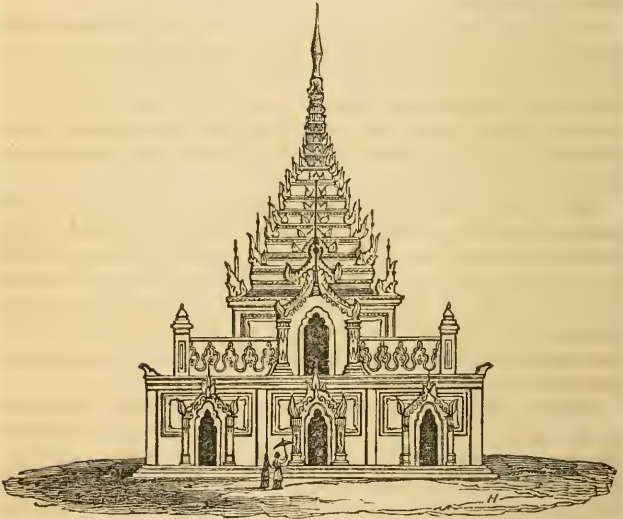
The king, subject to periods of insanity, had little to do with public affairs for several years. The chief power was in the hands of the Salley-men, or prince of Salley, the queen's brother, generally called Men-Sa-gyee, or great prince. He was the richest man in the kingdom, Sallay being one of the most lucrative fiefs; in addition to which he receives the duties on the Chinese inland trade, beside large presents from office-seekers, and litigants in the Lotdau.

Several individuals are regarded as candidates for the crown on the demise of the present king. One of them is the Men-Sa-gyee above mentioned, who is a devoted Boodhist. He may prefer to espouse the cause of the present king's youngest brother, the Men-dōng prince, who is married to his daughter. Another candidate is the Ser-a-wa prince, the king's brother, next in age, an accomplished and talented prince, remarkably free from prejudice for a Burman, and probably better acquainted with foreign countries than any other native. As he keeps a large number of war-boats and armed retainers, and has a considerable magazine of arms in his compound, it is generally believed that he aspires

to the throne.* No other man in the empire is so qualified for that high station, so far as the foreigners at Ava are able to judge.

The proper heir apparent, only son of the present king, is popular with the common people, but has almost no power; the queen's brother holding his place in the Lotdau. Though permitted the insignia of his rank, he is kept studiously depressed, and seems destitute of either the means or the qualifications for making good his title.

* This prince did, in fact, become king, on the demise of his late majesty, in 1837.



New Pagoda at Ava.

CHAPTER II.

Features of Country — Climate — Mountains — Minerals — Rivers — Soil — Productions

THE general features of a country so extensive, are, of course, widely diversified. It may be said of it, as a whole, in the language of Dr. Francis Hamilton,* that “this country, in fertility, beauty, and grandeur of scenery, and in the variety, value, and elegance of its natural productions, is equalled by few on earth.” He adds, “It is occupied by a people of great activity and acuteness, possessed of many qualities agreeable to strangers.”

The upper country is mountainous throughout; the highest ranges being to the north and north-east of the capital. The scenery of these elevated regions is beautiful, and the climate highly salubrious. Extensive forests, comprising a great variety of excellent timber, cover the heights; while the valleys are jungle,† cultivated in many places, and abounding in fruit-trees. The coasts and water-courses are eminently fertile, and contain the chief part of the population. By far the largest portion of the country is uninhabited.

The extensive Delta of the Irrawaddy is for the most part scarcely above high tides, and evidently alluvial. Much of it is overflowed during the annual rise of the river. Rocks are not found, except a cellular orange-colored iron ore, which occurs on the gentle swells. There are a few hills composed of the iron ore above named, breccia, calcareous sandstone, blue limestone, and quartz. In the lower part of the course of the Salwen and Dagaing, some of the low mountains are almost entirely quartz. Some hills, rising abruptly from the levels, are blue limestone, of the very best quality. In most of these are caves, remarkable not only for their natural grandeur, but for the religious veneration with which they have been regarded, and the multitude of

* Edinburgh Phil. Journal, vol. ii, p. 99.

† The difference between a jungle and a forest ought to be understood by every reader of Oriental travels. A forest is the same as with us — land covered with large trees, growing thickly together, and almost uninhabited. A jungle is exactly what is called, in Scripture, a wilderness; that is, a region of many trees, but scattered, with much undergrowth, and often thickly inhabited, though generally somewhat sparsely. The open spaces very generally bear a tall, coarse grass, resembling that of our prairies, which, when near villages, is annually burnt over, to improve the pasture.

mouldering idols which they contain. An account of some of them is given in page 61. The great ranges of mountains, both on the sea-shore and inland, are chiefly granite and mica-slate.

The climate of Burmah differs greatly in the higher and lower districts, but is every where salubrious to natives, where the jungle is cleared. Ample proof of this is visible in their robust appearance and muscular power. Foreigners find most parts of the sea-coast salubrious, to a degree not found in most other parts of India.

In the maritime part of the country, there are two seasons — the dry and the rainy. The latter begins with great uniformity, about the tenth of May, with showers, which gradually grow more frequent, for four or five weeks. It afterward rains almost daily till the middle of September, and occasional showers descend for a month longer. From one hundred and fifty to two hundred inches of water fall during this period. This quantity is truly astonishing, as in the moist western counties of England, it is but sixty inches in a year. It seldom rains all day, so that exercise, and out-door business, may be continued, though at times it rains almost incessantly for several days. As the sun shines out hot almost daily, vegetation proceeds with amazing rapidity; and every wall or building not coated smoothly with plaster, becomes in a few seasons covered with grass and weeds. This is the only period when any part of the country becomes unhealthy to foreigners, and even then, the courses of great rivers, and parts extensively cleared, remain salubrious. On the subsiding of the rains, the air is cool, the country verdant, fruits innumerable, and every thing in nature gives delight. The thermometer ranges about 60° at sunrise, but rises 12° or 15° in the middle of the day. In March, it begins to grow warm; but the steady fanning of the north-east monsoon makes it always pleasant, when out-door exertion is not required. In April, the heat increases, and becomes for two or three weeks oppressive; but the first dashes of rain bring relief.

Between tide-water and the mountain regions at the north and east, there may be said to be three seasons — the cool, the hot, and the rainy. The cool season begins about the same time as in the lower provinces, and continues till the last of February, making about four months. The thermometer now descends to about 40° , at the lowest. This temperature is only just before morning. In the middle of the day, it is seldom colder than 60° . The greatest heat is far less than on the Madras coast; averaging, in the hottest weather, from 85 to 90° , but rising sometimes much higher.

In the most elevated districts, there are severe winters; but of those sections no precise accounts have been received.

Much of Burmah is decidedly mountainous, particularly to the north and east of Ava; but few of the ranges have names, at least not in our language. The natives seem to designate particular heights, but not entire ranges; and Europeans have not explored these parts of the country. The barrier which divides Burmah from Arracan, called in maps A-nou-pec-too-miou, is lofty and well defined. The coast near Tavoy, and the islands adjacent, are mountainous. But at present, nothing instructive can be said as to this feature of the kingdom.

The mineral riches of the country, though known to be considerable, have been but scantily developed. Gold is obtained from mines in Bamoo, towards the Chinese frontier, and is found also, in the shape of dust, in the head waters of all the principal streams. It is not obtained in large quantities, probably only from want of enterprise and capital; and a considerable amount is annually received over land from China. Nearly the whole is used in gilding sacred edifices: the rest goes into jewels, or is used to gild the utensils of the great. As currency, it is scarcely ever used; and then only in ingots.

The principal, if not the only silver-mines, are in Lao, about twelve days' journey from Bamoo, where they are wrought by Chinese. The estimated produce is about 500,000 dollars per annum. About a thousand miners are employed. The contractors pay government a fixed rent, amounting to about 25,000 dollars per annum.

Emeralds are not found in the country, and the diamonds are small; but rubies, reputed to be the finest in the world, are obtained in considerable quantities, particularly about five or six days' journey from Ava, in an east-south-east direction, near the villages of Mo-gout and Kyat-pyan. I saw one, for which four pounds of pure gold were demanded. The king has some which are said to weigh from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty grains. Sapphires are very abundant, and often of surprising size. Some have been obtained, weighing from three thousand to nearly four thousand grains. All over a certain size being claimed by the crown, very large ones are almost always broken by the finders. Jasper, amethyst, chrysolite, loadstone, noble serpentine, and amber, are also found; the two latter in almost unlimited quantity. Noble serpentine is obtained chiefly near Mogoung, where, at particular seasons of the year, about a thousand men, Burmans, Laos, Sinkphoos, and

Chinese Shyans, are employed in quarrying or mining it out. Captain Hannay saw boats laden with it, of which some masses required three men to lift them. From four hundred to six hundred traders from China annually resort to the mines to purchase serpentine. The majority of these are from Santa, but most of the wealthier ones come by Bamoo. The principal amber mines are in and round the Hu-kong valley, on the Asam frontier. It is very abundant; but the natives, having neither spade nor pickaxe, and using chiefly a sort of spear made of a cane, burnt at the sharpened end, they accomplish very little. Most of it is carried at once to China.

Iron ore is found in large quantities, from which the natives make sufficient iron for the consumption of the country; but, probably from the imperfect mode of smelting, it loses thirty or forty per cent. in the forge. The principal supply is furnished from the great mountain of Poupa, a few days' journey east of Ava, about latitude $21^{\circ} 20'$.

Tin is plenty in the Tavoy province, and perhaps elsewhere, and has been occasionally got out in considerable quantity; but at present little is done. Resort has been had, almost exclusively, to the gravel and sand of water-courses; and there is little doubt but that a proper examination of the hills would show the existence of extensive beds of ore.

Lead is abundant, but is chiefly got out by the Shyans, and brought down for barter. It contains always a little silver, about three fourths of a rupee in thirty-five or forty pounds.

Nitre is found in considerable quantities, incrusting on the surface of the earth, in several places among the hills north of Ava. Probably, through imperfect management, the quantity obtained is not sufficient to prevent the importation of a considerable amount from Bengal, for the manufacture of gunpowder. Natron is obtained in the same districts, and is used for soap. Its price is only eight or nine dollars per ton, but it is by no means pure.

Salt exists, in several places, in the upper country. From eight to twenty miles north of Sagaing, are many places resembling our great "licks" in the western country, and some small saline lakes. Large quantities of salt are made by leaching the earth, very much as we do ashes, and boiling down the water. On the head waters of the Kyendween, a large quantity is made from springs and wells, the waters of which yield the large proportion of one twentieth of their weight in salt.

Sulphur and arsenic are obtained in abundance. The latter

is for sale in all the bazars in its crude state; but for what it is used, except a little for medicine, I did not learn.

Petroleum is obtained in great quantities at Yaynan-gyoung, on the Irrawaddy, above Prome; and the supply might be largely increased, if there should be a demand. The wells are two miles back from the river, thickly scattered over a region of several miles in extent, remarkable for its barren aspect,* each producing a daily average of one hundred and fifty gallons of oil, which sells on the spot for three ticals per hundred viss, or about forty cents per cwt. The gross annual produce is about eighty millions of pounds; it is carried to every part of the kingdom accessible by water, and is used for lights, paying boats, and various other purposes. It has the valuable quality of securing wood from the attacks of insects. A boat's bottom, kept properly in order with it, is about as safe as if coppered. It is thought to be a defence even from white ants.

At Sagaing, and some other places north of it, are quarries of marble, some of which is very fine. It is a primitive limestone, of snowy whiteness, semi-translucent, free from all cracks, and capable of the highest polish. The almost exclusive use made of it, is in the manufacture of images of Gaudama, and other sacred objects. This employs constantly a large number of persons. Similar marble, but of inferior quality, is found in various other places, and is largely used for lime. It is apt to contain hornblend and mica, with occasional crystals of feldspar, and to be found in connection with pure mica-slate. Limestone prevails along the whole river. Near the statuary marble quarries, it is blue, of the finest quality; between that place and Paghan, it is dark, bituminous, and slaty; lower down, near Prome, it is coarse-grained and sandy. Graywacke is also found, in numerous places, from Ava to Rangoon. Steatite is very abundant, and in various parts of the kingdom. Pearls, of good quality, are often picked up on the coast of Mergui and its islands. They are not, however, fished for, and only such are obtained, as are found in shells driven ashore or lying above low-water mark. The pearls are small, but of regular form and good color.

Petrifactions of wood, bones, and even leaves, are common on the banks of the Irrawaddy. So far as yet known, they are most numerous in the region of Yaynan-gyoung. Crawford transmitted to England several chests of these. The bones proved to be of the mastodon, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, tapir, hog, ox, deer, antelope, gavial, alligator, enyis, and tryonix.

* See Journal, page 81.

Of the mastodon, there are, evidently, two species, and both these entirely new, making eight known species of this extinct genus. I picked up as many as I could transport, and forwarded them to the Boston Society of Natural History. They comprise fossil bones, and wood, and calcareous concretions without any organic nucleus, and resembling the tuberous roots of vegetables.* The natives, as might be supposed, attribute these petrifications to the waters of the Irrawaddy; but this must be erroneous. The specimens are washed out of the banks by the encroachment of the river, and are found in beds of sand and gravel, thirty or forty feet above the highest floods. The matrix adhering to many of the bones, seems to be quartz and jasper pebbles, united by carbonate of lime, and sometimes hydrate of iron. Logs of wood, which have evidently lain long in the river, are not changed. Bones are not found of the elephant or tiger, both of which are now abundant in the country, but of the mammoth, which has been extinct for ages, and of the rhinoceros, hippopotamus, tapir, and gavial, which are no longer inhabitants of Burmah. All these reasons conspire to assign these fossils to an antediluvian epoch. Some of the vegetable fossils are impregnated with carbonate of lime, but most of them are silicified in the most beautiful manner, showing perfectly the fibres of the plant. The bones are in admirable preservation, owing probably to their being highly impregnated with hydrate of iron.

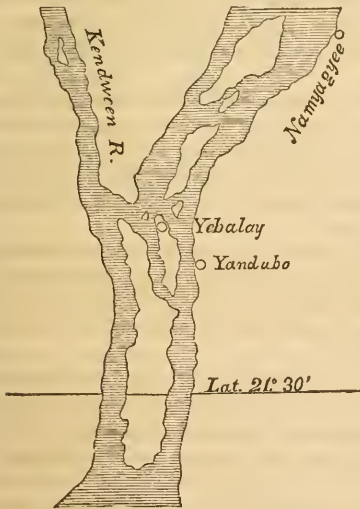
Coal of excellent quality, both anthracite and bituminous, has been discovered in various places, but has not been brought into use.

The principal river in the empire, and indeed in all Farther India, is the Irrawaddy, which rises in the Namean Mountains, a range south of the Himmalaya, but belonging to that great chain. After a course of twelve hundred miles, it falls into the Bay of Bengal, by several mouths, near Cape Nigrais. Most of these mouths are navigable for large craft; those of Bassein and Rangoon, for vessels drawing five fathoms. It may be ascended as far as Ava, at all seasons, by vessels of two hundred tons; and in the rains they may proceed to Mogoung River, a distance of about eight hundred sailing miles from the sea. Above this point, in the dry season, it winds along a very tortuous channel, at the rate of two miles an hour; but in its inundations, from June to September, it rises high, flows rapidly

* Similar concretions, often mistaken for petrifications and stalactites, are found in Austria, Sardinia, England, and elsewhere.

among small islands, and presents a comparatively straight course, having a breadth of about a mile at Bamoo, and, in some places below Ava, from four to six. At Ava, the rise is about thirty-three feet. At this time, boats ascend most easily, impelled by the south-west monsoon. It is not confined to an annual freshet, but, during the monsoon, rises and falls three or four times. On its banks, between Ava and Rangoon, are numerous villages and cities, some of them very large. Large villages and towns are also established a little back from the river, by which the inhabitants avoid many exactions of boat-service, both in peace and war.

The Salwen, or Martaban River, rises among the same ranges which originate the Irrawaddy, the Burampooter, the Meinam, and the great Camboja rivers. In the first part of its course, it is called Louk-chang by the Chinese. It has a course of several hundred miles, and disembogues by two mouths, one at the north of Balu Island, and the other at the south. The northern channel, though very wide, is navigable only for small boats.



Junction of the Kyendween with the Irrawaddy.
Scale of 12 miles to an inch.

The Kyendween rises near the sources of the Irrawaddy, and, after watering the Kubo valley, and passing through some of the best and most populous parts of Burmah, enters the Irrawaddy about fifty miles below Ava. As the junction of this important river has been regularly surveyed by Lieutenant Wilcox, I give a map of that section of the Irrawaddy reduced from his.

The Setang River makes, at its mouth, an imposing appearance upon the map, being several miles wide, but is nearly useless for all purposes of internal communica-

tion. At low water there is no continuous channel deeper than four feet, but various spots give a depth of from ten to fifteen

feet. The tide, compressed by the funnel form of the shores, and collecting the whole force of the flood from a great distance in the bay, acquires fearful velocity. Except at the lowest neaps, there is a "bore" on the setting in of the flood, which subjects small vessels to the most imminent danger. Some years ago, a surveying vessel from Maulmain reported that it had set her in a westerly direction at the rate of twelve miles an hour!

The Myet-ngé, or Little River, enters the Irrawaddy on the north side of the city of Ava, and is navigable for large boats to a very considerable distance.

The Mogoung River empties into the Irrawaddy in lat. $24^{\circ} 57'$, and is boatable for a hundred miles.

There are some other rivers in the empire, nearly as important; and some fine lakes, but the only good harbors now left to Burmah, are those of Rangoon and Bassein.

The soil of the maritime portions of Burmah is perhaps unsurpassed in fertility. The inconsiderable fraction which is cultivated, though after a most imperfect manner, yields not only abundance of rice for the inhabitants, but a great amount for exportation to the upper provinces. The paddy-fields yield generally from eighty to one hundred fold, and in some cases, twice that amount.

Farther inland, the country becomes undulating, but is scarcely less fertile, though for the most part a mere jungle. The region still farther east and north is mountainous, and bears the usual characteristics of such districts.

There are said to be several deserts of considerable size, but they have never been explored.

In this favored country are found nearly all the valuable trees of Farther India; but while the people are thus supplied with a profusion of valuable timber, they are far below their neighbors in the case of fruit-trees, and have them generally of an inferior quality.

The reader is referred to the previous editions of this work for a copious list of Burman fruits and timbers, such only of the fruit trees are retained here as are most important. Perhaps no country can furnish such a catalogue of forest and fruit trees.

The scientific names are given, in order that those who choose may identify the plant.

The Da-nyan, or Durean (*durio zebethinus*), flourishes in the provinces of Tavoy and Mergui, but not elsewhere in the empire. The tree is nearly as large as the jack, and the fruit greatly re-

sembles it, but is smaller, scarcely attaining the size of a man's head. It is esteemed by the natives the most delicious fruit in India. Europeans are not fond of it until after repeated trials. Those who persist, always unite with the natives in their preference. It contains ten or twelve seeds, as large as pigeons' eggs, which, when roasted, are not inferior to chestnuts. It is the most costly fruit in India, and is never found propagating itself in a wild state. The tree is high and spreading, lives a hundred years, and produces about two hundred dureans in a year.

The *Bun-ya*, *Pien-nai*, or *Jack*, (*artocarpus integrifolia*,) is thought not to be indigenous, but thrives well in all the lower provinces. Its name seems to indicate the peninsula of Hindustan as its proper country, and it certainly is very common there. In the Teloo-goo language, it is called *Jaka*. It attains to the height of eighty or one hundred feet. Branches, thick, alternate, and spreading; leaves, very dark green. The full-grown fruit weighs from thirty to fifty pounds, growing not from the twigs, but, in young trees, from the thick branches, after-



Jack-Tree and Fruit.

ward from the top of the trunk, and, when very aged, from the roots. It is covered with a very thick, rough, green skin, and is full of white stones, the size of a pullet's egg. Few persons are fond of it at first, but by repeated trials soon become so. I found it very indigestible. There are two kinds, which, however, do not greatly differ. The timber is very valuable, and used for musical instruments, cabinet ware, and ornamental work.

The *Managoot*, or *Mangosteen*, (*garcinia mangostana*,) grows in Mergui province, but is not common. The tree is low, about the size and shape of an apple-tree; leaves, dark green. It is raised from the seed, and bears the seventh year. Some trees yield annually from a thousand to two thousand mangosteens. The fruit is generally deemed by foreigners the finest in India, and indeed in all the world. Foreigners are fond of it from the first. It resembles the black walnut in size, and the pomegranate in its

exterior. A hull like that of the black walnut is to be removed, and the fruit appears white, pulpy, grapelike, about the size of a small plum, and having one or two very small stones. Its taste is mildly acid, and extremely delicate and luscious, without a tendency to cloy the appetite; and almost any quantity may be eaten, by most persons, without danger. It seems to have been introduced from the Indian Archipelago, and is far from attaining in the hands of the Tavoyers the perfection it there possesses.



The Tharrat, or Thayet, or Mango, (*mangifera indica*), called by Tavoyers *Thurrapee*, is one of the largest fruit-trees in the world, reaching a height of one hundred feet or more, and a circumference of twelve or fourteen, sometimes even of twenty-five. Branches, thick, spreading; leaves, long, narrow, smooth, shining; flowers, small, white. The fruit is delicious, about four inches long, and two wide; thin,

smooth, greenish skin, and very large, hairy stone. There are as many kinds as there are of apples, and differing about as much from each other. The timber is excellent, and is used for masts, pestles, mortars, &c.

The Thimbau, Papaya, or Papau, (*carica papaja*), grows to the height of fifteen to thirty feet, without branches or leaves, except at the top, where the fruit grows close to the stem. Leaves, twenty to thirty inches long. Fruit is of a green color, and closely resembles a small muskmelon, with round black seeds, which, when very young, have the taste of capers. It seems to have been introduced by the Portuguese. It comes rapidly to maturity in any soil, bears fruit all the year, and is exceedingly prolific. It is inferior in flavor to our muskmelons. There are several kinds, all highly prized. The sap of this tree is a most deadly poison, taken inwardly. The French doctors use it as a medicine. When exposed to the air, it resembles salt.

The Ong, or Coco-nut, (*cocos nucifera*), resembles other palms, especially the palmyra or toddy-tree: the leaves are longer. The fruit is too well known to need description. The envelope or husk furnishes a large part of the cordage, called *coya* or *coir*, which is not surpassed in excellence by any other, though little is made in Burmah. From the nut, an oil of good quality is obtained in large quantities, used both in cooking and for light. The top of the tree is tapped for toddy by cutting off the end of the stem which bears the blossom. It is generally made into

sugar, or some is drank fresh. In other countries, arrack is distilled from this species of toddy.

The tree is scarce, particularly in the upper provinces, and almost entirely wanting in Arracan; so that large quantities are imported from the Nicobar Islands, and elsewhere, which are chiefly used in making curry. For this purpose the whole fruit is scraped, and the juice squeezed out. The pulp is thrown away.

The Coco-nut tree delights in a sandy soil, and at the same time requires to be much watered. Hence they are generally found by rivers, or on the sea-coast. The Palmyra, on the contrary, grows every where.



The Plantain-Tree.

The Nep-yau, or Plantain, (*musa paradisiaca*.) is one of the most valuable gifts of Providence to a great part of the globe, growing wherever the mean temperature exceeds 65°. The stalk seldom exceeds seven or eight inches in diameter, and twenty feet in height, bears but one bunch of fruit, and dies. The stem is cut close to the ground, and from the same root, however, the tree is renewed many years. The leaves, when young, are the most beautiful in India, expanding, with a smooth surface, and vivid green, to six feet in length, and two or more in breadth, but, soon after attaining full size, the edges become torn by the wind. The flower is very large, purple, and

shaped like an ear of Indian corn. At the root of the outer leaf, a double row of the fruit comes out half round the stalk or cob. The stem then elongates a few inches, and another leaf is deflected, revealing another double row. Thus the stem grows on, leaving a leaf of the flower and a row of the fruit every few inches, till there come to be twenty-five or thirty bunches, containing about one hundred and fifty or one hundred and eighty plantains, and weighing from sixty to eighty pounds. The weight bends over the end of the stem, and when ripe it hangs within reach. Like other palms, it has no branches.

CHAPTER III.

Population — Form and Features — Buildings — Food — Dress — Manners and Customs — Character — Condition of Women — Marriage — Polygamy — Divorce — Diseases — Medical Practice — Midwifery — Funerals — Amusements — Musical Instruments — Manufactures.

FEW countries have had their population so variously estimated. Old geographies stated it at 30,000,000; Symmes made it 17,000,000; Cox afterwards reduced it to 8,000,000; and Balbi allows it only 3,700,000. The chief woon-gyee at Ava informed me that the last census gave a total of 300,000 houses. Allowing a fraction short of seven persons to a house, this would make 2,000,000; presuming one third of the houses to have escaped enumeration, we have 3,000,000. After the most careful inquiries, I am led to put down the number of the inhabitants, to whom the Burman tongue is vernacular, at 3,000,000. This estimate was confirmed by many persons and numerous facts. The Shyans are probably 3,000,000 more, and, with other subsidiary tribes, bring up the total population to about the estimate of Cox.

The people, though not so tall as Hindus, are more athletic. The average height of men is about five feet two inches, and of women four feet ten inches; that is to say, about four or five inches shorter than the average height of Europeans. Women have more slender limbs than men, but are universally square-shouldered. Corpulence is not more frequent than in this country. In features they are totally dissimilar to the Hindus, and rather resemble the Malays, especially in the prominence of cheek-bones, and squareness of the jaw. The nose is never prominent, but often flat, and the lips generally thick. The complexion of young children, and those who have not been exposed to the sun, is that of our brightest mulattoes. Few, except among the higher classes, retain this degree of fairness, but none ever become, by many shades, so black as Hindus. I saw few whose complexions were clear enough to discover a blush. The standard of beauty seems to be delicate yellow; and in full dress, a cosmetic is used by ladies and children which imparts this tint. It is remarkable that this hue should be admired not only here, but amongst the almost black natives of Hindustan, and the many-colored inhabitants of the islands of the Indian Ocean.

The hair of the head is very abundant, always black, rather coarse, and rendered glossy by frequent anointings. On the limbs and breast there is none, strongly contrasting in this respect with Hindus, whose bodies are almost covered with hair. Their beard is abundant on the upper lip, but never extends over the cheeks, and is but scanty on the chin.

Puberty does not occur much earlier than with us; women bear children to nearly as late a period. The average length of life seems not perceptibly different from that of Europe.

Dwellings are constructed of timbers, or bamboos set in the earth, with lighter pieces fastened transversely. When good posts are used, they are set seven feet apart; lighter ones and bamboos are placed closer. A frame set on stone or brick pillars, is never seen. The sides are covered, some with mats, more or less substantial and costly; or with thatch, fastened with split ratans. The roof is usually of thatch, even in the best houses. It is very ingeniously made and fastened on, and is a perfect security against wind or rain. The cheapest is made of strong grass, six or seven feet long, bent over a thin strip of cane four feet long, and stitched on with ratan. A better kind is made of attap or dennee leaves, in the same manner. These are laid on like wide boards, lapping over each other from twelve to eighteen inches. They cost a mere trifle, and last about three years.

The floor is of split cane, elevated a few feet from the earth, which secures ventilation and cleanliness, and makes them far more comfortable and tidy than the houses of Bengal. The open crevices between the slats, however, too often invite carelessness, by suffering offal and dirty fluids to pass through; and not unfrequently, among the lower ranks, the space under the house is a nasty mud-hole, alive with vermin. The doors and windows are of mat, strengthened with a frame of bamboo, and tied fast at the top. When opened, they are propped up with a bamboo, and form a shade. Of course, there are no chimneys. Cooking is done on a shallow box, a yard square, filled with earth. The whole house may be put up in two or three days, at an expense of from sixty to one hundred rupees, though many do not cost half that sum. Posts of common timber last from ten to fifteen years, iron-wood forty or fifty, and good teak eighty or a hundred. The houses of the more opulent, in large towns, are built of wood, with plank floors and pannelled doors and window-shutters, but without lath, plaster, or glass.

Such houses furnish a fine harbor for spiders, worms, lizards, and centipedes; but create no inconvenience in general, except

the particles of dust which are constantly powdered down from the thatch, as the worms eat it up. The lizards are not only harmless, but useful, by consuming flies, musquitoes, &c. The centipedes are poisonous; but it is very rare that any one is bitten, and the result is merely a painful swelling and inflammation for a few days.

The rank of the opulent is particularly regarded in the architecture of the dwelling; and a deviation from rule would be instantly marked and punished. The distinction lies chiefly in hips or stages in the roof, as seen in the picture of a zayat, on a subsequent page.

The whole of the architectural skill of this people is by no means exhibited in their dwellings. Some of the zayats, pagodas, and temples, are truly noble. There can be no doubt but that, if the people were not prohibited, they would often erect for themselves substantial stone or brick buildings. It has been said that they have lost the art of turning an arch; but this is wholly a mistake. I have seen many fine arches, of large span, evidently erected within a few years, and some not yet finished, constructed wholly by Burman masons. The stucco, which covers all buildings, is put on with extraordinary durability, and generally with tasteful ornaments. Floors and brick images, covered in this way, have often a polish equal to the most exquisitely wrought marble. The mortar is made of the best lime, and sand, with a liberal mixture of jaggery, but without hair. No one can form a proper estimate of Burman architecture, who has not visited Ava, or one of the ancient seats of government. Religious structures are there far more numerous and magnificent than in distant parts of the empire. As in other countries, the state religion shines most, in temporal endowments and honors, in the neighborhood of the metropolis.

Though Burmans spend all their zeal on useless pagodas, there are near the capital some other structures of public utility. Some tanks have been constructed, which secure irrigation, and consequent fertility, to a fine region of adjacent country. One of these, near Mokesobo, is truly a noble work. Across the little river at Ava, and the marsh adjacent, is a very long bridge, which I have not seen surpassed in India, and scarcely in Europe. Various other edifices, both civil and military, ornament the metropolis, and would do honor to any people.

The favorite food, in common with all India and China, and universally used by all who can afford it, is rice. This is often

eaten without any addition whatever, but generally with a nice curry, and sauces of various stewed melons, vegetables, &c. Except among the very poor, a little meat or fish is added. Sweet oil, made from the sesamum seed, enters largely into their seasoning. But the great condiment is chillie, or capsicum. From the highest to the lowest, all season their rice with this plant. The consumption is incredibly great, and in its dried state it forms a considerable branch of internal trade. The whole pod, with its seeds, is ground to powder on a stone, (a little water being added if the peppers are dried,) and mixed with a little turmeric, and onions or garlic, ground up in the same manner, and generally acidified with some sour juice: often, instead of water, the expressed juice of rasped coco-nut is used to make the curry. In this the fish or meat is stewed, if they have any, and a very palatable sauce is made, at almost no expense. Sweet oil, made of the coco-nut, sesamum, or mustard seed, is a very admired addition to their various messes, and almost entirely supersedes the use of butter. The latter is used only in the clarified state, called *pau-bot*, and by Europeans *ghee*.

In the upper districts, where rice is dearer than below, wheat, maize, sweet potatoes, onions, peas, beans, and plantains, enter largely into the common diet. Indeed, a Burman seems almost literally omnivorous. A hundred sorts of leaves, suckers, blossoms, and roots, are daily gathered in the jungle, and a famine seems almost impossible. Snakes, lizards, grubs, ants' eggs, &c., are eaten without hesitation, and many are deemed delicacies. An animal which has died of itself, or the swollen carcass of game killed with poisoned arrows, is just as acceptable as other meat. Like the ancient Romans, the Burmans are very fond of certain wood-worms, particularly a very large species, found in the trunks of plantain-trees. I have seen several foreigners, who had adopted it as one of their delicacies.

Though the law forbids the taking of life, no one scruples to eat what is already dead; and there are always sinners enough to keep the sanctimonious ones supplied with animal food. Indeed, very few scruple to take game or fish. Thousands of the natives are fishermen by profession. I asked some of these what they thought would become of them in the next state. They admitted that they must suffer myriads of years, for taking so many lives; but would generally add, "What can we do? our wives and children must eat."

Cooking is done in a thin, earthen pot, narrow at the mouth, placed close to the fire, on three stones. Very little fuel is used,

and this of a light kind, often the stalks of flowers, reminding me of the remark of our Savior, (Matt. vi. 30,) when he reproved unreasonable anxiety about raiment. The variety of modes in which the different kinds of rice are prepared, is surprising. With no other addition than sugar, or a few nuts, or a rasped coco-nut, they make almost as many delicacies as our confectioners; and such as I tasted were equally palatable.

Though their wheat is of the finest quality, it is much less valued than rice, and sells for less money. Its name, "foreigner's rice," shows it not to be indigenous; but when it was introduced is not known. Its being also called *gyōng*, which is a Bengalee name, intimates that it might have been received from thence. Animals are fed with it, and, in some places, it forms a large part of the people's subsistence; not ground and made into bread, but cooked, much as they do rice. The bread made of it by foreigners, is remarkably white and good, the fresh juice of the toddy-tree furnishing the best of leaven. The bakers are generally Bengalese, who grind the flour, in the manner so often alluded to in Scripture, in a hand-mill. Wherever there are Europeans, there are some of these bakers, who furnish fresh bread every day, at a rate not dearer than with us.



Eating Stand.

In eating, Burmans use their fingers only, always washing their hands before and after, and generally their mouths also. A large salver contains the plain boiled rice, and another the little dishes of various curries and sauces. These salvers, or lackered trays, are shown in the picture.

They take huge mouthfuls, and chew the rice a good deal. Sometimes a handful is pressed in the palm, till it resembles an egg, and is in that form thrust into the mouth. The quantity taken at a meal is large, but scarcely half of that devoured by a Bengalee. Only the right hand is used in eating, the left being consigned to the more uncleanly acts. They eat but twice a day, once about eight or nine o'clock, and again toward sunset. They avoid drinking before, or during eating, on the plea that they then could not eat so much: after eating, they take free draughts of pure water, and lie down to take a short nap.

The dress of men in the lower classes, while engaged in labor, is a cotton cloth, called *pes-só*, about four and a half yards long, and a yard wide, passed round the hips, and between the thighs; most of it being gathered into a knot in front. When not at work, it is loosed, and passed round the hips, and over the shoulder, covering, in a graceful manner, nearly the whole body. A large

part of the people, especially at Ava, wear this of silk; and there is scarcely any one who has not silk for special days. A jacket with sleeves, called *ingee*, generally of white muslin, but sometimes of broadcloth or velvet, is added, among the higher classes, but not habitually, except in cold weather. It buttons at the neck and the bottom, as represented in the picture, page 187. Dressed or undressed, all wear the turban or *goun-boung*, of book-muslin, or cotton handkerchiefs. The entire aspect of a



Burman Shoe.

respectable Burman's dress is neat, decorous, and graceful. On the feet, when dressed, are worn sandals of wood or cow-hide covered with cloth, and held on by straps, one of which passes over the instep, the other

over the great toe. On entering a house, these are always left at the door.

Women universally wear a *te-mine*, or petticoat, of cotton or silk, lined with muslin. It is but little wider than is sufficient to go around the body, and is fastened by merely tucking in the corners. It extends from the arm-pits to the ankles; but laboring women, at least after they have borne children, generally gather it around the hips, leaving uncovered all the upper part of the form. Being merely lapped over in front, and not sewed, it exposes one leg above the knee, at every step. By the higher classes, and by others when not at work, is worn, in addition, an *in-gee*, or jacket, open in the front, with close, long sleeves. It is always made of thin materials, and frequently of gauze or lace. Laboring women and children frequently wear, in the cold season, a shorter gown, resembling a sailor's jacket, of common calico. Nothing is worn on the head. Their sandals are like those of men. The



Burman Lady.

Their sandals are like those of men. The

picture represents a genteel woman, with a cigar, as is very common, in her hand.

Boys go naked till they are five or six in cities, and seven or eight in country places. Girls begin to wear clothing several years earlier.

Both sexes wear ornaments in their ears. They are not rings, or pendants, but *cylinders* of gold, silver, horn, wood, marble, or paper, passed through a hole in the soft part of the ear. The perforation is at first small, but the tube is from time to time enlarged,

till it reaches the fashionable dimensions of about an inch in diameter. As in all countries, some are extreme in their fashions, and such enlarge it still more. I have seen some of these ear ornaments larger round than a dollar. The boring of a boy's ear is generally made, by those who can afford it, an occasion of a profuse feast and other entertainments. After the period of youth, few seem to care for this decoration, and the holes are made to serve for carrying a spare cheroot or a bunch of flowers.

Men generally wear mustachios, but pluck out their beard with tweezers: old people sometimes suffer it to grow; but it never attains to respectable size. Both sexes, as a matter of modesty, pluck out the hair under the arm, which certainly diminishes the repulsive aspect of the naked bust.

Both sexes wear their hair very long. Men tie it in a knot on the *top* of the head, or intertwine it with their turban. Women turn it all back, and, without a comb, form it into a graceful knot *behind*, frequently adding chaplets or festoons of fragrant natural flowers, strung on a thread. As much hair is deemed ornamental, they often add false tresses, which hang down behind, in the manner shown in the last picture. Both sexes take great pains with their hair, frequently washing it with a species of bark, which has the properties of soap, and keeping it anointed with sweet oil.

Women are fond of rendering their complexions more fair, and at the same time fragrant, by rubbing over the face the delicate yellow powder already mentioned, which is also found a great relief in cutaneous eruptions, and is often used for this purpose by the missionary, with success. They occasionally stain the nails of the fingers and toes with a scarlet pigment. Bathing is a daily habit of all who live in the vicinity of convenient water. I was often reminded, while sitting in their houses in the dusk of the evening, of our Savior's remark, John xiii. 10 — "He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit." The men, having finished their labor, bathe, and clean themselves at the river, or tank; but walking up with wet feet defiles them again, so that they cannot with propriety come and take their place on the mat or bed. Taking up some water, therefore, in a coco-nut dipper, out of a large jar which stands at the door of every house, they easily rinse their feet as they stand on the step, and "are clean every whit."

All ranks are exceedingly fond of flowers, and display great taste in arranging them, on all public occasions. The pagodas receive daily offerings of these in great quantity, and a lady in

full dress throws festoons of them around her hair. Dressy men, on special occasions, put a few into the holes in their ears.

In all Burman pictures, it is observable that the arm, when used to prop the body, is curved the wrong way. This arises from the frequency of such a posture to persons who sit on the floor with their feet at their side, and from the great flexibility of the joints of Orientals. It is deemed a beauty in proportion to its degree of flexure. I found the same fashion prevailing in Siam, and took a drawing, which will come in hereafter. The stories, in some books, of their dislocating their elbow at pleasure, and even putting up the hair, &c. with the joints reversed, are absurd.

The mode of kissing is curious, though natural. Instead of a slight touch of the lips, as with us, they apply the mouth and nose closely to the person's cheek, and draw in the breath strongly, as if smelling a delightful perfume. Hence, instead of saying, "Give me a kiss," they say, "Give me a smell." There is no word in the language which translates our word *kiss*.

Children are carried, not in the arms, as with us, but astride the hip, as is the custom in other parts of India. See cut in the chapter on Siam. The cradle of an infant is an oblong basket, without rockers, suspended from the rafters. The least impulse sets it swinging; and the child is thus kept cool, and unannoyed by the flies.

The custom of blacking the teeth is almost universal. It is generally done about the age of puberty. The person first chews alum or sour vegetables several hours, after which a mixture of oil, lampblack, and perhaps other ingredients, is applied with a hot iron. When done by the regular professors of the art, it is indelible. At the metropolis, the practice is getting into disrepute, and still more so in the British provinces; and as intercourse with foreigners increases, the practice may become obsolete. Whenever I asked the reason of this custom, the only answer was, "What! should we have white teeth, like a dog or a monkey?"

Almost every one, male or female, chews the singular mixture called *coon*; and the lackered or gilded box containing the ingredients is borne about on all occasions. The quid consists of a slice of areca-nut, a small piece of catch, and some tobacco rolled up in a leaf of betel pepper, on which has been smeared a little tempered quicklime. It creates profuse saliva, and so fills up the mouth that they seem to be chewing food. It colors the mouth deep red; and the teeth, if not previously blackened, as-

sume the same color. It is rather expensive, and is not taken very often through the day. Smoking tobacco is still more prevalent among both sexes, and is commenced by children almost as soon as they are weaned. I have seen little creatures of two or three years, stark naked, tottering about with a lighted cigar in their mouth. It is not uncommon for them to become smokers, even



Spittoon.

before they are weaned, the mother often taking the cheroot from her mouth and putting it into that of the infant! Such universal smoking and chewing makes a spittoon necessary to cleanly persons. It is generally made of brass, in the shape of a vase, and quite handsome. Hookas are not used, and pipes are uncommon. The cheroot is seldom wholly made of tobacco. The wrapper is the leaf of the then-nat tree; fragrant wood rasped fine, the dried root of the

tobacco, and some of the proper leaf, make the contents.

Men are universally tattooed on the thighs and lower part of the body, as is shown in the engraving on page 139. The operation is commenced in patches, at the age of eight or ten years, and continued till the whole is finished. In the picture, a little boy is represented with the operation commenced. The intended figures, such as animals, birds, demons, &c., are traced with lampblack and oil, and pricked in with a pointed instrument. Frequently the figures are only lines, curves, &c., with an occasional cabalistic word. The process is not only painful, but expensive. The tattooing of as much surface as may be covered by "six fingers" costs a quarter of a tical, when performed by an ordinary artist; but when by one of superior qualifications, the charge is higher. Not to be thus tattooed is considered as a mark of effeminacy. The practice originates not only from its being considered ornamental, but a charm against casualties. Those who aspire to more eminent decoration have another tattooing, with a red pigment, done in small squares upon the breast and arms.

A few individuals, especially among those who have made arms a profession, insert under the skin of the arm, just below the shoulder, small pieces of gold, copper, or iron, and sometimes diamonds or pearls. One of the converts at Ava, formerly a colonel in the Burman army, had ten or twelve of these in his arm, several of which he allowed me to extract. They are thin plates of gold, with a charm written upon them, and then rolled up.

The upper classes sleep on bedsteads, with a thin mattress or mat; but most people sleep on the floor. Some have a thick cotton cloth to wrap themselves in at night; but the majority use only the clothes worn in the day. Sheets are not thought of by any class: even Europeans prefer to have their mattresses enclosed in the fine mats of the country, and sleep in suitable dresses.

Respectable people are always attended in the streets by a few followers, sometimes by quite a crowd. A petty officer of middling rank appears with six or eight: one carries a pipe, another a coon-box, another a water-goblet, with the cup turned upside down on the mouth, another a spittoon, another a mem-



Burman Gentleman and Followers.

orandum-book, etc. All classes use umbrellas when walking abroad. Peasants and laborers, when at work, generally wear hats two or three feet in diameter, made of light bark.

It is scarcely safe for travellers to attempt to portray national character. Calm and prolonged intercourse, at every place, with men long on the ground, and daily contact with natives, merchants, civilians, soldiers, and missionaries, gave me, however, opportunities for forming opinions such as fall to the lot of few.

The Burman character differs, in many points, from that of the Hindus, and other East Indians. They are more lively, active, and industrious, and, though fond of repose, are seldom idle when there is an inducement for exertion. When such induce-

ment offers, they exhibit not only great strength, but courage and perseverance, and often accomplish what we should think scarcely possible. But these valuable traits are rendered nearly useless, by the want of a higher grade of civilization. The poorest classes, furnished by a happy climate with all necessaries, at the price of only occasional labor, and the few who are above that necessity, find no proper pursuits to fill up their leisure. Books are too scarce to enable them to improve by reading, and games grow wearisome. No one can indulge pride or taste in the display, or scarcely in the use, of wealth. By improving his lands or houses beyond his neighbors, a man exposes himself to extortion, and perhaps personal danger. The pleasures, and even the follies, of refined society, call forth talents, diffuse wealth, and stimulate business; but here are no such excitements. Folly and sensuality find gratification almost without effort, and without expen- diture. Sloth, then, must be the repose of the poor, and the business of the rich. From this they resort to the chase, the seine, or the athletic game; and from those relapse to quiescent indul- gence. Thus life is wasted in the profitless alternation of sensual ease, rude drudgery, and active sport. No elements exist for the improvement of posterity, and successive generations pass, like the crops upon their fields. Were there but a disposition to im- prove the mind, and distribute benefits, what majesty of piety might we not hope to see in a country so favored with the means of subsistence, and so cheap in its modes of living! Instead of the many objects of an American's ambition, and the unceasing anxiety to amass property, the Burman sets a limit to his desires, and when that is reached, gives himself to repose and enjoyment. Instead of wearing himself out in endeavors to equal or sur- pass his neighbor in dress, food, furniture, or house, he easily attains the customary standard, beyond which he seldom desires to go.

When strangers come to their houses, they are hospitable and courteous; and a man may travel from one end of the kingdom to the other without money; feeding and lodging as well as the people. But otherwise they have little idea of aiding their neighbor. If a boat, or a wagon, &c., get into difficulty, no one stirs to assist, unless requested. The accommodation of strangers and travellers is particularly provided for by *zayats* or caravan- saries, built in every village, and often found insulated on the highway. These serve at once for taverns, town-houses, and churches. Here travellers take up their abode even for weeks, if they choose; here public business is transacted, and here, if a

pagoda be near, worship is performed. They are always as well built as the best houses, and often are among the most splendid structures in the kingdom. Though they furnish, however, no accommodations but a shelter, the traveller procures at the bazar all he finds necessary, or receives, with the utmost promptitude, a full supply from the families around. A missionary may travel from one end of the country to the other, and receive, wherever he stops, all that the family can offer.

Temperance is universal. The use of all wine, spirits, opium, &c., is not only strictly forbidden, both by religion and the civil law, but is entirely against public opinion. I have seen thousands together for hours, on public occasions, rejoicing in all ardor, without observing an act of violence or a case of intoxication. During a residence of seven months among them, I never saw but one intoxicated; though the example, alas! is not wanting on the part of foreigners. It is greatly to be deplored that foreigners, particularly Moguls and Jews, tempt their boatmen and laborers to drink ardent spirits, and have taught a few to hanker after it.

During my whole residence in the country, I never saw an immodest act or gesture in man or woman. The female dress certainly shocks a foreigner by revealing so much of the person; but no women could behave more decorously in regard to dress. I have seen hundreds bathe without witnessing an immodest or even careless act, though, as in the case of woman's dress, the exposure of so much of the person would, with us, be deemed immodest. Even when men go into the water by themselves, they keep on their *pezzo*. As to general chastity, my informants differed so greatly that I cannot speak. It is certain that, among the native Christians, there has been much trouble produced by the lax morality which prevails in this respect among married people.

Children are treated with great kindness, not only by the mother, but the father, who, when unemployed takes the young child in his arms, and seems pleased to attend to it, while the mother cleans her rice, or perhaps sits unemployed by his side. In this regard of the father, girls are not made secondary, though, as with us, boys are often more valued. I have as often seen fathers carrying about and caressing female infants, as male. Infanticide, except in very rare cases by unmarried females, is utterly unknown. A widow with children, girls or boys, is much more likely to be sought again in marriage than if she had none.

The want of them, on a first marriage, is one of the most frequent causes of polygamy.

Children are almost as reverent to parents as among the Chinese. They continue to be greatly controlled by them, even to middle life; and the aged, when sick, are maintained with great care and tenderness. Old people are always treated with marked deference, and in all assemblies occupy the best seats among those of their own rank.

They are called an inquisitive people, and may be more so than other Orientals; but I saw no particular evidence of it. Perhaps much of what travellers call inquisitiveness is no more than the common form of salutation. Instead of, "How do you do?" their phrase is, "Where are you going?" They certainly seem fond of news, but not less fond of their own old customs, to which they cling with great tenacity.

Gravity and reserve are habitual among all classes; caused probably by the despotic character of the government and the insecurity of every enjoyment. Men are seldom betrayed into anger, and still less seldom come to blows. The women are more easily provoked, and vent their spleen with the most frantic violence of voice and gesture, but do not strike. Both sexes utter, in their quarrels, in default of profane oaths, of which their language is happily destitute, such obscene expressions as can scarcely be conceived; and not content with applying them to their adversary, they heap them upon his wife, children, and parents. They are certainly far from being irritable, and one daily witnesses incidents, which among us would excite instant strife, pass off without a sign of displeasure.

Gratitude is a virtue of great rarity. They never, on receiving a present or any other favor, make any acknowledgment; nor is there any phrase in the language equivalent to "I thank you." Those who have associated much with Christians, and especially Christians themselves, are exceptions to the general rule. These, and whoever else wish to express thankfulness, use the phrase, "I think it a favor," or "It is a favor." Boodhism necessarily tends to suppress gratitude by keeping up the constant sense of mercenariness. If a man does another a favor, he supposes it to be in order to obtain merit, and seems to feel as though he conferred an obligation by giving the opportunity.

Thieving and pilfering are common, but perhaps not more so than in other countries; and much less so than we might expect, considering the frail and accessible nature of their houses.

These crimes, too, are for the most part perpetrated by a few of the basest sort, and cannot be regarded as stamping the character of the nation. The inadequacy of the government to the protection of the people makes it surprising that criminal offences are not more common. Sometimes gangs of robbers circumvent a house, and while some plunder it, others preclude all aid. Boats are quite frequently robbed, as the offenders then are not easily traced. Murder not unfrequently accompanies these deprivations.

Lying, though strictly forbidden in the sacred books, prevails among all classes. They may be said to be a nation of liars. They never place confidence in the word of each other, and all dealing is done with chicanery and much disputing. Even when detected in a lie, no shame is manifested; and unless put on oath, which a Burman greatly dreads, no reliance whatever can be placed on the word of any man. Of course there are honorable exceptions to this general character, as there are in the other vices.

There, perhaps, never was a people more offensively proud. From the monarch, who adopts the most grandiloquent titles he can invent, to the pettiest officer, every man seems bloated with self-conceit. Accustomed to conquest under every king since Alompra, and holding all the adjacent tribes in vassalage, they carry themselves in a lordly manner. The meanest citizen seems to feel himself superior to the Peguans, Karens, Tongthoos, &c., around him. Gradations of rank are most minutely and tenaciously maintained, and are signified in every thing. Houses, dress, betel-box, water-goblet, cap, umbrella, horse-equipments, &c., are all adjusted by rule. To ride on an elephant is the privilege only of royalty and high office, though often granted as an indulgence to others. The king alone, and his immediate family, use a white umbrella; the next have them gilded, the next red or fringed, next green, &c. Subdivisions of these grades are marked by the number of umbrellas of each particular color. Thus one has twenty, another ten, another eight, and so downward.

The very language in which common actions are mentioned is made to minister to this nicety. Thus there are three or four ways to speak of every thing, such as eating rice, walking out, sleeping, speaking, dying, one of which is always used of the king, another of priests, another of rulers, another of common persons. It would be an insult to use a lower phrase than the person is strictly entitled to, though a higher one is sometimes

used as a sign of special respect. The same difference is made in the words for walking abroad, and many more.

This haughtiness is manifested as grossly to foreign ambassadors as is done in China. They are treated as suppliants and tribute-bearers. It has generally been contrived to have them presented on the great "beg-pardon day," which occurs once in three months, when the nobles are allowed an audience with the king, and lay at his feet costly presents.

Both their religion and government contribute to this pride. Holding it as certain that they have passed through infinite transmigrations, they are sure they must have been highly meritorious in former states of existence to entitle them to be human beings, who are but little lower than Nats, and stand the highest possible chance for heaven.

Burmans seem particularly addicted to intrigue and chicanery. The nature of the government tends to this, as will be seen in a subsequent chapter. In dealing with Europeans, they are also tempted to such practices by consciousness of ignorance, and by having often been shamefully overreached. But while evasiveness and subtlety are discernible in all their intercourse with government men and foreigners, those of the same village seem to do business in good faith; and, when a ruler or European has established a character for fair and punctual dealing, he is seldom deceived by those in his employ.

That polished suavity of manners which so strikingly characterizes Hindoos, even of low caste, is wholly wanting among the Burmans. They have nothing which resembles a bow, or the shaking of hands. When one is leaving a house, he merely says, "I am going," and the other replies, "Go." On receiving a gift or a kind office, an acknowledgment is scarcely ever uttered or expected. When great reverence is intended, the palms of the hand are put together, and thus raised to the forehead, adoringly, as in worship; but this, of course, rarely occurs, except in addressing superiors, and is then never omitted.

In general, they are uncleanly. Some regard, to be sure, ought to be had to the light fabrics they wear. If we wore a white jacket as long as we do one of black bombazine, it would look filthy enough. Yet it is not more clean. Burmans are fond of appearing neat, and the better classes, when seen abroad, are generally very tidy. But their skin, their hair, and their houses, are decidedly slovenly. Persons are always seen bathing at the river or public wells; but the proportion to the whole population is very small. Very little is accomplished toward removing the filth

from their bodies by their daily ablutions, as they seldom use soap, and their skin is generally more or less moistened with oil. Few are without vermin in their heads, and washing common clothes is done only at very distant intervals.

This brief delineation of character may serve to show how distorted and partial are the views which mere theorists take of heathen society. Formerly, it was the fashion to ascribe the greatest purity and dignity to an uncivilized and primitive state of manners, and to expatiate on the crimes, follies, and effeminacy, of more artificial and polished communities. More recently, it has been the fashion to consider all who have not received our customs, and our religion, as sunk in degradation; devoid of every moral and natural excellence; and destitute of every species of human happiness. The truth, as to Burmah at least, lies between these extremes.

Women probably have their place assigned them as correctly in Burmah as in any other nation. Their intercourse is open and unrestricted, not only with their countrymen, but with foreigners. The universal custom is to give them the custody of their husbands' cash; and by them is done the chief part of all buying and selling, both in shops and in the bazar. They clean rice, bring water, weave, and cook; occasionally assisting in the management of a boat or the labors of the field. But hard work, of all kinds, the universal custom assigns to men. They are by no means denied education, nor is any impediment placed in the way of their attaining it; but the monastic character of the schools prevents admission there. Private schools for girls are not uncommon in large places. Females of the higher classes do not contemn industry, and affect the languid listlessness of some Orientals. They furnish their servants with useful employment, over which they preside with attention. A British ambassador, when formally presented to the mother of the queen, observed in one of the galleries three or four looms at work, operated by the maidens of her household. Such a fact reminds us of the occupations of Greek ladies, as intimated in the advice Telemachus gives Penelope, in Homer's *Odyssey*:—

“Retire, O queen! thy household task resume;
Tend, with thy maids, the labors of the loom.
There rule, from public care remote and free:
That care to man belongs.”

Burmans cherish none of those apprehensions respecting surplus population, which dishonor some countries in Europe.

Like the Chinese, they deem the increase of subjects the glory and strength of the throne. Hence their readiness to have foreigners marry Burman women. Hence, too, they are not allowed to leave the kingdom, nor are the female progeny of mixed marriages. Every ship is searched before leaving the country, and heavy penalties would be incurred by the attempt to smuggle away any female.

Marriages are not often contracted before puberty, and are consummated without the sanction of priests or magistrates. Parents do not make matches for children; and every youth looks out his own companion. As in more civilized countries, however, this reasonable boon is denied the children of royal blood. Among common people, when a young man has made his choice, he declares himself to the mother, or some friendly matron, and, if there be no objection, he is permitted to frequent the house; and something like a regular courtship takes place. He continues his intimacy till all parties are agreed, when he is admitted to eat with the daughter, and sleep at the house. He is then her husband, and the neighbors gradually ascertain the fact. The ratification of marriage consists in eating out of the same dish. Whenever this is seen, marriage is inferred: indeed, if it can be proved, they are married, and must live as husband and wife. After marriage, the young man must reside with his wife's parents three years, three months, and three days; serving them as a son. If he choose not to do this, and the bride be willing to leave her parents' home, he must pay them sixty ticals; and if, at a subsequent stage of his domestication, he choose to depart, he pays such a proportion as can be agreed on.

Among the higher classes, marriages are more ceremonious. On the wedding day, the bridegroom sends to his intended, suits of apparel and jewelry. Mutual friends assemble with him at the house of the bride, where a liberal entertainment is given. The hands of the couple are solemnly joined, in the presence of the company, and they partake out of the same dish a little pickled tea.

Polygamy is authorized by law, but is exceedingly rare, except among the highest classes. The original wife generally retains preëminence, and the others perform subordinate duties in the house, and attend her when she goes abroad.

Divorces are shockingly common. If both parties agree on the measure, they have only to go before a magistrate, and declare their desire, when he grants the separation, without any further ceremony than requiring them to eat pickled tea before

him, as was done at their marriage. If one party seek to put away the other, more trouble and expense is requisite. A process of law must be commenced, and a regular trial had. It is therefore seldom attempted. Women may put away their husbands in the same manner, and with the same facilities, as husbands put away wives. Each party, in all divorces, is at liberty to marry again. According to the written law, when a man and wife separate by mutual consent, the household goods are equally divided, the father taking the sons, and the mother the daughters.

Instead of the expensive mode of putting away a husband or wife which common law furnishes, a much easier is often resorted to with complete success. The party aggrieved merely turns priest, or nun; and the matrimonial bond is at once dissolved. They may return to secular life at any time, and marry another; but for appearances' sake, this is generally deferred some months.

In the British provinces, considerable effort has been made to check the frequency of divorces, but without much success.

It will be supposed, from the description given of the salubrious climate and simple diet of the Burmans, that diseases are few, and the people generally healthy. Such is the fact. Life is often prolonged to eighty, and even ninety years; though a person is old at sixty. No general pestilence has ever been known but the cholera, which seldom appears, and then in a milder form than in most other countries.

The principal diseases are fever, rheumatism, consumption, and bowel complaints. Consumption is a common mode by which old persons are carried off, but it attacks youth comparatively seldom. Intermittent fevers are scarcely known, but remittent and continued types are very common. The stone and scrofula are almost unknown; but dropsy, and asthma, and hernia, are not uncommon. The small-pox comes round occasionally, and carries off great numbers, especially children. Inoculation has been a good deal resorted to, since the English war; but, though great efforts have been made, for twenty years, to introduce vaccination, it has not succeeded. Matter has been brought from Bengal, Madras, England, France, and America; put up in every possible mode, but in vain. Fifteen or twenty healthy persons, in the full course of cow-pox, were sent to Maulmain, a few years since, at the expense of the East India Company, from whom many were vaccinated, but only a few successfully; and

from those it could not be propagated again. Leprosy, in several forms, is seen at the great cities, where its victims collect in a separate quarter, and live chiefly by begging — the only beggars in the country. The general form is that which attacks the smaller joints. I saw many who had lost all the fingers and toes, and some, both hands and feet. In some cases, the nose also disappears. It does not seem much to shorten life, and is not very painful, except in its first stages. Those with whom I conversed, declared that they had not felt any pain for years. In many cases, it ceases to increase after a time; the stumps of the limbs heal, and the disease is in fact cured. I could not hear of any effectual remedy: it seems in these cases to stop of itself. It can scarcely be considered contagious, though instances are sometimes given to prove it so. Persons suffering under it, are by law separated entirely from other society; but their families generally retire with them, mingling and cohabiting for life. The majority of the children are sound and healthy, but it is said frequently to reappear in the second or third generation. Lepers, and those who consort with them, are compelled to wear a conspicuous and peculiar hat, made like a shallow, conical basket. The children, whether leprous or not, are allowed to intermarry only with their own class.

Cutaneous diseases are common, arising, doubtless, partly from general want of cleanliness, and partly from the frequent checks which perspiration must receive, where so little clothing is worn by day or night. It is thought by the natives that these diseases arise from the habitual and free consumption of fish. The itch is very common. I have seen neighborhoods where almost every individual was affected. A sort of tetter, or whitish spots, spreading over parts of the body, is exceedingly common, but does not seem to affect the general health. It is of two kinds; one, in which the spots retain sensitiveness, and another, in which they are entirely insensible. The natives regard the latter kind as indicating approaching leprosy.

Ophthalmia is common. Besides the brilliance of a tropical sun, from which their light turban in no degree defends the eyes, it is probable that the general practice of keeping new-born infants in rooms but little darkened, and taking them into the open day, may have a tendency to produce this. I never saw a Burman squint. Lues venerea is much more rare than with us, and generally wears a milder form. There are, occasionally, some horrible cases. Of the goitre, said to be common in the Indian Ocean, I never saw a case; nor had any person of whom I inquired

There are many medical men, but few who are respectable in their profession. As a body, they are the worst of quacks. They are divided into two schools. One is called *Dat*; literally, "element." These give no medicine, but operate wholly by regulating the diet. They are, in general, the most respectable class, and, in many cases, succeed very well; particularly in fevers, where they allow an unlimited quantity of acidulated drink, particularly tamarind water. The other class is called *Say*; literally, "medicine." These go to the opposite extremes, giving enormous doses of the most heterogeneous substances. They sometimes boast that a particular pill is made up of forty, fifty, or sixty ingredients, deeming the prospect of hitting the cure to be in proportion to the number. The medicines are generally of a heating kind, even in fevers. In all the bazars are stalls of apothecaries, who display a most unimaginable assortment of roots and barks, pods and seeds. I have seen English walnuts exhibited prominently; indeed, whatever is astringent, is carefully saved. Mercury and arsenic have long been in use, and are, in general, given with discretion; but nearly all their remedies are drawn from the vegetable kingdom.

Funerals are conducted with many demonstrations of grief on the part of immediate relations, or hired mourners. No sooner is a person dead, than the nearest female relatives set up loud lamentations, talking the while, so as to be heard far and near. The house is soon filled with the friends of the family, who suffer the relations to vent their grief, while they assume all the necessary cares and arrangements. The body is washed in warm water, and laid out upon a mat or couch, in good clothing; generally white, which is the mourning color. A coffin is prepared, ornamented more or less, according to station, in which the corpse remains several days, when it is carried in procession to the place of the dead, and there burned, with the coffin. Sometimes the place of the viscera, and parts of the coffin and funeral car, are stuffed with gunpowder; so that, when the conflagration reaches a certain point, the deceased is *blown up* to the Nats! Exploded into heaven! The charges are borne by the friends, who bring to the house money and gifts, amounting sometimes to a considerable surplus. The principal expenses are the customary donatives to priests, who benefit largely on these occasions; but the funeral cars are often costly, and it is usual to give alms to the poor.

Infants are carried to the grave in their basket cradle, sus-

pended from a pole between men's shoulders, with a neat canopy of fringes, drapery, &c. The mother, instead of being dressed up for the occasion, follows weeping, clad in the common and soiled raiment, worn during her maternal assiduities, around the bed of death. They are not burned, but buried; and the cradle, placed upside down on the grave, preserves for a while the identity of the spot, in an appropriate and touching manner. All are buried, without burning, who are under fifteen years of age, or die of small-pox, or in child-birth, or are drowned.

When a rich man dies, the body is cleansed of the internal viscera, and the fluids squeezed as much as possible from the flesh. Honey and spices are then introduced, and the body, encased in beeswax, remains in the house sometimes for months. When the time for burning arrives, the town wears the appearance of a holiday. Musicians are hired, relations are feasted, and throngs of people attend in their best clothes. The body, when brought out, is placed on a sort of triumphal car, some resisting, and others propelling, with such earnestness and confusion, that the coffin seems in danger of being dropped between the house and the car. One party cries, "We will bury our dead;" the other vociferates, "You shall not take away my friend." When placed in the car, the same struggle is renewed, and two or three days are spent in this manner; the people manifesting all the jollity of a festival. It is, of course, understood that the resistance must not be serious; and the party who carry out the body ultimately succeed. The rest of the ceremony resembles the funeral of a priest, described in a subsequent chapter. Sometimes the body is carried round about, that the ghost may not find its way back to the house. The remains of great personages, after burning, are collected in small urns of glass, ivory, gold, or silver, and preserved in the family. Persons dying of cholera, which is deemed infectious, are not burned, but must be buried the same day.

The following account of the burning of an At-wen-woon's wife, from Crawford,* gives a very satisfactory idea of a court funeral, which I had no opportunity of seeing.

"The insignia of the At-wen-woon were borne in front; then came presents for the priests, and alms to be distributed amongst the beggars, consisting of sugar-cane, bananas, and other fruits, with garments. An elephant, on which was mounted an ill-looking fellow, dressed in red, followed these. The man in red had in his hands a box, intended to carry away the bones and

* Journal of an Embassy to the Court of Ava.

ashes of the deceased. This, it seems, is an ignominious office, performed by a criminal, who is pardoned for his services. Even the elephant is thought to be contaminated by being thus employed, and for this reason an old or maimed one is selected, which is afterwards turned loose into the forest. A band of music followed the elephant; after which came a long line of priestesses, or nuns, all old and infirm; then came ten or twelve young women, attendants of the deceased, dressed in white, and carrying her insignia. The state palanquins of the deceased and her husband; the bier; the female relations of the family, carried in small litters, covered with white cloths; the husbands' and male relations on foot, dressed in white, followed in order. The queen's aunt; the wives of the Woon-gyee, the At-wen-woon's, and Woon-dauks, with other females of distinction, closed the procession.

“The body was conveyed to a broad and elevated brick terrace, where it was to be burnt. We assembled on this to see the ceremonies to be performed. The coffin, which was very splendid, was stripped of the large gold plates with which it was ornamented, and the class of persons whose business it is to burn the bodies of the dead, were seen busy in preparing the materials of the funeral pile. This is a class hereditarily degraded, living in villages apart from the rest of the inhabitants, and held to be so impure that the rest of the people never intermarry with them. By the common people they are called *Thuba-rajá*, the etymology of which is uncertain; but their proper name is *Chandala*, pronounced by the Burmans *Sandala*. This is obviously the Sanscrit name of the Hindoo outcasts. The Chandalas, united with the lepers, beggars, and coffin-makers, are under the authority of a Wun, or governor; hence called *Leso-wun*, or ‘governor of the four jurisdictions.’ He is also occasionally called *A’-rwat-wun*, which may be translated, ‘governor of the incurables.’ This person is by no means himself one of the outcasts, but, on the contrary, a dignitary of the state. Like all other public functionaries, he has no avowed salary, but draws his subsistence from the narrow resources of the degraded classes whom he rules. Their villages are assessed by him in the usual manner; and being invested with the administration of justice over these outcasts, he draws the usual perquisites from this resource. A considerable source of profit to him also is the extortion practised upon the more respectable part of the community. The scar of an

old sore or wound will often be sufficient pretext to extort money from the individual marked with it, to enable him to escape from being driven from society. If a wealthy individual have a son or daughter suffering from leprosy, or a disease which may be mistaken for it, he will have to pay dearly to avoid being expelled, with his whole family, from the city. The Chandalas, or burners of the dead, were represented to me as having originated in criminals condemned to death, but having their punishment commuted. They differ from the Taong-m'hu in this — that the punishment of the former descends to their posterity; whereas that of the latter is confined to the individual.

“In a short time, the mourners, consisting of the female relations and servants of the deceased, sat down at the foot of the coffin, and began to weep and utter loud lamentations. Their grief, however, was perfectly under control; for they ceased, as if by word of command, when the religious part of the ceremony commenced. It sometimes happens that, when the families of the deceased have few servants or relations, hired mourners are employed for the occasions. The first part of the office of the burners was to open the coffin, turn the body prone, bend back the lower limbs, place six gilded billets of wood under its sides, and four over it. The Rahans, or priests, had hitherto neither joined the procession nor taken any share in the funeral rites, but were assembled in great numbers under a shed at no great distance. The high-priest, or Sare d'hau, and another priest, now came forward, and, along with the husband, took in their hands the end of a web of white cloth, of which the other was affixed to the head of the coffin. They sat down, and the friends and principal officers of government joined them. The priest, followed by the assembly, with their hands joined, muttered the following prayer or creed, viz. ‘We worship Boodh; ‘We worship his law;’ ‘We worship his priests;’ and then repeated the five commandments — ‘Do not kill;’ ‘Do not steal;’ ‘Do not commit adultery;’ ‘Do not lie;’ ‘Do not drink wine.’ The husband poured water upon the cloth from a coco-nut shell, pronouncing, after the priest, these words: ‘Let the deceased, and all present, partake of the merit of the ceremonies now performing.’ The assembly pronounced the words, ‘We partake;’ or, ‘We accept.’ The pouring of water upon the ground is considered by the Burmans the most solemn vow. It is as if it were calling the earth to witness, or rather the guardian Nat, or tutelary spirit of the place, who, it is supposed, will hold the vow in remembrance, should men forget it. Two other

priests followed the first, repeating the same, or similar prayers and ceremonies. After this, the company retired to some distance, and fire was set to the funeral pile. Notwithstanding the pomp and parade of this ceremony, it was, upon the whole, not solemn, and indeed, in all respects, scarcely even decorous. The persons not immediately concerned in the performance of the funeral rites, laughed and talked as at a common meeting; and the solemnity of the occasion seemed to affect no one beyond the husband, the son, and the female relations."

Among the chief amusements are the drama, dancing, tumbling, music, athletic feats, and chess. The first four of these, as with other nations, are generally connected in one exhibition. The dramatic representations are rather respectable; though the best performers are generally Siamese, who, in these matters, are said to excel all others in India. The performances are always open to the public, generally under a temporary canopy, extended over the street; and in passing, I sometimes stopped a few moments, but not long enough to understand the plot. The dresses are modest, but showy, and apparently expensive. Symmes pronounces the dialogue to be "spirited, without rant, and the acting animated, without being extravagant."

Clowns, harlequins, and buffoons, whose performances are not different from our own, fill up the intervals between the acts. Theatres are not established at any appropriate building. The actors are always perambulatory, and perform at the sole expense of persons giving an entertainment.

The dancing is the reverse of ours; being performed with very slow and stately movements, and less with the feet than with other parts of the body. The dancer walks round the stage, extending his arms, and placing himself in every possible attitude. The head, arms, back, wrists, knees, and ankles, are strained this way and that, keeping time to loud music. No figures or combinations are attempted, but each dancer makes gesticulations, according to his own ideas of gracefulness. Males and females do not dance together; indeed, there are scarcely any female dancers, the men assuming female costume for the occasion. Their long hair, done up *à la femme*, makes the deception so complete that strangers are confident they are females. The English practice of dancing, *one's self*, for amusement, is quite astonishing in all parts of India. The effort seems downright drudgery, and the more absurd as they can have it done for them, better, and

yet so cheap, by those whose profession it is! I have often been watched with astonishment while walking backward and forward on the shore, when my boat was moored for the night. They are amazed that a man who might sit, should choose to walk, or that, if able to lie down, he should choose to sit.

The boxing differs little from similar abominations in England except in being conducted with far less barbarity. The first appearance of blood terminates a contest.

Cock-fighting is very prevalent in some parts of the country. The fowls are of extraordinary courage, and the spurs are armed with gaffles. Engagements of this kind may be seen daily in the streets.

Foot-ball is very common, and played with great skill. The ball is a hollow sphere, of split ratan, from six to ten inches in diameter, which, being perfectly light, is thrown high in air at each stroke. The object is to keep it aloft. It is struck not only with the instep, but with the head, shoulder, knee, elbow, heel, or sole of the foot, with almost unerring precision. This is certainly a remarkable amusement for sedentary Orientals, and seems to be derived from the active Chinese, whom I have seen at this game in several other parts of the East.

Chess is common, especially among the better classes. It is in some sort sanctioned by the sacred books; at least, instances are there recorded of celestial personages having played at the game. The board is like ours; but instead of a queen, they have a prime minister, whose moves are more restricted.

All games of chance are strictly forbidden by their religion, and may be said to be generally avoided. Several such games are, however, in use. One of these is played with cowries thrown into a bowl, and seems to be the same practised by schoolboys in America, called *props*. It prevails extensively, and the jingling of the shells may often be heard all night. I several times saw dominoes played. Card-playing is by no means unknown, though less general than many other games. The card is about the size of ours, but the pack is more numerous and more beautiful. I had one offered me for sale for about twenty dollars, which had elaborate paintings on every card.

The people may be said to be addicted to music, though few are skilful in producing it. The common street music is horrible; but among the great men I found several performers, who showed not only great skill, but genuine taste. It is remarkable

that all their tunes are on a minor and plaintive key, abounding in semitones and slurs.

Their variety of instruments is not large; and, I think, are all specified in the following enumeration:—



Beating the Gong.

The *Moung*, or gong, is a sort of bell, shaped like that of a clock, or a shallow wooden bowl with the edge turned in, composed of tin, bismuth, and copper. It is evidently borrowed from the Chinese, though made by themselves. It is of various sizes, from a diameter of three or four inches, to that of twenty or thirty. It is struck

with a mallet covered with rags or leather, and produces a deep, solemn tone, not unpleasant.

The *Pan-ma-gyee*, or drum, is not unlike our great band-drum, but much heavier, being made, as all their drums are, of solid wood, excavated. The parchment is stretched by the same arrangement.



Drums.

The *Tseing*, or *Shing*, or *Boundaw*, is a collection of small drums, suspended round the inside of a richly-carved frame of wood, about three feet high. They regularly diminish in size from that of a two-gallon measure to that of a pint. The player sits within the circle, and with his hands produces a rude tune or accompaniment. Drumsticks are not often used. In the full band the boundaw is never omitted.

The *Megoum*, or *Me-kyoung*, is a guitar, in the shape of a crocodile, with the strings extending from shoulder to tail, supported by a bridge in the centre, and played with the fingers.

The manufactures of this country are by no means contemptible, and many trades are carried on skilfully, particularly in large cities.

Ship-building, on European models, is conducted on an extensive scale at Rangoon. Colonel Franklin computes that, from 1790 to 1801, three thousand tons were built thus in that city. The cost of such vessels is a third less than at Calcutta, a half less than at Bombay. Native vessels are very numerous, owing to the absence of roads, and the great size and number of the water-courses. These are very ingeniously constructed, and admirably adapted to inland navigation, though utterly unlike any thing seen in this country. Some of them are of two hundred or two hundred and fifty tons burden. The canoes are often large enough to carry eight or nine tons. In excavating these, they do not first remove half the tree, but open only a narrow groove, and, after the excavation, widen it by fire. A single log thus makes a boat seven or eight feet wide. When opened to this extent, it is common to add a board, a foot wide, round the edge.

Good earthen ware is made in several parts of the empire, some of which is exported. It consists for the most part of water-jars and cooking utensils, of various sizes, generally unglazed. These are said to be the best made in India, and are very cheap. A jar the size of a common dinner-pot costs but about three cents. Some of them are the largest I ever saw, and contain from sixty to one hundred gallons, thick, black, and well glazed.

The lamps are of earthen ware, about eight inches high, much on the ancient classical model. The wick is the pith of a twig.



Burman Lamp.

They make no porcelain, and indeed need very little, their utensils of turned wood, and their lackered cups and boxes answering the purpose. Specimens of this lackered ware have been sent home by many of the missionaries. They

are first woven, like a basket, of fine split ratan, and rendered water-tight by successive layers of varnish. The figures are scratched on with a sharp style, and colored by spreading on paint, which abides in these traces, but is wiped off with a cloth from the smooth surface. Of these boxes, &c., there is a great variety; some large enough to contain a bushel. Those about four inches in diameter, and the same depth, are generally used as coon-boxes. The best of this ware is made by the Shyans.

Jewelry is made at all the principal places, but it is rare that

any thing of much taste and beauty is produced in this way. Embossing and filigree work form their chef d'œuvres; and some specimens which I brought home, would do honor even to a Chinese. One of these is a silver box, such as is used for the tempered quick-lime in coon; another is a coco-nut shell, on which are the twelve signs of the zodiac, according to their names and ideas. I have never seen more beautiful embossing than these present. Gems are beautifully cut and polished.

In gilding they certainly excel; putting on the leaf with great precision, and making it resist dampness. No European picture-frames, though kept with the greatest care, withstand the long and pervasive damp of the rainy season. But these artists make their gilding endure not only in the house, and on the iron tees of pagodas, but even when spread over common mortar on the outside of a building. To give both smoothness and tact, they use nothing but the common thitsay (literally "wood-oil") of the country, which is laid on repeatedly, like successive coats of black paint.



Assaying Silver.

The assayers of precious metals are expert and exact; and, as money goes by weight, and is, therefore, constantly getting cut to pieces, and alloyed, these persons are numerous. I saw a couple of them at work in the Rangoon custom-house, and presume the sketch will make the process intelligible. A small furnace is set in the earth, urged by a double bellows, made

of two large bamboos. From each bamboo a small tube near the bottom conveys the air directly to the fire. The melted metal is cast into cakes, weighing two or three dollars, and thus passes into circulation, to be again cut into pieces as occasion may require.

Cotton and silk goods are made, in sufficient quantity to supply the country. Some of them are fine and beautiful; but in general they are coarse and strong, and always high-priced. In get-

ting the seed from the cotton, they universally use a small and ingenious machine, of which a good idea may be got from the picture. It consists of two small cylinders, in contact, one of which, moved by a crank, turns the other: the cotton is drawn through, and leaves the seed behind. One person cleans thus ten viss, or thirty-six pounds, per day. About two thirds of the weight is left in seed. The seeds, sprinkled



Cleaning Cotton.

with oil, are used for torches at festivals, &c., in the open air. The whole process of making cotton and silk goods from the raw material is managed by women. The spinning-wheel is like ours, only smaller, and without legs, as the people sit on the floor. In preparing the rolls, they have nothing like cards, and, after whipping it fine with a furrier's bow, they form the rolls with their fingers.

Their loom differs in no respect, that I could discover, from our common loom in America, except that for foot-paddles they have rings or stirrups, in which the feet are placed. When figures are to be introduced, however, the mechanism is ingenious, and the labor very tedious. The colors for this purpose are each on a separate bobbin, or shuttle, passed back and forth with the finger, as the weaving advances. In this manner, the stripes have both warp and woof of the same color, like ribbons put together. Sometimes a more curious process is adopted, which carries the figure aside into other stripes, in a manner which no British loom could imitate. To comb the warp, they use the fruit of the *Salthah*, a strong grass, eight or ten feet high, with jagged, thorny leaves. The fruit is the size of an ostrich egg, having a shell like a young pine bur. This being removed leaves a sharp, strong hair, which makes an excellent brush for the purpose.

The process of dyeing is well understood, and the colors beautiful and various; but, probably for want of proper mordants, or from frequent wetting and strong sun, they are apt to be transient. The colors of silks, however, are permanent.

Near Summei-kyoung saltpetre is obtained; and the principal occupation of many of the inhabitants of that region is the manufacture of gunpowder. This is of pretty good quality, but the process of making it I had no opportunity of seeing. In making fire-works, which are liberally used on public occasions, particu-

larly rockets, they display great ingenuity. Some of them are of incredible magnitude. I have seen some from eight to twelve feet long, and four to seven inches in diameter. They are sometimes still larger. Cox declares that when he was at Ava, he saw some made which contained ten thousand pounds of powder each. If such were the fact, which seems impossible, the powder must have been exceedingly weak. Large rockets are made of a log of mahogany, or other tough wood, hollowed out, and well hooped with strong ratans or thongs of raw hide.

Iron ore is smelted in several districts, and forged into implements at all the principal places. But they cannot make steel, and receive that article from England, by way of Bengal. Their chief tool, and one used for all manner of purposes, from the felling of a tree to the paring of a cucumber, is the dah. The handle is like that of a cleaver, and the blade like a drawing-knife. It is also a prominent weapon, and, when made for this purpose, is somewhat more long and slender.

Brass is compounded and wrought with more skill than is shown in almost any other of their manufactures. A good deal is made in sheets, and wrought into water-vases, drinking-vessels, spittoons, &c. The latter are always of one form, viz. that of a vase with a very wide top. See the drawing, page 138.

In casting bells, Burmah transcends all the rest of India. They are disproportionately thick, but of delightful tone. The raised inscriptions and figures are as beautiful as on any bells I have seen. They do not flare open at the mouth, like a trumpet; but are precisely the shape of old-fashioned globular wine-glasses, or semi-spheroidal. Several in the empire are of enormous size. That at Mengoon, near Ava, weighs, as the prime minister informed me, eighty-eight thousand viss—more than three hundred and thirty thousand pounds! It seems almost incredible; but if any of my readers, interested in such matters, will make a computation for themselves, they will find it true. The bell, by actual measurement, is twenty inches thick, twenty feet high, including the ear, and thirteen feet six inches in diameter.* The weight was ascertained by the Burmans, before casting, and its bulk in cubic inches proves them correct. It is suspended a few inches from the ground, and, like their other great bells, is without a tongue. That at Rangoon is not much smaller. It

* A friend, distinguished as a civil engineer, computed the weight, from this measurement, to exceed 500,000 pounds, supposing the bell-metal to consist of three parts copper and one part tin.

will be recollected that the largest bell in the United States does not exceed five thousand pounds. The Great Tom, at Oxford, in England, is seventeen thousand pounds, and the famous, but useless bell at Moscow, is four hundred forty-four thousand pounds.

Gongs are made at or near Ava; but I could not see the process. Kettles, ornaments, images, &c., are nicely cast at the capital.

Two kinds of paper are made by Burmans. One is a thin, blackened pasteboard, made of macerated cane, and used for writing upon with a pencil of soap-stone. From this the writing may be removed with a sponge, as from a slate. Sometimes, though rarely, it is made white, and written on with ink. The other is a thin, but very strong paper, rather fine, and used in the manufacture of umbrellas. English and Chinese papers are sold in the bazars. The umbrellas are framed of bamboo, and covered with glazed paper, and ornamented inside with floss silk, like a rose on a blanket. They cost from twenty-five to fifty cents apiece, and will last two or three seasons. I saw various manufactories of them in the upper cities; but the seaboard is chiefly supplied from China, by way of Penang.

Along the coast, salt is made to a considerable extent; but solar evaporation, so far as I could learn, is not resorted to. It is a monopoly of government, and yields a considerable revenue. The process is hasty and imperfect, and so conducted that little or nothing can be done but in the months of February, March, and April. Each manufacturer pays a tax of about forty ticals, without reference to the extent of his works. The article, though thus taxed, is but half the price, or less, which it costs when cheapest in Bengal, seldom averaging more than fifty cents per bushel.

The manufacture of marble is almost confined, as has been stated, to images of Gaudama. They are made principally at the quarries near Sagaing, a few miles from Ava. The export of these idols is prohibited, but some may be obtained from the Tenasserim provinces.

Glass is not made at all; nor do the habits of the people require it. Good cordage, even to large cables, is made of coir, or coya, the bark of the coco-nut tree. Fishing-nets and small cordage are truly beautiful. Sandal-makers are numerous, and their work handsome and durable; but boots and shoes, in our mode, they cannot make. Foreigners, however, find no difficulty in getting them made by Chinese, who live in all the towns, and make almost any thing, if the pattern be furnished.

CHAPTER IV.

Government — Orders of Nobility — Grades of Community — Magistracy — Laws — Division of Property.

The monarch is absolute. Custom and convenience require him to ask counsel of the nobles touching important matters, but he is not bound to adopt it. Indeed, he often treats his courtly advisers with contempt, and sometimes with violence—even chasing them out of his presence with a drawn sword. On a late occasion, for a very slight offence, he had forty of his highest officers laid on their faces in the public street, before the palace wall, and kept for hours in a broiling sun, with a beam extended across their bodies. He is, however, seldom allowed to know much of passing events, and particularly of the delinquencies of particular officers, who are ever ready to hush up accusations by a bribe to their immediate superior. No office, title, or rank, except that of the king, is hereditary. Promotion is open to all classes.

Next in rank to the royal family are the woon-gyees, (from woon, *governor*, and gyee, *great*,) or public ministers of state. Of these there are commonly four, but sometimes five or six, forming a court or council, which sits daily in the lot-dau. His majesty is sometimes, though rarely, present at the deliberations. Royal acts are issued, not in the king's name, but in that of this council. Causes of every kind may be brought here for decision.

Below these are the woon-douks, (from woon, *governor*, and douk, *prop*,) or assistant woons, who attend at the lot-dau, and express their opinions. They have no right to vote, but may record their dissent. They cooperate in carrying into execution great matters of state policy, and are often exceedingly influential.

Of about the same grade, but rather inferior, are the a-twen-woons, (from a-twen, *inside*, and woon, *governor*,) of whom there are generally from four to six. These constitute the cabinet, or privy council; and have access to his majesty at all times. They do not act publicly as king's officers, nor sign imperial documents, but are in daily session in a room near the palace. Their influence with the king procures them great respect, and many bribes.

There are six or eight government secretaries, called sa-re-dau-gyee, (*great government writers*,) whose business is similar to

that of the state secretaries. It is not necessary to describe minutely the other grades of officers. They descend, in regular progression, down to the head-man of a hamlet; each exercising arbitrary sway over those next beneath.

The life of men in power is divided between idleness, sensuality, intrigue, and oppression. To their superiors they cannot without danger avoid flattery, fawning, and deceit. From inferiors they derive a maintenance by fraud, deceit, bribery, and violence. General knowledge is beyond their reach, for the books of the country do not contain it. The liberality and intelligence gained from intercourse with foreigners is wanting, for this also they do not have. From first to last, they are, with few exceptions, harpies, who seek only their own advantage, and neither love nor pity the people. The country labors under the curse which Jehovah threatens to send upon a wicked people — “Governors who should be like fire among the wood, and like a torch of fire in a sheaf; who should devour all the people round about, on the right hand and on the left.”

Orders of nobility are marked by the *tsa-lo-áy*, or gilded necklace. The particular grade is indicated by the number of chains composing it, which are united at different places by bosses. Three strands of common chain-work indicate the lowest rank; three, of more curious construction, the next above; then come those of six, nine, and twelve; which last is the highest for a subject. Chief princes of the blood wear eighteen, and the monarch himself twenty-four.

The community is, by common estimation, divided into eight classes — the royal family, great officers, priests, rich men, laborers, slaves, lepers, and executioners,* and perhaps some others. Even among these are different degrees of respectability. None of the classes constitute an hereditary caste, except lepers and slaves of pagodas. The latter are the most respectable of all outcasts. All, except slaves and outcasts, may aspire to the highest offices, which are frequently filled by persons of low origin.

The legislative, executive, and judicial functions are not separated, but a measure of power in each is enjoyed by every officer. Hence arise innumerable and shameful abuses. Having no salary, every government-man regards his district, or office, as

* Executioners are reprieved felons, dead in law, and marked by a tattooed circle on the cheek, and often by the name of their crime tattooed in legible letters upon their breast. They are not allowed to sit down in any man's house, and all intimacy with them is forbidden.

his field of gain ; and hesitates at no measures to make it profitable. Most of the rulers keep spies and retainers, who discover who has money, and how it may be got. Accusations of all sorts are invented, and the accused has no way of escape, but by a present. Real criminals may almost invariably elude justice by a bribe, if it bear some proportion to the magnitude of the offence. Gangs of robbers frequently practise their trade by the connivance of a ruler who shares their gains. One of the native Christians, who had been in the employ of a ruler before his conversion, assured me, that often, on finding some one who had laid up a little wealth, his master would employ some retainer, to place a few goods under the intended victim's house, by night, in order to bring against him the charge of theft. In the morning, it would be loudly proclaimed that this retainer of the great man had been robbed. A general search would ensue, and the goods being soon detected under the victim's house, the evidence would be declared complete. The wretched man, whose only fault was thrift and saving, would be condemned to some severe punishment, and escape only by paying a fine as great as it was supposed he was able to bear.

It would require greater space than can here be spared, to give any correct conception of the general misrule of men in power. We give one other instance. The late war having introduced into Rangoon and vicinity the Bengal coins, the woon-gyee engaged largely in making four-anna pieces, which were really worth but two. They were soon well known, and only passed for their real value. The incensed great man sent the herald about the city, proclaiming that whoever objected to take them at their nominal value, should suffer a specified fine and imprisonment. Business was for a while completely checked, and at length, after making some severe examples, he was obliged to let the people return to *weighing* their money, as before.

An absolute monarch being, in fact, proprietor both of his domains and his people, he cannot but see that the number of his subjects, and their prosperity, form his true greatness and honor. Hence, though he may be a bad man, prudence and policy dictate a rule which shall minister to the general good. It seems ever to have been thus in Burmah. The king enacts salutary laws, and views his people with kindness ; but sycophants and intriguers pervert his plans, and frustrate his intentions. Around Ava, his personal knowledge, and accessibleness to petition through many avenues, check the movements of unprincipled nobles, and spread comparative peace and security. Hence the

superior populousness of that vicinity. The following account of the system of provincial administration is extracted from "Crawford's Embassy to the Court of Ava;" that gentleman having had, by several month's intercourse with Burman officers, a better opportunity than myself of ascertaining these points. I allow myself to dwell on this topic, as giving the reader an opportunity of judging of the state of the country and degree of civilization.

"The country is divided into provinces of very unequal size; these into townships, the townships into districts, and the districts into villages and hamlets, of which the number in each is indefinite. The word Myo, [Myu,] which literally means a fortified town, is applied both to a province and a township; for there is no word to distinguish them. The province is, in fact, an aggregate of townships; and each particular one derives its name from the principal town within its boundary, being the residence of the governor. The district or subdivision of the township, in like manner, takes its name from the principal village within it. This arrangement somewhat resembles that which prevails in China, although much ruder. The governor of a province is called Myo-wun, and is vested with the entire charge of the province, civil, judicial, military, and fiscal. The Myo-wun commonly exercises the power of life and death; but in civil cases, an appeal lies from his authority to the chief council at the capital. All the public business of the province is transacted in an open hall, called a Rung, with the epithet *d'hau*, or royal.

"The government of the townships is intrusted to an officer, named a Myo-thu-gyi. These words, commonly pronounced by us, and by the Mohammedans, Myo-su-gi, may be interpreted 'chief of the township;' for the word 'thu' means *head*, or *head-man*: the others have been explained. The districts and villages are administered by their own chiefs, named Thu-gys; in the latter instance the word 'rua,' pronounced 'yua,' a *village*, or *hamlet*, being prefixed. These are all respectively subordinate to each other.

"No public officer under the Burmese government ever receives any fixed money-salary. The principal officers are rewarded by assignments of land, or, more correctly, by an assignment of the labor and industry of a given portion of the inhabitants; and the inferior ones by fees, perquisites, and irregular emoluments, as will be afterwards explained. Extortion and bribery are common to the whole class.

"The executive and judicial functions are so much blended in

the Burmese form of administration, that the establishments peculiarly belonging to the latter are not very numerous. At the capital there is a judicial officer of high rank, called the *Ta-ra-ma-thu-gyi*; the principal administration of justice, at the capital, at least, appears in former times to have been conducted by this officer, but he seems now to have been deprived of the greater part of it by the encroachments of the two executive councils. The inducements to this, of course, were the profits and influence which the members of these bodies derived from the administration of justice. The three towns, with their districts, composing the capital, have each their *Myo-wun*, or governor, and these are assisted in the municipal administration of their respective jurisdictions by officers named *Myo-charé*, commonly pronounced *Myo-sayé*, meaning 'town scribe.' They are in reality, however, a sort of head constables, and well known as such to all strangers, as the busy, corrupt, and mischievous agents of the local authorities. The palace, from its peculiar importance in Burman estimation, has its own distinct governors, no less than four in number, one to each gate; their name, or title, is *Wen-m'hu*; they have the reputation of having under their authority each a thousand men. In the municipal or provincial courts, there is an officer called the *Sit Kai*, who is a kind of sheriff or principal conservator of the peace, and, in imitation of the councils at the capital, an officer named *Na-kan-d'hou*, who discharges the office of public informer. Most of the Burman officers in the provinces, down to the *Rua-thu-gyi*, or chief of a village, have assessors of their own nomination, called *Kung*, who take the drudgery off the hands of their chiefs, leaving the decision to the latter. A *Myo*, or town, it should be observed, is divided into wards, or *Ayats*, each of which is under the direction of an inferior police-officer, called the *Ayat-gaong*. The most intelligent and active officers connected with the administration of justice, are the *Shenès*, or pleaders. These persons are described as being tolerably well acquainted with the law and its forms, and are occasionally useful and industrious. To each court and public officer there are attached a competent number of *Na-lains*, or messengers; and annexed to the principal courts is always to be found the *T'haong-m'hu*, or executioner, with his band of branded ruffians.

“The *Myo-thu-gyis* and *Rua-thu-gyis*, or chiefs of townships, districts, and villages, exercise a limited judicial authority within their respective jurisdictions, and are answerable for the conservation of the peace. Appeals, in most instances, lie from their authority to that of the provincial officers. In civil cases, these

inferior officers try all causes subject to appeal ; but in criminal ones, their authority is limited to inflicting a few strokes of a ratan, and they can neither imprison nor fetter. In all cases of any aggravation, it is their duty to transmit the offender to the T'haong-m'hu, sheriff, or executioner of the provincial town. The authority of the chief of the township was, of course, somewhat more extended than that of the district or village, and it rested with him to hear and decide upon causes where the parties belonged to different districts or villages. When the chief of towns or villages failed to produce offenders under accusations, they were made to answer the accusation in their own persons at the provincial courts."

The written code, civil and penal, though severe, is, on the whole, wise and good ; but is little better than a dead letter. It is principally derived from the Institutes of Menu. This work, of great celebrity among the Hindus, was translated into English by the late Sir William Jones. It seems to have been received by the Burmans from Arracan, but at what period is not certain. Their translation is called *Dam-a-that*. Every monarch adds to it, or alters, as may please him ; and under some reigns it bears little resemblance to the original. For all practical purposes it is almost a nullity, being never produced or pleaded from in courts. Rulers, from highest to lowest, decide causes according to their own judgment, or, more frequently, according to their interest. As a great part of their income is derived from lawsuits, they generally encourage litigation. They receive bribes unreservedly, in open court, and do not hesitate to accept the gifts of both parties. Their oppressions have scarcely any restraint but the fear of ruining their own interest by carrying matters too far. As to seeking the good of their country, or the promotion of justice, there appears to be no such thing thought of, except perhaps by the king and a few of those immediately about him.

The form of a judicial oath deserves insertion, as a curiosity. It is as follows:—“I will speak the truth. If I speak not the truth, may it be through the influence of the laws of demerit, viz. passion, anger, folly, pride, false opinion, immodesty, hard-heartedness, and skepticism ; so that when I and my relations are on land, land animals, as tigers, elephants, buffaloes, poisonous serpents, scorpions, &c., shall seize, crush, and bite us, so that we shall certainly die. Let the calamities occasioned by fire, water, rulers, thieves, and enemies, oppress and destroy us, till we perish and come to utter destruction. Let us be subject to all the calamities that are within the body, and all that are without the

body. May we be seized with madness, dumbness, blindness, deafness, leprosy, and hydrophobia. May we be struck with thunderbolts and lightning, and come to sudden death. In the midst of not speaking truth, may I be taken with vomiting clotted black blood, and suddenly die before the assembled people. When I am going by water, may the aquatic genii assault me, the boat be upset, and the property lost; and may alligators, porpoises, sharks, or other sea-monsters, seize and crush me to death; and when I change worlds, may I not arrive among men or nats, but suffer unmixed punishment and regret, in the utmost wretchedness, among the four states of punishment, Hell, Prita, Beasts, and Athurakai.

“If I speak truth, may I and my relations, through the influence of the ten laws of merit, and on account of the efficacy of truth, be freed from all calamities within and without the body; and may evils which have not yet come, be warded far away. May the ten calamities and the five enemies also be kept far away. May the thunderbolts and lightning, the genii of waters, and all sea-animals, love me, that I may be safe from them. May my prosperity increase like the rising sun and the waxing moon; and may the seven possessions, the seven laws, the seven merits of the virtuous, be permanent in my person; and when I change worlds, may I not go to the four states of punishment, but attain the happiness of men and nats, and realize merit, reward, and annihilation.” A Burman seldom ventures to take the oath, not only from his terror of its imprecations, but from the expense. Captain Alves* states the following to be the charges in a certain case — “Administration of the oath, ten ticals; messenger for holding the book over the head, one tical; other messengers, two ticals; recorders, two ticals; pickled tea used in the ceremony, half a tical.”

Trial by ordeal is very seldom used, but is not wholly unknown. It is practised in various ways. Sometimes the parties are made to walk into the water, and whichever can hold out longest under the surface, gains the cause. Sometimes it is by trying which can hold the finger longest in hot water or melted lead. A very common mode of punishment is the stocks, used also as a torture to extract confessions or bribes. The instrument resembles the one which is well known in Europe, only that it is so constructed as to raise the feet from the ground, if desired. The accused is thus raised sometimes till his shoulders or head barely touch the

* Report on Bassein.

floor. In this painful position, he is glad to pay any demands in order to be lowered again. Burman prisons are so insecure as to make it necessary to resort generally to the stocks or iron fetters.

The following notices of Burman laws are deemed important, as throwing light on the character of the people. The wife and children of an absconding debtor are responsible for his debts; but a woman is not required to pay debts contracted by her husband during a former marriage. If a debtor wish to prosecute his creditor for vexatious endeavors to get his pay, his cause cannot be heard by the judge till the debt is first paid. Where several persons are securities for a debt, each security is responsible for the whole amount, so that the first one the creditor can lay hold of must liquidate the debt. The property of insolvents must be divided equally, without any preference of creditors. Property proved to be lost in any town, must be made good by a tax on the inhabitants, if the thief be not discovered. A man finding lost silver or gold receives, on restoring, one sixth; if other property, one third. The eldest son inherits all the arms, apparel, bed, and jewels, of his father; the remainder of the property is divided equally into four parts, of which the widow takes three, and the other children one between them. If a father give one of his sons a sum of money for the purposes of trade, that son returns the capital, without interest, at the death of the father, to be divided with the rest of the inheritance; but the gains are his own. Before a man's property can be divided, the widow must pay all his debts, and give a portion in alms.

The common punishments are, for minor offences, imprisonment, labor in chains, the stock, and fines. Then follow flogging, branding, maiming, slavery to pagodas, and death.

Theft is punished by putting the offender in the stocks, where he stays till his friends can raise money enough to appease the great man, beside making restitution. For repeated offences, imprisonment and fetters are added; and the incorrigible, when no longer able to pay fines, are tattooed with a circle on the cheek, or the name of the offence on their breast. Persons thus marked are deprived of all civil rights, that is, become dead in law, and are consigned to the class of executioners.

Capital punishment seldom occurs, and almost exclusively for murder and treason. It is inflicted by beheading, drowning, or crucifixion. The number of executions in the viceroyship of Rangoon is about twenty in a year. Killing a person of the laboring class, in the heat of passion, is punished by a fine of ten slaves, and proportionally up to seventy or one hundred slaves,

for a person of higher rank. If a man insults another grievously he must, if able, pay a proper fine ; but if very poor, he is to be led through the town with his face smeared with charcoal. A libel is punished by inflicting the same penalty which would have been incurred by the fault unjustly charged upon another. But if the truth of the charge be proved, it is not a libel. Whoever refuses to appear before the judge, loses his cause.

A husband may administer corporal punishment to his wife, for encouraging too great intinacy with other men, neglect of domestic duties, quarrelsome ness, gadding about, meddling too much in the concerns of neighbors, or extravagance. He is first required, however, to admonish her repeatedly in the presence of witnesses. If she still remain incorrigible after a reasonable number of floggings, he may divorce her.

If a man accidentally set fire to a neighbor's house, he is fined one third the value of his body ; * but if he was drunk, or in a violent passion at the time, he must pay the full value of his body. A woman whose husband has gone as a soldier, may marry again if she hear not from him for six years: if he went on business, seven years are required, and if on a religious object, ten. If a woman buy a man and marry him, and afterward divorce him, he is no longer a slave. If a father sell his child, and afterwards die possessed of property, so much of it as is equal to the price for which the child was sold must be paid to that child, in addition to his share of the inheritance. A slave sent to war and captured, is free if he escape and return. If a master violently beat his slave, his bond debt is reduced one third. If death ensue, the parents of the slave may claim twice the value of his body ; and if there be no parents, that sum is paid to the judge. If a slave abscond from a master known to be cruel, there is no penalty for the person who receives and harbors him. If the master has not been cruel, he may exact full value of the slave's services for the time. If a man permit his runaway slave to be maintained by another during a time of scarcity, he cannot afterward claim him. A master may not seize his runaway in another village, but must notify the head-man, who shall deliver him up. If a stranger harbor a runaway, knowing him to be such, he is punishable as a thief ; but if he be a near relation, there is no penalty.

If a man die insolvent, and charitable people choose to defray the expenses of a regular funeral, they are not chargeable with

* This will generally pay for the house of a common person.

any of his debts; but if they be particular friends, or distant relations, they must pay one quarter of his debts; and if near relations, one half. The head-man of a village or district is held responsible for all robberies committed in his jurisdiction, and must make good the loss, with heavy fines, or produce the offenders.

Changing a landmark is punished by a heavy fine. Debts contracted by betting may be recovered from the loser, but not from his family or heirs. A man hurt in wrestling, or other athletic games, cannot recover damages; but if he be killed, the injurer must pay the price of his body. A woman or a child charging a man with bodily injury, may adduce, as evidence, marks of violence on their persons. But if a man charge a woman or a child in the same manner, such marks are not received as proof, but witnesses must be adduced. An empty vehicle must give place, on the road, to one that is loaded, and if loaded men meet, he who has the sun on his back must give way.

Perhaps no country could have a better system for the division of property. The land is all regarded as belonging to the crown; but any one may occupy as much as he pleases, and in any place not already held by another. He has only to enclose and cultivate it, and it is his. If the boundary be not maintained, or the enclosed space be for several successive years unimproved, it reverts to the king, and may be taken up by any other. Of course there are no very large landholders; and it is worth no man's while to hold large unimproved estates.

This system does not in any degree prevent the regular inheritance, sale, or renting of estates; which proceed just as with us. The king himself often purchases lands. Mortgages, leases, &c., are also taken; but a man who loans money on mortgage has the entire use and income of the land or house, instead of a fixed rate of interest, and if not paid in three years, the property is forfeited to the lender, be it what it may.

CHAPTER V.

Revenue — Commerce — Currency — Army — Navy — Slavery.

THE revenue of the crown is derived from a tenth of all importations from abroad, tonnage, export duties, a stated tax on every family, and an excise on salt, fisheries, fruit-trees, and petroleum. Except the tax on families, which is generally required in specie, these are taken in kind. Whatever the government is obliged to purchase, is generally paid for in articles so obtained. A small part is exchanged for the precious metals. No tax is levied on lands or personal property. Unmarried men are not taxed, except in bearing their proportion of the assessment on families. The royal treasury is further replenished by fines, escheats, confiscations, presents, the produce of crown lands, and ivory, all of which belongs to the king.

Arbitrary assessments are made from time to time on particular provinces, districts, cities, or villages, from which the people have no escape. The royal order for a certain amount is transmitted to the local chief, who proportions at his pleasure the part each family shall pay, and takes care always to levy a larger sum than he is required to transmit. If a few men or boats are required, he is almost sure to call on those whom he knows will pay to be excused; and thus makes it an opportunity for taxing to his own benefit. The same is done when artificers or soldiers are required. Thus the general government is really poor, while the people are oppressed. It of course often happens that individuals assessed for their proportion of these multifarious exactions plead poverty. In such cases, the stocks or the ratan soon extract consent, and often compel persons to sell their little property, or even their children, to satisfy the demand.

All the worst features of this horrible system are seen in the case of the Karens, Tounghoos, Zebains, and other tribes mixed among the Burmans, and treated as inferiors and vassals. These poor creatures are taxed about fifteen ticals per family per annum, besides being subject to the exactions above named.

Princes, governors, and other principal officers, are allowed to

collect, for their own benefit, the taxes from specified villages or districts, and generally exercise an unbridled spirit of extortion. Lower chiefs have the costs of litigation, &c. for their support, to which they add the profits of shameless bribery. The meanest subordinates contrive to make their posts lucrative; and even the keeper of a city gate expects occasional fees for allowing persons to pass through with their common burdens.

Of course, the welfare of every little province depends greatly on its local ruler. The only remedy, when exactions become intolerable, is to remove into a district more equitably governed. Such a course is necessarily attended with loss and inconvenience; and sooner than resort to it, the people endure much and long. It is, however, by no means uncommon for them to seek this relief. As the grants of district revenues are made by the fiat of the king, and revoked at his pleasure, no great man is sure of continued wealth. The loss of favor at court is attended with the immediate loss of his estates. All the local agents and officers being dependent on their feudal lord, they, too, hold an uncertain tenure. Thus, from highest to lowest, there is no encouragement to attempt the improvement of land or people. In all its ramifications, the government is a system of covetousness.

Among the possessions of the king, we must not omit to notice his elephants. He is regarded as owning all in the kingdom, and has generally from one to two thousand which have been caught and tamed. The white elephant, of which there is now but one, is estimated beyond all price. He is treated like a prince of the blood, and has a suite composed of some of the most prominent officers in the court. Indeed, the vulgar actually pay him divine honors, though this is ridiculed by the intelligent.

Burmah has considerable foreign commerce, but wholly carried on in foreign bottoms. The natives, however, perform coasting voyages, which they sometimes extend to Mergui and Chittagong, and, in rare cases, to Calcutta, Madras, and Penang.

The limited extent of sea-coast, now left to Burmah, furnishes but two good harbors, namely, Rangoon and Bassein. These are both excellent; but the latter has very little trade, and foreign vessels never go there.

The harbors in the British possessions are inferior to these. Mergui is very safe and easy of access, but very small. Amherst is middling, but approachable only by a narrow channel, which extends across the tide. Ships of three hundred tons or more

may with caution go up to Maulmain, the channel being well buoyed, and pilots always to be had, at Amherst.

The number of clearances of square-rigged vessels from the port of Rangoon amounts to about a hundred annually.

The exports are teak-wood, cotton, ivory, wax, cutch, and stick lac, and in small quantities, lead, copper, arsenic, tin, edible birds' nests, indigo, amber, tobacco, honey, tamarinds, gnapee, gems, sharks' fins, orpiment, sapan-wood, and sea-slugs. The nine last-named articles are of such limited amount as scarcely to deserve notice. By far the most important item is teak, which is chiefly sent to Calcutta and Madras. The value of this article alone amounted, in former years, to £200,000 per annum. It is now not more than a fifth part of that quantity. About two million pounds of raw cotton is sent to Dacca, where it is used in the manufacture of the fine muslins for which that place has been so celebrated. The Burman collector informed a merchant at Ava, that about thirty million pounds are sent up the Irrawaddy, annually, to China; but Colonel Burney estimates it at about four millions. Nearly four millions per annum are sent to Arracan. None is exported in the seed. The sea-slug is derived from the coasts of Mergui. It is commonly called *Biche de mer*. It is a large marine worm, somewhat resembling a leech, which, when properly cured, is regarded as a great luxury by the Chinese. The mode of curing is to boil them in salt water, and then dry, or perhaps smoke them. There are three principal kinds — black, red, and white. The white sell at ten to twelve dollars per picul, (one hundred thirty-three pounds,) the red for twenty-five dollars, and the black for fifty dollars. Of each of these there are various sizes. Some, when dried, are seven or eight inches long, and one and a half in diameter; others are not larger than a man's finger. The sharks' fins have a skin which is valued for polishing substances in the manner of fine sand-paper. Their chief value is for the tendons, which are an article of food with the Chinese. They are drawn out and dried, resembling in this state silver wire, and are used in soup, as the Italians use vermicelli. Gnapee is made from prawns, shrimps, or any cheap fish, salted and pounded into a consistent mass. It is frequently allowed to become partially putrefied in the process. It is sometimes called in commerce *Balachong*.

An active trade is carried on with China, chiefly by way of Yunnan. Small caravans begin to arrive at Ava from that province, in December. About the first of February, the great cara-

van arrives, and afterward smaller ones, till the first of March. The smaller consist of fifty, a hundred, or two hundred men, and the great one of about a thousand. Each man has several ponies, or mules, sometimes fifteen or twenty, who carry, in panniers, from one hundred to two hundred pounds. Being twenty-five days on the road, the beasts are in low condition. They are guided by large, black, shaggy dogs, some of which go before, and others fetch up stragglers. These are sometimes sold at Ava at from twenty to thirty ticals; but they generally pine away in the hot season, and die.

The Chinese mart, where these caravans stop, is at Madah, thirteen miles north of Umerapoorā; inhabited chiefly by Cas-sayers. Extensive enclosures are there, in which the fair is opened, while the cattle are sent to graze. They bring raw and floss silk, (which the Burmans weave,) satins, velvets, crape, cordage, yellow sulphuret of arsenic, tea, spirits, honey, paper, gold leaf, hams, shallow iron pans, sweetmeats, dried fruits, walnuts, chestnuts, and apples. They take back chiefly raw cotton, Bengal opium, British goods, gems, amber, ivory, betel-nuts, sharks' fins, and birds' nests. Many of these merchants avail themselves of the Irrawaddy River, for a considerable distance above Ava. Crawford estimates this interior trade with China to amount to nearly two millions of dollars per annum.

There are several caravans of Shyans, who come annually to the city of Ava, where a large suburb is appropriated. They come and go in troops of fifty or one hundred, from December to March, and amount in the whole to about a thousand. Their goods are brought on bullocks, which are in fine order, and often on their own backs. They bring a few horses, but only for sale, and they are not loaded. Their goods are stick-lac, umbrellas, black jackets, cotton cloth of various sorts and colors, lackered boxes, (which are far superior to those of Burman manufacture,) ground-nuts, sugar, lead, &c. They take back salt, gnapee, dried fish, and betel-nuts.

Monay is a great mart of internal trade, and sends annually to Maulmain a trading caravan, and many cattle for the supply of the British troops. The journey occupies from twenty-five to thirty days. The amount of the trade is about seventy-five thousand rupees per annum.

Considerable inland trade is carried on from one part of the kingdom to another, by boats and wagons.

The lower provinces send up the country salt, rice, dried fish, gnapee, and foreign manufactures; receiving in return pe-

troleum, saltpetre, paper, piece goods, sugar, tamarinds, and various other articles.

In Pegu, a region scarcely equalled in facilities for inland navigation, trade is carried on almost wholly by boats, and few roads exist; mere paths connect the towns and villages. In the upper provinces, which are hilly, and have few boatable streams, good roads are maintained, and merchants transmit their goods from town to town, in wagons drawn by oxen.

The trading vessels, on the Irrawaddy, are all constructed on the same plan, except those built by or for foreigners. They are long, flat, and narrow; the larger ones being provided with outriggers to prevent their upsetting. Oars and setting-poles are almost entirely depended upon to propel them, and tracking is often resorted to; but square sails are spread, when the wind is fair and the water high. Those of the larger sort have one mast, and a yard of great length, on which are suspended as many sails as the case requires, one being slightly attached to the other. A specimen of these is given in the picture of Sa-gaing. Smaller boats have the sail stretched between two bamboo masts fastened to the sides near the bow. Of these, a good idea may be obtained from the cut on page 75. These sails, in very small boats, often consist of the pessos of the boatmen.

The wagons and carts are superior in construction to those of Bengal, and some other parts of India. The wheel consists of one strong piece of wood, the length of the diameter, and about two feet wide, through which the axle passes, and the remainder of the rim is made of fellahs. See picture on page 90.

When used for merchandise, they are well covered with bamboo mats, over which a painted cloth is often spread. A travelling team consists of four or six bullocks, and proceeds about 15 miles a day; a spare bullock or two following, in case of any becoming sick or lame. Merchants generally go in companies, and at night draw up the wagons in a circle, to secure them and their cattle from wild beasts. Within this circle the drivers and their passengers light their fires, dress their food, attend their cattle, tell their romances, and pass the night.

Not the slightest restriction is laid on merchants or traders from any nation. On the contrary, they are invited and encouraged; and generally accumulate property. They may go and come, or settle, in any part of the kingdom.

In the Tenasserim and Arracan provinces, no duties are levied on any articles from any country; and probably will not be, for

many years. The policy is to open markets for English manufactures; and this is gradually being done, not only in the provinces under their sway, but in adjacent districts, especially the Shyan country round Monay.

The commerce of particular cities and towns, such as Rangoon, Maulmain, &c., is more fully stated in my accounts of those places.

The country has no coinage. Silver and lead pass in fragments of all sizes, and the amount of every transaction is regularly weighed out; as was done by the ancients. Gen. xxiii. 16. Ezra viii. 25. It is cast by the assayers, in thin round cakes, weighing two or three ticals, but is cut up with mallet and chisel, to suit each sale. The price of a thing, therefore, is always stated in weight, just as if we should say, in answer to a question of price, "an ounce," or "a dram." When an appearance like crystallization, is upon the centre of the cake, it is known to be of a certain degree of alloy, and is called "flowered silver." Of this kind, which is called *Huet-nee*, the tical is worth fifteen per cent. more than the Sicca rupee. The *Dyng* has the flowered appearance over all the cake, in larger and longer crystals; and is cast into cakes weighing about twenty ticals; but varies exceedingly in fineness, being of all qualities, from *Huet-nee* to ten per cent. purer. It is assumed to be five per cent. purer.

An inferior kind of silver, even to twenty-five per cent. alloy, circulates freely, for smaller barter. The people, however, are not deceived in its quality, for the degree of purity is detected by them with great readiness, chiefly by the appearance left on the cake at cooling.

Silver, in passing from hand to hand, becomes more and more alloyed, so that, when a man is asked the price of a thing, he says, "Let me see your money?" He then regulates his charge by the quality of the silver, and a piece is chopped off to meet the bill; change, if any, being weighed in lead.

Gold is scarcely used as a circulating medium, being absorbed in gilding sacred edifices, or in jewels. By Burman estimate, gold is eighteen times the value of silver. It often rises to twenty or more, when the people are compelled to obtain it at any price, to pay their tax toward the gilding of some pagoda.

Small payments are made in lead. Each vender in the bazar has a basket full of this lead. Its general reference to silver is about five hundred to one. It varies exceedingly, however, in its proportion; sometimes fifteen viss of lead is given for a

tical, and sometimes only seven or eight, at Ava. In distant parts of the country, where the silver is more alloyed, three or four viss is given for a tical.

The late king, Menderagyee, attempted to introduce small silver coin, which he made with a mint establishment imported from England. But he required his ticals to pass for sixty per cent. above their real worth, and the copper for nearly three times its worth. The consequence was a universal stagnation of business; and, after urging his law so far as to execute some for contumacy, he was at length obliged to let silver and lead pass by weight, according to their real worth, as before. The people are not anxious for coin. They cannot trust their rulers; they love higgling in bargains; they make a profit on their money, as well as goods, by increasing its alloy; and a numerous class of assayers, or brokers, called *Pwa-zahs*, (by foreigners, *Poy-zahs*,) subsist by melting up silver, to improve or deteriorate it as they are desired. This they do before the owner's face, and have only the crucible and scorïæ for their trouble.

At Rangoon, the Madras rupee circulates generally for a tical; and along the rivers up to Prome, it is known, and will be received. But at the capital, and throughout the interior, it is weighed, and deemed an inferior silver. In Arracan and the Tenasserim provinces, rupees, pice, and pie, now circulate as in Bengal, and money is scarcely ever weighed.

The common rate of interest, when collateral security is deposited, is two or three per cent. a month; when there is no security, four or five per cent. If the interest become equal to the principal, the debt is cancelled. Creditors, therefore, exact new notes from their debtors every few months, if the interest be not paid.

Slavery exists throughout the kingdom and its dependencies, and of course in the provinces lately ceded to the British. It is produced both by debt and capture. Around Ava, most of the slaves are prisoners of war, and their descendants. In other places they are chiefly bond-debtors. A few are annually introduced through a slave trade habitually carried on along the frontiers. I cannot learn that Burmans themselves engage in this traffic, but they do not hesitate to purchase. Muniporians and Arracanese are brought into Ava, especially on the Siam frontier, where they are often caught and carried across the ill-defined boundary. The entire number of persons brought into bondage by this slave trade is proportionably small. Debtor slaves are numerous in every part of the country. The king's

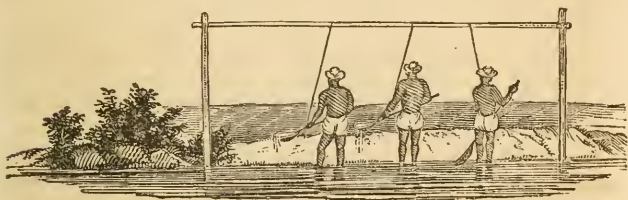
brother told me he estimated their proportion to the rest of the population as one to seven or eight. This might be true at Ava, but I think it much more than the general average. Persons borrowing money, mortgage themselves when unable to give other security, and become servants to the lender, till the money is paid. The sum borrowed is sometimes very small, perhaps only a few rupees; but this makes no difference in the condition, or in the services required.

In Burmah Proper there is no remuneration towards liquidating the debt; so that the person continues in bondage for life, except the money can somehow be obtained. In the provinces ceded to Britain, it is provided by law, that the debt shall diminish at the rate of four pice (about three cents) per day, by which process freedom is ultimately obtained. The master has power to inflict corporeal and other punishments on bond-servants as on other slaves, but not to the extent of drawing blood. They are also bought and sold without their consent, but may change masters at pleasure by obtaining a person to offer for them the amount of the debt. On the sum being tendered by the servant, the master is not at liberty to refuse.

The progeny of servants are free. By the written laws, if a man become father to a male child by his slave, he may keep it, but the woman is thenceforth free. If it be a female child, the father and mother are considered to own but half; and if she pay or procure to be paid the other half, the child is necessarily free. But this rule is obsolete; and, by universal custom, a slave who bears to her master a child of either sex is free. If she choose to remain, he is obliged to support her as his wife. Fathers may pledge their wives and children for money borrowed, or, in other words, sell them, as the money is often taken up without intention of repayment. The only escape from slavery for life, in such a case, is for the person to obtain by some means the amount due. Such sales are very common, as a man seldom has any other security to give; but in most cases, a man redeems his family as soon as he can.

Slaves are not treated with more severity than hired laborers. A state of society where the modes of living are so simple, renders the condition of the slave little different from that of his master. His food, raiment, and lodging, among all the middling classes at least, are not essentially different. Being of the same color, they and their children incorporate without difficulty with the mass of the people on obtaining freedom. The same fact tends to ameliorate their condition. In fine, their state does not much

differ from that of hired servants who have received their wages for a long time in advance. Belonging to persons in the higher conditions does not increase the severity of the bondage; for though the distinction is greater, the services are less. Many slaves live at their own houses, just as other people, but liable to be called on for labor, which, in many cases, is required only at certain seasons of the year.



Irrigating a Field.

CHAPTER VI.

Extent of Boodhism — Meaning of the Term — Antiquity of the System — History of Gaudama — The next Boodh — The Bedagat — Theory of the Universe — The Four Islands — This Island, or the Earth — Origin and Fall of Man — Celestial Regions — Hells — No Eternal God — Universe eternal — Moral Code — Merit — Discourse of Gaudama — Religious Edifices — Images — Impressions of Gaudama's Foot — Worship — Offerings — Public Days — Superstitions — Nat-worship — Priests; their Dress, Residences, Morals, Office, Support, Numbers, Orders, Funerals — Priestesses — Sects — Toleration — Remarks.

BOODHISM is, probably, at this time, and has been for many centuries, the most prevalent form of religion upon earth. Half of the population of China, Lao, Cochin-China, and Ceylon; all of Camboja, Siam, Burmah, Thibet, Tartary, and Loo-choo; and a great part of Japan, and most of the other islands of the southern seas, are of this faith. A system which thus enchains the minds of half the human race, deserves the attention of both Christians and philosophers, however fabulous and absurd.

Chinese accounts make the introduction of Boodhism into that empire to have occurred about A. D. 65. Marshman supposes the Siamese and Laos to have received the system about three centuries before Christ. A very great increase of the Boodhist faith is known to have occurred in China early in the sixth century, which may have resulted from the flight of priests with him, about that time, from the persecution of the Brahminists.

Boodh is a general term for divinity, and not the name of any particular god. There have been innumerable Boodhis, in different ages, among different worlds, but in no world more than five, and in some, not any. In this world, there have been four Boodhis, viz. Kau-ka-than, Gau-na-gōng, Ka-tha-pa, and Gaudama. In the Siamese language, these are called Kak-a-san, Ko-na-gon, Kasap, and Kodom. One is yet to come, viz. Aree-ma-day-eh.

It has been often remarked, that Gaudama was one of the incarnations of Vishnu, and appeared in the form of a cow. This idea has probably originated with the Hindus, and is advanced to support their assertion, that this religion is a branch of theirs. But no two systems can be more opposite, or bear less evidence of one being derived from the other. Brahminism has incarnations, but Boodhism admits of none, for it has no permanent God. If, in its endless metempsychosis, any being should descend from the

highest forms of existence, to take human nature, it would not be an incarnation of Deity, but a real degradation of being, and the person so descending would become, *literally*, a man. If he ever rise again, it must be by another almost infinite change, now to better, and now to worse, as merit is gained or lost. While Hinduism teaches one eternal deity, Boodhism has now no god. That has a host of idols; this only one. That enjoins bloody sacrifices; this forbids all killing. That requires atrocious self-tortures; this inculcates fewer austerities than even Popery. That makes lying, fornication, and theft, sometimes commendable, and describes the gods as excelling in these enormities; this never confounds right and wrong, and never excuses any sin. That makes absorption into Deity the supreme good; this annihilation. In fine, I know of no important resemblance. None of the Brahminical books are regarded by Boodhists as authoritative, and no practices seem to be derived from them. The fact that Boodhist priests often worship kneeling on a cow-hide, is no evidence of affiliation to Brahminism, as has been asserted. They disclaim any religious preference for the hide of a cow. It is, in fact, just a piece of leather, of any kind, folded up like a book, carried either by the priest or his attendant, and laid on the ground when he kneels before a pagoda, to keep him from soiling his robe.

There are some reasons for considering Boodhism, if not the parent system, yet probably more ancient than Brahminism. In various parts of Hindustan are found indications that Boodhism was once the prevailing faith. The caves of Elephanta* and Elora † contain images of Gaudama of great antiquity. ‡ Colonel Franklin discovered one of colossal size among the ruins of Palibothra. I have one of terra-cotta, bearing inscriptions in the ancient Devnagari character. The Vedas themselves mention Boodh. The Poorannas were unquestionably written some centuries later than the period of Gaudama. The splendid ruins at Prambana, Boro Budo, and Singa Sari in the interior of Java, are regarded by Sir Stamford Raffles as having claims to the highest antiquity of any such structure on the island; and from Captain Baker's descriptions of these, there can be no doubt of their

* On an island of that name near Bombay.

† In the province of Aurungabad.

‡ For descriptions of these very remarkable caves, see Seely's Wonders of Ellora; C. Malet; Transactions of Bombay Lit. Soc. art. 9 and 15; Daniel's Voyage to India; Transactions Royal Asiat. Soc. vol. ii.; Modern Traveller, vol. iv.; Duperron's Prelim. Disc. to his Zend Avista; Asiatic Researches vol. i.

Boodhist origin. The images are of Boodh. The very term *Budo*, or *Bud'ho*, is in the Javanese language synonymous with "ancient" or "pagan." The Javanese speak of the times when Boodhism was the religion of their country as the "ancient times." Their ancient laws make no distinctions, in the award of punishment, in favor of a Brahmin, but always in favor of a king. This is so opposite to the religion of the Hindus, that when they were made, Brahmins could have had no ascendancy. They, however, early acquired power, and when Mahometanism was brought to Java, it found the Hindu faith established as the religion of the country.

Brahminism was introduced into Bali between three and four hundred years ago, previous to which, the reigning religion was Boodhism.* The existence of caste, and the position of Brahmins on the pinnacle of it, indicate the seniority of Boodhism. Had the religion of the latter been the progenitor, the whole system of caste would have been inherited, almost beyond a doubt. We can scarcely imagine that an established priesthood should resign such power and rank, as is held by the political, money-making, haughty, and sensual Brahmins.

Boodh is possibly the Budda or Butta of Boehart and Beausobre; the Bod of the Arabians; the Boutta of Clemens Alexandrinus; the Baouth of Gentil. The pyramids of Egypt are so similar in their structure to a pagoda, and so evidently contain sacred relics, as well as bones of kings, that they bear strong evidences of being Boodhist pagodas.

The probability seems to be that Brahminism grew out of Boodhism, and gained power and numbers in Hindustan till the close of the first century of the Christian era, when they were able to commence that persecution of which their own records speak, and which drove out the teachers of Boodhism into Farther India, whence it extended into China.

Gaudama was the son of Thoke-daw-da-reh, or, as it is written in Sunscrit, Soodawdaneh, king of Ma-ge-deh, (now called Behar,) in Hindustan. He was born about B. C. 626.

He had previously lived in four hundred millions of worlds, and passed through innumerable conditions in each. In *this* world, he had been almost every sort of worm, fly, fowl, fish, or animal, and almost every grade and condition of human life. Having, in the course of these transitions, attained immense merit, he at length was born son of the above-named king. The

* Crawford's Indian Archipelago, book vi. ch. 2.

moment he was born, he jumped upon his feet, and, spreading out his arms, exclaimed, "Now am I the noblest of men! This is the last time I shall ever be born!" His height, when grown up, was nine cubits. His ears were so beautifully long, as to hang upon his shoulders; his hands reached to his knees; his fingers were of equal length; and with his tongue he could touch the end of his nose! All which are considered irrefragable proofs of his divinity.

When in this state, his mind was enlarged, so that he remembered his former conditions and existences. Of these he rehearsed many to his followers. Five hundred and fifty of these narratives have been preserved, one relating his life and adventures as a deer, another as a monkey, elephant, fowl, &c., &c. The collection is called *Dzat*, and forms a very considerable part of the sacred books. These legends are a fruitful source of designs for Burman paintings. Of these I purchased several, which do but bring out into visible absurdity the system they would illustrate.

He became Boodh in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and remained so forty-five years, at the end of which time, having performed all sorts of meritorious deeds, and promulgated excellent laws, far and wide, he obtained "nieban," that is, entered into annihilation, together with five hundred priests, by whom he had been long attended. This occurred in Hindustan, about two thousand three hundred and eighty years ago, or B. C. 546. The Cingalese make his death to have occurred B. C. 542, and the Siamese, who also reckon time from that era, make it B. C. 544. At his death, he advised that, in addition to obeying his laws, his relics and image should be worshipped, and pagodas built to his memory, till the development of the next Boodh. He is invariably represented in the same manner, except that sometimes he



Gaudama.

is made to wear a crown, necklace, ornaments on his arms, &c. The common representation is given in my Bible Dictionary; the other is exhibited in the accompanying cut. I have seen them of all sizes, from half an inch long, to seventy-five feet — of wood, stone, brass, brick, clay, and ivory.

The next Boodh is to appear in about seven or eight thousand years from the present time. His height will be eighty cubits; his mouth will be five cubits wide, and the length of the hairs of his eyebrows five cubits. The precise time of his arrival is not predicted.

No laws or sayings of the first three Boodhs are extant. Those of Gaudama were transmitted by tradition, till four hundred and fifty years after his decease, when they were reduced to writing in Ceylon, that is, B. C. 94. These are the only sacred books of the Burmans, and are all in the Pali language. They are comprised in three divisions, or books, viz. Thoke, Winnee, and Abeedamah. Each of these is divided into distinct books, or sections. The whole is called *the Bedagat*. Copies of parts of these works are not scarce, though found chiefly with the priests. Entire copies are rare. Some of them are truly elegant, the leaf being covered with black varnish, as fine and glossy as enamel, and over this the words written in gold letters.

They are all in the same form, and strung on a cord. The outsides are often defended by a handsomely carved and gilded board, of the same size as the leaves. The strings with which they are tied are about an inch wide, and a fathom long, with some sentence woven in with the texture. These are either some quotation from a sacred book, or some pious sentiment. One of those in my possession reads thus: — “This book-string is offered you, with affectionate regard, to tie up your sacred book; that precious book where you will find the door by which to enter Nicban.”

The cosmogony of the Bedagat is not precisely alike in the different books; and even in the same book inconsistencies often occur. The following sketch therefore, though derived from the best informed priests and missionaries, differs in some respects from various statements which have appeared, and is to be received as the scheme set forth in such books as my informants had read.

The universe is composed of an infinite number of systems, called Sak-yas. These systems touch each other at the circumference, and the angular spaces between them are filled up with very cold water. Each side of these spaces is three thousand

uzenas long. Of these innumerable systems, some are constantly becoming chaotic, and reproduce themselves in course of time. Of these formations and dissolutions there was never a beginning, and will never be an end.

Each system consists of a great central mountain surrounded by seas, and four great islands, each surrounded by five hundred smaller ones, and with celestial and infernal regions. Of this great mountain, the eastern side is of silver, the western of glass, the northern of gold, and the southern of dark ruby. It is called *Myenmo*, and is eighty-four thousand uzenas high. Its base is equally deep. The top is flattened to a plain forty-eight thousand uzenas in diameter. Seven chains of mountains, and seven great rivers or seas, encircle the mount on every side.

The four great islands have each a shape, to which that of the smaller ones belonging to it, is exactly conformed. Ours is oval, the western is round, the northern is a parallelogram, and the eastern semilunar. The color of each set of islands is derived from that side of the mountain next to them. The inhabitants have both their color and the shape of their faces conformed to that of the island on which they dwell. Those on the eastern islands are nine cubits high, those on the western six, those of the northern thirteen. The inhabitants of the eastern and western islands practise agriculture and the arts, much as we of the southern do; but those of the northern have no such employments. A tree is there which yields all manner of garments, meats, fish, &c. They have no sorrows or pains; and every individual lives just a thousand years. Between the great islands ships cannot pass. The sea there rises in waves sixty or seventy uzenas high, and contains fishes six hundred and seven hundred uzenas long, the mere movement of whose bodies often creates tempests which reach hundreds of uzenas!

This earth is the southern cluster of islands, and we are living on the large one. It is a convex plane, not a sphere, and is divided by mountains and navigable seas. Its diameter is ten thousand uzenas, and the thickness of the crust or surface on which we live is two hundred and forty thousand uzenas. Below this is water twice as deep as the earth is thick. The whole is supported on a stratum of air twice as deep as the water, and which supports itself by internal concussions or explosions. Beneath is vacuum.

In the other three islands and their dependencies, the inhabitants have always had the same length of life. But in ours, the period constantly varies. At first, our race lived as many years

as there would be drops of rain if it rained three years incessantly. In a Siamese version of the same book, it is given as a period of years embracing one hundred and sixty-eight eiphers. Falling off in virtue and correct habits, the term gradually contracted, in the course of myriads of ages, to ten years.* Then mankind was led to reflect and reform, and the period gradually enlarged, as they became more temperate and correct, till it rose even to the primitive duration. By succeeding degeneracy, it gradually contracted again to ten. Of these increases and diminutions there have been eleven, and will be fifty-three more, before the sakiya system, to which we belong, will be again destroyed. At this time, the period of life is contracting through our increasing degeneracy, and has fallen to eighty years.

The inhabitants of the three other islands and their dependencies are always reproduced in the same island. But our world has this advantage, that by merit we may rise to the several heavens, and even to Nicban itself.

When, by the power of fate, a system is to be destroyed, it occurs either by fire, water, or wind. The process of renovation is exemplified in the following account of our own world, which, like the others, has repeatedly been destroyed and renewed. After lying in a state of chaos many ages, the crust of the earth recovered firmness, and was covered with a thin crust of sweet butter. The grateful fragrance ascending to the heavens, celestial beings were filled with desire to eat it, and, assuming human shape, came down in large numbers. Their bodies were luminous, and they needed no other light. Becoming quarrelsome and corrupt, the delicious crust disappears, and their bodies become dark. In their distress, the sun appears; and afterward, the moon and stars. Compelled now to seek other food, they find rice growing without a husk, and thus needing no labor. Fire, spontaneously issuing from the stones, cooks it. This gross food at length excited various passions, and mankind became divided into sexes. Marriage followed. The race degenerating still more, was obliged to choose a king. Quarrels multiply, and men disperse over the world. Climate, water, and food, then produce the diversities we see among nations.

The celestial regions consist of twenty-six heavens, one above another; and the infernal regions of eight principal hells,

* It is exceedingly remarkable how universal, among all nations, is the tradition, that our race was originally pure and happy, but, becoming corrupt, fell from their high enjoyments, and became heir to the sorrows we now see.

each surrounded by sixteen smaller ones. The base of Myenmo Mount is inhabited by dragons, great birds, and animals of unknown shapes. The middle region constitutes the lower of the six inferior heavens, and is inhabited by powerful beings, called *Seedoo-mahah-rajah*. The summit is the next inferior heaven, called *Tuh-wa-ting-tha*. Above, in open space, are the four others, viz. *Ya-mah*, *Toke-the-dah*, *Par-an-ing-meta*, and *Eltha-wa-dee*. The inhabitants of all these are called *Nats*. They never perform servile labor, for trees bear in profusion every object of necessity or gratification. The term of their lives is about nine million times longer than the present term of ours. Their children are born with the degree of maturity that ours have at fifteen years old. What we call thunder, is the noise they make when at play; and rain is produced by the agitation they make in the air in running about.

In these first six heavens, the inhabitants have body and soul, like ourselves; in the next sixteen, they are pure matter; and in the last four, pure spirit.

The aim of mortals is to attain, after death, to *Tah-wa-ting-tha*, the diameter of which is the same as this earth. Like the abodes of the *Nats*, it abounds in good things, of which the *Bedagat* contains copious and minute details. Among the glorious possessions of *Thig-ya-men*, its king, (whose principal residence is fully described,) is a huge white elephant. This animal, named *Ay-ra-woon*, is fifty *uzenas* high, and has seven heads; each head has seven tusks, and each tusk seven tanks. In each of these tanks grow seven lilies: each lily has seven blossoms; each blossom has seven petals; each petal bears up seven palaces, and in each palace are seven nymphs, or wives of the king, each surrounded by five hundred attendants. Another elephant has one great head, thirty *uzenas* long, on which the king occasionally rides, and thirty-two smaller heads, for the thirty-two royal princes.

Of the principal hells, four inflict punishment by heat, and the other four by cold. Each of these is ten thousand *uzenas* wide. In the sixteen minor hells, the wicked suffer every conceivable misery, not connected with cold or heat. Worms of vast size bite them; their bowels are torn out, their limbs racked, and their bodies lacerated or beaten with dreadful hammers. They are pierced with red-hot spits, crucified head downward, gnawed by dogs, and torn by vultures. These and a thousand other evils are described with minuteness in the *Bedagat*, and often depicted in the drawings of native artists. The inhabitants are six miles

high, and are continually creeping and roaring about, in the vast caves of their dreadful abode.

For killing a parent or a priest, a man will suffer in one of the hells of fire, during the whole period of a sakiya system. To deny or disbelieve the doctrines of Gaudama, incurs *eternal* suffering in fire. Killing men or animals, causing criminals to be executed, insulting women, old men or priests, cheating, receiving bribes, selling any intoxicating liquor, and parricide, are punished in the worst hells. In some books, a regular scale is made out for estimating the gradation of guilt in all these crimes.

Merit may be gained by good conduct in any of these hells, so that except the criminality has incurred *eternal* torment, the sufferers may rise again to become insects, beasts, men, nats, &c.

Such are the accounts which fill the sacred books, and with which I might fill many pages. It is not important that I quote more. I have quoted thus much, as part of the history of the human mind, and as necessary to a proper estimate of the Boodhist religion.

Of any supreme God, or any eternal self-existent being, Boodhism affords no intimation; nor of any creation or providence. From the annihilation of one Boodh, till the development of another, there is literally no God. Intervening generations must worship his image, law, and priests, and for their rules of life keep the sayings of the last Boodh, viz. Gaudama.

Not only has the universe and all its sakiya systems existed from eternity, but also the souls of all the inhabitants, whether animals, men, or celestials. These souls have from eternity been transmigrating from one body to another, rising or falling in the scale of existence and enjoyment, according to the degree of merit at each birth. This rise or fall is not ordered by any intelligent judge, but is decided by immutable fate. In passing through these various forms of existence, the amount of sorrow, endured by each soul, is incalculable. The Bedagat declares that the tears shed by any one soul, in its various changes from eternity, are so numerous, that the ocean is but as a drop in comparison! Existence and sorrow are declared to be necessary concomitants; and therefore "the chief end of man" is to finish this eternal round of changes, and be annihilated.

The great doctrines of this faith are five; viz. 1. The eternal existence of the universe, and all beings. 2. Metempsychosis. 3. Nicban, or annihilation. 4. The appearance, at distant periods, of beings who obtain deification and subsequent annihilation. 5. The obtaining of merit. Of the first four of these, enough

has been already said. The last is more deserving of notice, embracing, as it does, the whole system of morals.

Merit consists in avoiding sins, and performing virtues; and the degree of it is the sole hope of the Boodlist. The forgiveness of sins, and the receipt of favor through the merit of another, are doctrines unknown. That suffering can be in any way regarded as a blessing, is to him absurd.

The sins which are to be avoided are described in a moral code, consisting of five principal and positive laws:—1. Thou shalt not kill. 2. Thou shalt not steal. 3. Thou shalt not commit adultery. 4. Thou shalt not lie. 5. Thou shalt not drink any intoxicating liquor. These are explained and branched out so as to include all sins of the same kind, under each head. The first of these laws is extended to all killing even that of animals for food. The very religious will not kill vermin. War and capital punishments are considered forbidden by the first law.

Sins are divided into three classes:—1. Those of the body; such as killing, theft, fornication, &c. 2. Those of the tongue; as falsehood, discord, harsh language, idle talk, &c. 3. Those of the mind; as pride, covetousness, envy, heretical thoughts, adoring false gods, &c.

The sacred books portray strongly the evils of pride, anger, covetousness, and inordinate appetites. Men are urged to avoid excessive perfumes, ornaments, laughter, vain joy, strong drink, smoking opium, wandering about the streets in the night, excessive fondness for amusements, frequenting bad company, and idleness. Those who aspire to Nicban are cautioned to abhor sorcery, not to credit dreams, nor be angry when abused, nor elated when approved, not to flatter benefactors, nor to indulge in scorn or biting jests, and most carefully to avoid enkindling strife.

The states of the mind are resolved into three classes:—1. When we are pleased in the possession of agreeable things. 2. When we are grieved and distressed by evil things. 3. When neither do good things gratify us, nor evil things distress. The last is the best state; and in it a man is rapidly preparing for Nicban. In this there is no small resemblance to the doctrine of the Stoics, and some approach to the Christian doctrine of weanedness from the world. Some of their books abound in good comparisons; such as, that he who runs into sinful enjoyments is like a butterfly, who flutters round a candle till it falls in; or one who, by licking honey from a knife, cuts his tongue with the edge. There is scarcely a prohibition of the Bedagat, which is not

sanctioned by our Holy Scriptures ; and the arguments appended to them are often just and forcible.

Merit is of three kinds :— 1. *Theela*, or the observance of all the prohibitions and precepts, and all duties fairly deducible from them ; such as beneficence, gentleness, integrity, lenity, forbearance, condescension, veneration to parents, love to mankind, &c. 2. *Dana*, or giving alms and offerings. This includes feeding priests, building kyoungs, pagodas, and zayats, placing bells at pagodas, making public roads, tanks, and wells, planting trees for shade or fruit, keeping pots of cool water by the way-side for the use of travellers, feeding criminals, birds, animals, &c. 3. *Bawana*, or repeating prayers, and reading religious books. Of this last, there are three degrees, or sorts ; the first consisting in merely reciting prayers, or reading thoughtlessly ; the second, and more meritorious, is praying or reading, with a mind attentive to the exercise ; the third, and most excellent, is the performing these exercises with strong desires and awakened feelings. He who neglects to lay up merit, is compared to a man who sets out on a journey through an uninhabited country, beset with wild beasts, and provides himself neither with food nor weapons.

Alms-deeds are meritorious according to the objects on which they are bestowed ; according to the following general scale :— 1. Animals. 2. Common laborers, fishermen, &c. 3. Merchants and the upper classes, when in necessity. 4. Priests. For alms of the first class, the rewards are long life, beauty, strength, knowledge, and prosperity, during a hundred transmigrations ; for those of the second class, the same, during a thousand transmigrations ; for the third, the same, during ten thousand ; for the fourth, a vastly greater number, but indefinite, being graduated according to the degree of sanctity the particular priests may possess. Alms given by a poor man are declared to be incomparably more meritorious than those given by the rich. So great merit is conferred by acts of *Dana*, that persons are distinguished in society by honorable appellations on this account. The *most* meritorious deed is to make an idol, and this in proportion to its size and value. He who has done this is called thenceforth *Pya-taga*. He who builds a pagoda becomes a *Tsa-dee-taga*. Next is he who builds a kyoung — *kyoung-taga*. He who has sacred books transcribed, is a *Sah-taga*. He who incurs the expenses of making a priest, is *Thengan-taga*. The builder of a zayat is *zayat-taga* ; the maker of a tank, *yay-gon-taga*.

These, and similar titles, are in common use, and are regarded with the same respect as squire, captain, colonel, deacon, &c., are with us.

In attaining *Bawana*, the third sort of merit, a prominent exercise, is the frequent repetition of the words "*aneit-sa, doke-kha, Ah-nah-ta.*" The first of these words implies our liability to outward injuries and evils; the second, our exposure to mental sufferings; the third, our entire inability to escape these evils. The repetition of this prayer or soliloquy is of far greater merit than even alms-giving. To keep some reckoning in this most important particular, the votary commonly uses a string of beads, and passes one through his fingers at each repetition.

Many discourses said to have been delivered by Gaudama, are given in the *Bedagat*. In these, the duties of parents, children, husbands, wives, teachers, scholars, masters, slaves, &c., are drawn out and urged, in a manner which would do honor to any casuist.

The following is part of one of these, addressed to a distinguished personage, who sought his instruction how to avoid evil:—

"Know thou, that to keep from the company of the ignorant, and choose that of learned men; to give honor to whom it is due; to choose a residence proper to our station, and adapted for procuring the common wants of life; and to maintain a prudent carriage,—are means of preserving a man from evil doings. The comprehension of all things that are not evil, the exact knowledge of the duties of our station, and the observance of modesty and piety in our speech, are four excellent modes of renouncing wickedness.

"By ministering a proper support to parents, wife, and family; by purity and honesty in every action; by alms-deeds; by observing the divine precepts; and by succoring relations,—we may be preserved from evil. By such a freedom from faults, that not even the inferior part of our nature manifests any affection for them; by abstinence from all intoxicating drink; by the continual practice of works of piety; by showing respectfulness, humility, and sobriety before all; and gratitude to our benefactors; and, finally, by listening often to the preaching of the word of God,—we overcome evil inclinations, and keep ourselves far from sin. Docility in receiving the admonitions of good men; frequent visits to priests; spiritual conferences on the divine laws; patience, frugality, modesty; the literal observance of the law; keeping

before our eyes the four states into which living creatures pass after death; and meditation on the happy repose of Nicbau;—these are distinguished rules for preserving man from wickedness.

“That intrepidity and serenity which good men preserve amid the eight evils of life; (abundance and want, joy and sorrow, popularity and abandonment, censure and praise;) their freedom from fear and inquietude; from the dark mists of concupiscence; and, finally, their insensibility to suffering;—these are four rare gifts, that remove men far from evil. Therefore, O sir! imprint well upon your heart the thirty-eight precepts I have just delivered. Let them be deeply rooted there, and see that you put them in practice.”

Pagodas are innumerable. In the inhabited parts, there is scarcely a mountain peak, bluff bank, or swelling hill, without one of these structures upon it. Those of Pegu and Siam are all formed upon one model, though the cornices and decorations are according to the builders' taste. In general, they are entirely solid, having neither door nor window, and contain a deposit of money, or some supposed relic of Gaudama. From the base they narrow rapidly to about mid-way, and then rise with a long spire, surmounted with the sacred tee. This is the style of pagodas shown in my Bible Dictionary, and in Mrs. Judson's Memoir. Some of those around Ava, and especially those at Paghan, are less tapering, and more resembling temples. One of these recently built at Ava is shown on page 118. This pagoda is new, and was hardly finished when I took it. Much of the minute tracery on the stucco is necessarily omitted in a drawing on so reduced a scale.

The sacred tee is of sheet iron, wrought into open work and gilded. It of course rusts off in time, and is seldom seen on an old structure. Its shape is that of a bell, or the bowl of a wine-glass, and may be distinguished in the foreground of the landscape of Tavoy. Round the rim are suspended small bells, to the clappers of which hang, by a short chain, a sheet-iron leaf, also gilded. The wind moving the pendent leaf, strikes the clappers against the bells, and keeps up a pleasant chime. Around all chief pagodas are smaller ones, sometimes amounting to hundreds, and of great size. Particular descriptions of individual pagodas are found in other parts of this book.

I am not sure of the origin of the term *pagoda*, applied by European writers to this structure. The term is unknown to

Burmans or Siamese. The former call it *Tsa-dee*, and sometimes *Pra-tsa-dee*, but more commonly simply *P'hra* — god. The latter call it *Chu-dee* or *Prachadee*.



Burman Zayat.

Zayats are not exclusively religious buildings. Some are intended to contain idols, and some are for the accommodation of worshippers and travellers, and for town halls. The majority contain no idols, and are intended only to afford shelter for worshippers and travellers. Some of these are mere sheds, open on all sides; but in almost all cases, they are built in a far more durable and costly manner than dwelling-houses.

Every village has a zayat, where the stranger may repose or stay for many days, if he please ; and many a time I found them a comfortable lodging-place. Like the choultries of Hindustan, they are of unspeakable utility in a country destitute of inns, and where every house has its full complement of inmates.

Many zayats, especially near great cities, are truly beautiful, and very costly. The ceilings and pillars are not only elaborately carved, but completely gilded, and the stucco floors rival marble in hardness and polish. One of these is given in the above cut, which represents a zayat in the enclosure of the great pagoda at Rangoon. It has a shrine for Boodh, which is rather rare in zayats ; and on the left are some of the huge stone jars used to receive the offerings of the worshippers. By an error of the engraver, they are but one third of the proper size.

Near all considerable cities are a number of zayats, which may be called temples, erected to contain collections of idols, amounting in some cases to hundreds. In general, these are all colossal, and some are huge. In each collection will be found a recumbent image, sixty, eighty, or even a hundred feet long, made of brick covered with stucco, and often gilded. Almost all the idols which are larger than life are thus formed ; but so skilful are the artists in working in lime, that the images have the appearance of polished marble. Groups of images representing Gaudama walking with his rice-pot, followed by attendants with theirs, or illustrating some conspicuous passage in his life, are not uncommon.



Burman Lion.

The doors or gateways of religious edifices are generally guarded by huge Balus and lions, as they call them. The Balu is an evil genius, personified as a hideous man, armed with a great club. A representation of one of these frightful demons is given at the foot of page 108. They are often of colossal size, but are not so uniformly of one pattern, as the lions. The lions are always precisely alike, however different in size ; and as there are no lions in Burmah, they have

stumbled on a representation which horribly caricatures that lordly beast.

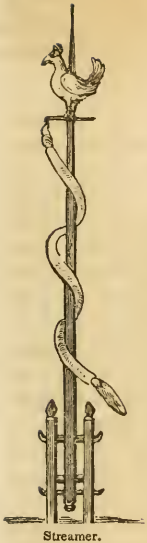
Sometimes other images are added, as crocodiles, turtles, dogs, &c. In the compounds of the best pagodas, are various

structures, more or less elegant, presented by wealthy worshippers. Some of these resemble umbrellas; others are like shrines; but the most common are streamers, fastened to a mast. Some of these are truly beautiful. They are cylinders of fine book muslin, kept round by light hoops of ratan, and ornamented with figures cut out of silver or gold paper. On the top is the carved and gilded *henza*, or sacred bird—a creature of imagination, resembling nothing in heaven above or earth beneath.

Images and sacred edifices pass through no form of consecration; and an intelligent Burman, when pressed in argument, strenuously denies that he worships these things. He claims to use them as Papists do a crucifix. He places no trust in them, but uses them to remind him of Gaudama, and in compliance with Gaudama's commands. Hence he feels no horror at beholding them decayed; and the country is full of such as have gone to ruin. The merit of making a

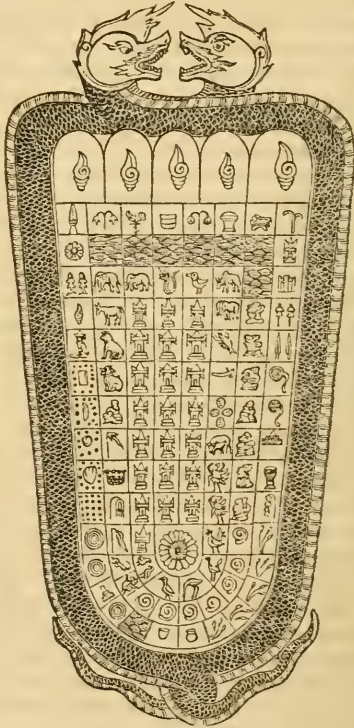
very small pagoda, or image, is much greater than the repairing even of the largest. The son, therefore, suffers the father's structure to sink into ruin, though trifling repairs might prolong its existence for years. The builder himself seldom attempts to repair the ravages of time, which in this country proceed with extraordinary rapidity; preferring to build anew, if again prompted to the same species of piety. That the common people do really and truly worship the very pagodas and images, is most evident. Indeed, such seldom deny it. Few would dare to strike, or deface one. Even the Christians are often unable to summon courage to do such a deed.

Impressions of Gaudama's foot are shown in various places, and receive religious worship. Several of these, not only in Burmah, but in Ceylon, Siam, and Lao, are affirmed to have been really stamped there by the deity himself, and are adduced as evidences of his extensive travels. The rest are avowed copies of these impressions, and are more numerous. Some are in stone, and some in stucco, generally handsomely gilded and canopied by some respectable structure. Those of Burmah and Ceylon seem



Streamer.

not to be precisely alike. Below is a Burman copy greatly reduced. I have a full description of the figures in every compartment, but could not get their mystic significations, if they have any. The serpents or *nagahs*, which encircle the foot, are always added in representations, for ornament.



Gaudama's Foot.

Worship is not performed collectively, though crowds assemble at the same time on set days. Each one makes his offerings, and recites his prayers alone. No priests officiate; no union of voices is attempted. On arriving at the pagoda or image, the worshipper wa'ks reverently to within a convenient distance, and, laying his offering on the ground, sits down behind it, on his knees and heels, and, placing the palms of his hands together,

raises them to his forehead, and perhaps leans forward till his head touches the ground. This is called the *sheeko*. He then utters his prayers in a low tone, occasionally bowing as before, and, having finished, rises and carries forward his gift, laying it somewhere near the idol or pagoda. Some proceed first to one of the great bells, which hang near, and strike several times with one of the deer's horns which always lie beneath. When one goes alone, this is seldom omitted.

The prayer consists of the form already quoted, ("Aneitsa, Dokekha, Ahnahta,") or of a repetition of certain protestations, such as, "I will not lie, I will not steal, I will not kill," &c. Each speaks audibly; but no one is disturbed, though scores kneel side by side. No greetings or recognitions are seen; nothing seems to divert their attention; and the profound humility of both posture and gesture, give a solemn aspect to the whole scene. Old people, who cannot remember the forms, and persons who are diffident of their ability in this exercise, get some priest to write them a few sentences, which they carry before the pagoda or idol, and, fastening it in one end of a stick, stick the other end in the ground, and put themselves for a time into the posture of prayer behind it. At Ava, quantities of these may be gathered any worship-day. The beads used in worship are made usually of black coral, or of the hard shell of the coco-nut. There are fifty or sixty on a string. Some persons carry them at all times in their hand, especially the priests, and appear, by passing over one at a time, to be saying their prayers, even in the midst of conversation.

Frequently a worshipper spends an entire day or night at the pagoda, reclining in some of the *zayats*. When the night is chosen, he takes his bed and some refreshments, candles, &c. These are so light that the most aged persons carry them with ease, suspending the bed from one end of a pole, and the water-jar, offering, &c., from the other. I often met these people in the *zayats* lying about, reading from palm-leaves, or returning in the morning to their homes. They reminded me of the embarrassment I felt, when a child, in reading of our Savior's ordering men to "take up their bed and walk." These beds consist of a clean mat, which weighs but three or four pounds, and a short, round pillow, with sometimes a cloth or sheet. The latter are rolled up in the mat, and tied with a twine, so that the whole is both light and portable.

None but priests go to the pagoda without carrying some offering, though it be but a flower, or a few sprigs plucked from a

bush, in passing. A tasteful nosegay is the common gift, but those who can afford it carry, once a week, articles of food and raiment. The former is always cooked in the nicest manner, and delicately arranged in saucers made of the fresh plantain leaf. Women carry their gifts in shallow baskets on their heads, and men in their hands, or suspended from the ends of a shoulder-pole. They proceed in groups, gossiping and gay, and display their piety with exuberant self-complacency.

There are four days for public worship in every lunar month; viz. at the new and full moon, and seven days after each, so that sometimes their sabbath occurs after seven days, and sometimes after eight. The new and full moons are the principal sabbaths; but few persons observe even all of these. Even those who attend the pagoda, always continue their business, except during the brief absence. The aspect of the city or village, therefore, is not changed, and the stranger would not know the day had arrived, did he not visit the pagoda, or the principal avenues leading to it. There is, in fact, no sabbath in Burmah, nor is any required by their religion. It is meritorious to observe the day, but not sinful to disregard it.

The number of worshippers at the chief pagodas, is always sufficient on Sundays to produce a large amount of offerings, and on such days the slaves of the pagoda take care of such as are useful, and divide the whole among themselves. On other days, dogs and crows consume the offerings, often attacking a gift the moment the worshipper quits it, and devouring it without the slightest molestation. I used to supply myself sometimes with a handsome bouquet from before the idol, walking unmolested among prostrate worshippers. Whatever flowers or fragments are left to the next morning are swept out like common dirt.

Burmans are oppressed with a multitude of inconvenient superstitions. They observe dreams, omens, lucky and unlucky days, and believe in the casting of nativities, supernatural endowments, relics, charms, witchcraft, invulnerability, &c. The aspect of the stars, the howl of dogs, the flight of birds, the involuntary motions of the body, the cawing of crows, the manner in which fowls lay their eggs, the holes made by rats, and a hundred such things, are constantly observed. A man will not make his canoe of the intended tree, if it falls in an unlucky manner, or the knots are discovered to be unfortunately arranged. They are especially observant of the lines in the palms of one's hand. If the lines on the end of the fore-finger are disposed in circles, it indicates

prosperity; if in arcs of a circle, great unhappiness, &c. Short fingers are regarded as a sign of lasciviousness.

Amulets and charms are worn by both sexes, but not by a large number, as among Hindus. One of these, common among military men, is the insertion of pieces of gold, or other metal, and sometimes small gems, under the skin of the arm, between the elbow and shoulder. I was allowed, by one of the Christians at Ava, to take from his arm several of these. They are of gold, inscribed with cabalistic letters.

Circumstances, of course, often tend to confirm these imaginations. The fall of the royal spire when the king removed his residence from Umerapooora was immediately succeeded by the news of the capture of Rangoon. Comets are regarded as portending great disasters, and one appeared during the advance of the British army.

The fear of witches prevails universally, and physicians derive much of their profits from the sale of medicines which are to give security from their arts. As in other countries, the persons charged with possessing infernal powers are generally poor old women. These sometimes favor the suspicion for purposes of gain, and sometimes are subject to maltreatment. Vultures and owls are birds of evil omen, and families will sometimes vacate a house on which one of these birds has alighted. The tattooing of the body is regarded as a charm. Endeavoring to ridicule an individual, once, for the extent to which he had carried this operation, he gravely assured me that it rendered him invulnerable. Pulling out my knife, and offering to test the assertion, he instantly declined, affirming that if he were a *good man*, such would indeed be the effect, but that he was not a *good man*!

Many of the people, especially among the Karens, Toungthoos, &c., worship Nats, which have been mentioned as inhabiting the six lower heavens, and are supposed to possess great power in human affairs. In honor of these, little huts, resembling a common dog-house, are erected on a post; and on another, of the same height in front, is fastened a flat board, on which the offerings are placed. Images of Nats are often seen among collections of idols, in the capacity of attendants. They bear a human form, and are portrayed as being very elegantly dressed. Such figures frequently ornament the base of the flag-staffs, and sacred umbrellas erected near pagodas. I never saw any, however, in or near the little huts erected for their worship. Feasts are often made to them, to avert calamity, or to be healed from sickness. On these

occasions, every member of the family, far and near, assemble ; and if any be absent, the service is considered nullified.

This worship of Nats forms no part of Boodhism, and is in fact discountenanced as heterodox. It seems to be a relic of the ancient polytheism, which prevailed in the country before its present religion was introduced.

The Burman term applied to a priest is *Pon-gyee*, or *Bon-ghee* ; literally "great exemplar," or, "great glory." The Pali term *Rahan*, or "holy man," is seldom used. The Siamese name is *P'hra-song*. Some authors speak of the priests as *Telapoins* ; but the term is never used by Burmans or Siamese. It seems to have been given to the priests by the French and Portuguese, perhaps from the custom of carrying, over their shaven heads, the large fan made of Tal-apot leaf.

Pongyees are not a caste, or hereditary race ; nor, as has been remarked, is there any such thing as caste in Burmah. Any one may become a priest, and any priest may return to secular life, at pleasure. Thousands do, in fact, thus return every year, without the least reproach. The far greater number enter with the avowed purpose of remaining only a few months, or years, for the acquisition of learning and merit. Indeed, the majority of respectable young men enter the novitiate for a season, not only to complete their education, but because the doing so is considered both respectable and meritorious. The more acute and energetic reënter society, and, as the phrase is, "become men again." The dull, the indolent, and those who become fond of religious and literary pursuits, remain.

When a youth assumes the yellow robe, it is an occasion of considerable ceremony, of neighborly festivity, and of emolument to the monastery.* The candidate, richly clad, is led forth, on a horse handsomely caparisoned, attended by a train of friends and relations, and passes in pomp through the principal streets. Before him go women bearing on their heads his future robes of profession, and the customary utensils of a priest, with rice, fruit, cloth, china cups, &c., intended as presents to the kyounge, and its superior.

This splendor of array bears a striking similarity to the display of dress, &c., made by a nun when about to renounce the world. Henceforth, at least while he remains a priest, the youth is no more to wear ornaments, ride on horseback, or even carry an

* He who incurs the expense on this occasion, is said to have made a priest, and becomes a *Thengan-taga* or *Pôn-gyee-taga*. See page 190.

umbrella. The candidate is also made to pass an examination as to his belief, motives, &c., and to take upon himself certain vows.

Priests are not only to observe all rules binding on common people, but many more. They are bound to celibacy and chastity; and if married before their initiation, the bond is dissolved. They must not so much as touch a woman, or even a female infant, or any female animal. They must never sleep under the same roof, or travel in the same carriage, or boat, with a woman, or touch any thing which a woman has worn. If a priest's own mother fall into the water, or into a pit, he must not help her out except no one else is nigh, and then he must only reach her a stick or a rope. They are not to recognize any relations. They must not have, or even touch, money; nor eat after the noon of the day; nor drink without straining the water; nor build a fire

in any new place, lest some insect be killed; nor spit in water, or on grass, lest some creature be defiled by eating. They must not dance, sing, or play upon musical instruments, nor stand in conspicuous places, nor wear their hair long, or any ornaments, nor have a turban, umbrella, or shoes; and their raiment must be made of rags and fragments gathered in the streets. As the burning sun makes some shelter absolutely necessary for a shorn, unturbaned head, they are allowed to carry their huge fan for this purpose, as shown in the cut. They must hold no secular office, nor interfere in the least with government. Seclusion, poverty, contemplation, and indifference to all worldly good or evil,



Priest walking out.

are henceforth to distinguish them.

In eating, a priest must inwardly say, "I eat this rice, not to please my palate, but to support life." In dressing himself, he must say, "I put on these robes, not to be vain of them, but to conceal my nakedness." And in taking medicine, he must say, "I desire recovery from this indisposition, only that I may be more diligent in devotion and virtuous pursuits."

All this strictness, though required in the sacred books, is by no means exemplified in the conduct of the priests. They wear sandals, carry umbrellas, live luxuriously, and handle money. They not only wear the finest and best cotton cloth, but some of them the most excellent silks. They, however, preserve a shadow of obedience, by having the cloth first cut into pieces, and then neatly sewed together. They even look at women without much

reserve. The huge fan, peculiar to priests, is intended partly to prevent the necessity of their seeing women when preaching, &c.; but the manner in which they are represented in native pictures, as looking over them, is not more amusing than true.

Their dress covers much more of the person than that of the laity; indeed, it veils them completely from neck to ankles. It consists of two cloths, one put on so as to form a petticoat, and fastened with a girdle, the other thrown gracefully over the shoulders and round the neck. The rule is to keep the head shaved entirely; but some permit it to grow an inch or two. I found the rule in Siam was to shave the head twice a month; and probably the same prevails in Burmah. Yellow is appropriated as the color for the dress of the priesthood, and it would be deemed nothing less than sacrilege in any one else to use it: so peculiarly sacred is it held, that it is not uncommon to see one of the people pay his devotions in due form to the old garment of a priest, hung on a bush to dry, after being washed.

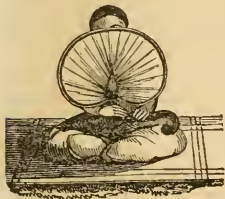
Kyongs are found in all cities and villages, and often in very small hamlets. As a partial compliance to the law, which forbids them to be erected in such places, they are generally placed at the outskirts. They are enclosed within an ample space, generally set out with fruit and shade trees. The ground is kept clear of grass or weeds, in proportion to the strictness of the superior. The kyongs are always vastly better built than the dwellings of even the richest among the laity; and near the metropolis many of them are truly grand. With few exceptions they are built in the same manner as good dwelling-houses, only decorated with carved work, and having massive steps of brick and mortar leading up to them. The distinctive mark between common and religious or royal residences, is always observed, viz. the stages or hips in the roof. The number of these breaks depends on the beauty, size, and sacredness of the structure. The apartments are all on one floor, and often rendered truly imposing by the height and decorations of the roof. I have been in some monasteries of great size, which were solidly gilded, within and without, from top to bottom.

As to the morality of the priesthood, my information is too vague and contradictory to allow me to venture an opinion. Perhaps, however, this contradictoriness arose from a real diversity in the characters of the priests, whom my different informers had known. It is certain that, if they choose to transgress, they may do so with little danger of detection, by assuming the turban and robe of the laity. They cannot be distinguished by their shorn

heads, as that is a sign of humiliation practised by all who go into mourning for relations. Sometimes half the community adopt this sign at the death of some very great man or member of the royal family.

Such as their literature is, it is chiefly confined to the priesthood. Few others can so much as read, without hesitation, a book they never saw before; still less understand its contents. The thousands who "finish their education" in the monasteries, furnish but few exceptions to this remark. The nation has acquired the character of "a reading people" from the fact that nearly all males do learn to read in the *kyoung*. But it is as the bulk of the Jews read Hebrew, or ignorant Catholic priests read Latin, without understanding any thing they read.

Their office may be called a sinecure. Few of them preach, and those but seldom, and only on special request; after which donations of clothing, &c. are always made to them. On these occasions, though only one preaches, there are generally several present. They sit cross-legged, in a row, on a raised seat, and each holds up before him his fan to prevent distraction by looking on the audience, and especially to avoid gazing at the women. The exact idea may be gained from the picture. In public worship, as has already been remarked, they have no services to perform. At funerals, they attend only when desired, and after reciting the



Priest preaching.

prayers retire, with liberal gifts borne on the shoulders of boys. Marriage being utterly unholy, they have no services to render there.* Part of them, in most *kyoungs*, spend a portion of every day in teaching the novitiates, and whatever boys may come to learn. Deeming it wholly unprofessional to do any kind of work, most of them spend their time in sheer idleness. During their season of *lent*, as it has been called, the principal priests, especially some few of great reputation, are almost every day called to preach at some house. Liberal gifts are always expected at the close of each service.

It is the rule that each priest perambulate the streets every

* It was some time before the Christian converts could be reconciled to Mr. Judson's performing the marriage ceremony, or being present in any way. It seemed to them absolutely obscene. In Siam, priests are often present on these occasions.

morning, till he receive boiled rice, &c. enough for the day. From the dawn of day till an hour after sunrise, they are seen passing to and fro, in groups and singly, carrying on their arm the *Thabike*, which is often sustained by a strap passing over the shoulder. They walk on briskly, without looking to the right or left, stopping when any one comes out with a gift, and passing on without the least token of thanks, or even looking at the giver.

The *Thabike* is a black earthen pot, containing about a peck, with a lid of tin or lackered ware, which is made to fit when inverted, so as to hold little cups of curry, meat, or fruits. The more dignified priests omit the morning perambulation, and either depend on a share of what their juniors receive, or have their own servants, and supply their private table from the bazar, and from offerings which are brought them by the devout. Except in times of scarcity, the daily supply is superabundant, and the surplus is given to day scholars, poor persons, and adherents, who perform various services round the monastery. These retainers are very convenient to the priests in many ways. They receive money, which the priests may not openly touch; go to market for such little luxuries as may be wanted; sell the superabundant gifts of clothing, mats, boxes, betel-nut, &c. Some of the priests are known to have thus become rich. Father Sangermano, who spent many years among them, declares that they make no scruple of receiving even large sums, and that "they are insatiable after riches, and do little else than ask for them."* Sometimes enormous swine are kept under the monasteries; for what purpose I could never learn, except that it is meritorious to feed dumb animals.

The daily gift of food to priests is supposed to be entirely voluntary, and doubtless generally is so. But I have often seen them make a full stop before a house, and wait for some time. A gift is generally brought at length; but if not, the priest moves on without remark. This certainly amounts to a demand. If any family is noticed constantly to neglect giving, complaint is lodged with the ruler, and fines are sure to follow. In some parts of the country, the priest, as he goes his round, rings a little bell, that all may know of his approach, and be ready. As the time of going round is long before the common hour of breakfast, families who intend to give to the priests rise before day to cook the rice. They give but about a coffee-cup full to each, and

* In Siam, those who are reputed for learning and sanctity, receive a regular but small salary from government.

stand before their door, dealing it out thus, till the quantity they have prepared is gone. They commonly add such fruits as are in season ; with segars, betel, candles, and particularly curry, or sauce, in small saucers.

The company of priests is very great, but I found few places where the exact number was known. From the data I was able to obtain, I think their proportion to the people is about as one to thirty. In some places it is greater, in others less. Ava, with a population of two hundred thousand, has twenty thousand priests. The province of Amherst, with thirty-six thousand souls, has one thousand and ten. Tavoy, with a population of nine thousand, has four hundred and fifty.

Beside the Ponghees, there are, at Ava, a considerable number of Brahmins, who are highly respected. They hold the rank of astrologers and astronomers to his majesty, in which they are supposed to be eminently skilled, and have committed to them the regulation of the calendar. They are consulted on important occasions, and give forth auguries, which are received with great confidence. The ancestors of these Brahmins appear to have come from Bengal, at no distant period. Occasionally, new ones come still.

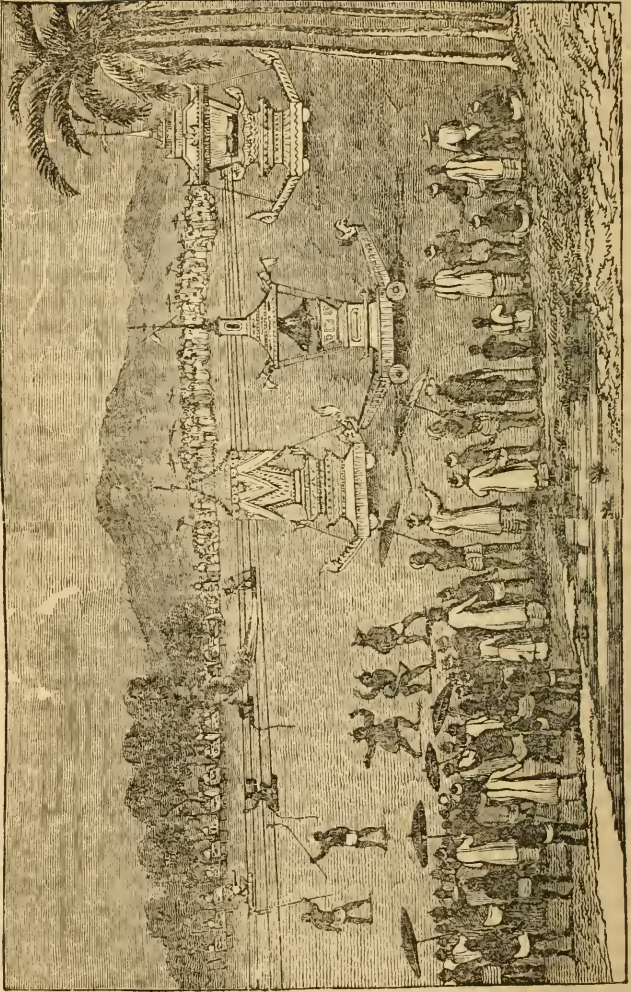
The priesthood is arranged into a regular hierarchy. The highest functionary is the *Tha-thena-byng'*, or archbishop. He resides at Ava, has jurisdiction over all priests, and appoints the president of every monastery. He stands high at court, and is considered one of the great men of the kingdom. Next to him are the *Ponghees*, strictly so called, one of whom presides in each monastery. Next are the *Oo-pe-zins*, comprising those who have passed the novitiate, sustained a regular examination, and chosen the priesthood for life. Of this class are the teachers or professors in the monasteries. One of these is generally vice-president, and is most likely to succeed to the headship on the demise of the Pongyee. Both these orders are sometimes called *Rahans*, or *Yahans*. They are considered to understand religion so well as to think for themselves, and expound the law out of their own hearts, without being obliged to follow what they have read in books. Next are the *Ko-yen-ga-láy*, who have retired from the world, and wear the yellow cloth, but are not all seeking to pass the examination, and become *Oo-pe-zins*. They have entered for an education, or a livelihood, or to gain a divorce, or for various objects ; and many of such return annually to secular life. Many of this class remain for life without rising in grade.

Those who remain five years honorably, are called *Tay*; i. e., simply *priests*; and those who remain twenty, are *Maha Tay*, great or aged *priests*. They might have become Ponghees at any stage of this period, if their talents and acquirements had amounted to the required standard. By courtesy all who wear the yellow cloth are called Ponghees.

The death of a Ponghee or president of a *kyoung* is regarded as a great event, and the funeral is conducted with pomp and ceremony. The body, being emboweled, and its juices pressed out, is filled with honey, and swathed in many folds of varnished cloth. The whole is coated with bees-wax; that which covers the face and feet being so wrought as to resemble the deceased. These parts are then gilded. The body often lies in state for many months, on a platform highly ornamented with fringes, colored paper, pictures, &c.

During my stay at Tavoy occurred the funeral of a distinguished Ponghee. Its rarity, and the great preparations which had been made for it, attracted almost the entire populace. The body had been lying in state, under an ornamental canopy, for several months, embalmed Burman fashion. The face and feet, where the wax preserved the original shape, were visible, and completely gilded. Five cars, on low wheels, had been prepared, to which were attached long ropes of ratan, and to some of them at each end. They were constructed chiefly of cane, and not only were in pretty good taste, but quite costly withal, in gold leaf, embroidered muslin, &c. &c.

When the set day arrived, the concourse assembled, filling not only all the *zayats*, but all the groves, dressed in their best clothes, and full of festivity. Not a beggar, or ill-dressed person, was to be seen. Almost every person, of both sexes, was dressed in silk; and many, especially children, had ornaments of gold or silver in their ears and round their ankles and wrists. Not an instance of drunkenness or quarrelling came under my eye, or, that I could learn, occurred on either day. The body in its decorated coffin was removed, amid an immense concourse, from its place in the *kyoung* to one of the cars, with an excessive din of drums, gongs, cymbals, trumpets, and wailing of women. When it was properly adjusted in its new location, a number of men mounted the car at each end, and hundreds of people grasped the ropes, to draw it to the place of burning, half a mile distant. But it had not advanced many paces, before those behind drew it back. Then came a prodigious struggle. The thousands in front exerted all their strength to get it forward, and those behind with



Burning a Priest.

equal energy held it back. Now it would go ten or twelve paces forward, then six or eight backward; one party pretending their great zeal to perform the last honors for the priest, the other declaring they could not part with the dear remains! The air was rent with the shouts of each party to encourage their side to exertion. The other cars of the procession were dragged back and forth in the same manner, but less vehemently. This frolic continued for a few hours, and the crowd dispersed, leaving the cars on the way. For several days, the populace amused themselves in the same manner; but I attended no more, till informed by the governor that at three o'clock that day the burning would certainly take place.

Repairing again to the spot, I found the advancing party had of course succeeded. The empty cars were in an open field, while that which bore the body was in the place of burning, enclosed by a light fence. The height was about thirty feet. At an elevation of fifteen or sixteen feet, it contained a sort of sepulchral monument, like the square tombs in our church-yards, highly ornamented with Chinese paper, bits of various colored glass, arranged like flowers, and various mythological figures; and filled with combustibles. On this was the body of the priest. A long spire, decorated to the utmost, and festooned with flowers, completed the structure. Soon after the appointed hour, a procession of priests approached, and took their seats on a platform within the enclosure, while in another direction came "the tree of life," borne on the shoulders of men, who reverently placed it near the priests. It was ingeniously and tastefully constructed of fruits, rice, boxes, cups, umbrellas, staffs, raiment, cooking utensils, and, in short, an assortment of all the articles deemed useful and convenient in Burman house-keeping. Women followed, bearing on their heads baskets of fruits and other articles. All these offerings, I was told, were primarily for the use of the deceased. But as he only needed their spiritual essence, the gross and substantial substances remained for the use of the neighboring monastery.

The priests, with a small audience of elderly persons, now mumbled over the appointed prayers, and, having performed some tedious ceremonies, retired. Immediately sky-rockets and other fireworks were let off, at a little distance. From the place of the pyrotechnics, long ropes extended to the funeral cars, to which were fastened horizontal rockets bearing various pasteboard figures, as in the picture. Presently men with slow matches touched off one of these; but it whizzed forward only a little way, and ex-

pired. Another failed in the same manner, and shouts of derision rose from the crowd. The next rushed forward, and smashed a portion of the car, which called forth strong applause. Another and another dashed into the tottering fabric, while several men were seen throwing fagots and gunpowder into it, till, finally, a furious rocket entering the midst of the pile, the whole blazed up, and the poor priest was exploded to heaven! Fancy fireworks concluded the ceremony, and the vast crowd dispersed. In the background of the picture are hucksters vending fruits, &c., and in the centre some musical buffoons.

The circumstance that a great proportion of the males of the country are for a time members of the priesthood, while it serves to confirm and perpetuate the national faith, tends also to lower the influence of the clergy. Political influence they have none, and have never sought. They are respected while they continue to wear the yellow cloth, but on relinquishing it retain no more consideration on that ground. Comparatively few remain permanently in the priesthood, and these not often the most intellectual. Their literary pursuits (so called) have, of course, no tendency to expand or elevate, being a tissue of fables and extravagances; but, these books ascribing high merit to seclusion and contemplation, those who persist generally become calm, quiet, and austere. They maintain respect, not by lordly assumptions, but by a character for humility and piety. The higher priests are seldom intolerant, except when they consider their religion in danger, and are often men whom every one must respect. Foreigners generally receive at their hands kindness and hospitality. The inferior priests and novitiates are often the reverse of this in all things. Proud, empty, and presumptuous, they claim honors from foreigners, which they cannot receive, and display, in all their ways, bigotry and folly.

Though no where required, or even authorized, by the Bedagat, there are in many places bands of priestesses or nuns, called *Ma-thela-shen*, or sometimes *Ma-thao-daw*. They are few in number,* and regarded with but little veneration. Like priests, they may return to common life at pleasure. Most of them are aged, though some are young. The latter often avow their object to be a better selection for a husband, through the conspicuity given them by the office. In most cases of the old people, the profession is regarded as little else than a pretext for begging. Unlike priests in this respect, they are seen about the streets all day

* In Siam, still fewer. There are but a dozen or two in all Bankok.

long, often asking alms openly, and sometimes clamorously. They are known by dressing in white, which no other women do, and having their head shaved. They dwell, apart from society, near the *kyoungs*, into which they have free access, and where they perform various menial services.

Both priests and nuns are under the control of a civil officer, called *Kyyoung-serai*, or clerk of the monasteries, who derives his appointment from the *Tha-thena-byng*, but is considered a crown officer. He keeps a register of all *kyoungs* and their lands, inquires into all disputes among the priests, or between them and the citizens, and in general watches over the outward demeanor of the clergy.

Though remarkably united in their religious opinions, Burmans are not entirely accordant. Sects have arisen, the chief of which is that of the *Kolans*, who are said to be numerous and spreading. *Kolan* was a reformer, who lived about fifty years ago, and taught a semi-atheism, or the worship of Wisdom. Homage was to be paid to this, wherever found; of course not a little was to be rendered to himself. Preachers and teachers of this sect, always from among the laity, frequently rise, and gain many followers. Many of the nobles are said to be of this sentiment. Most of this sect are near *Ava*, and in the towns on the *Irrawaddy*. They are called *Paramats*, from a word which signifies "the good law." They discard the worship of images, and have neither priests nor sacred books. *Kolan* took the *Be-dam-ma*, (the first part of the *Bedagat*,) and, after revising it, adopted it as a good creed; but it is not much copied among his followers. Until lately, the *Kolans* have been greatly persecuted; but at present little notice is taken of them.

It has been observed by travellers that this people is remarkably tolerant in religious matters. In a restricted sense, this is certainly true. Foreigners of every description are allowed the fullest exercise of their religion. They may build places of worship of any kind, in any place, and have their public festivals and processions, without molestation. But no nation could be more intolerant to their own people. No Burman may join any of these religions under the severest penalties. Despotism as is the government, in nothing does it more thoroughly display that despotism, than in its measures for suppressing all religious innovation, and supporting the established system. The whole population is divided into allotments of ten families, under a petty officer. Over every ten of these allotments is another officer, to whom the others report. These chiefs of a hundred families are

under the supervision of a higher officer, who takes cognizance of all causes. On stated days, every chief of ten families is required to bring forth his company to the appointed observances. He does not indeed notice mere remissness; but if any person be habitually absent, he must produce either a good reason or a bribe. The whole population is thus held in chains, as iron-like as caste itself; and to become a Christian openly is to hazard every thing, even life.

In the British provinces, the national faith, being robbed of the support of the secular arm, seems to be cherished so much the more by national feeling. Expectancy that the religion of the new rulers may spread, seems to awake greater vigilance than it may not. Pagodas, kyoungs, and priests are well supported, and the clergy seem anxious to propitiate popular favor, to stand them instead of government patronage. It is therefore no easier to distribute tracts, or obtain an audience in Maulmain, than in Rangoon or Ava, though schools are more easily established. Persecution is shown in every form, except official. Neighborly acts are often refused to Christians, and in some cases, were it not for the missionary, the convert could scarcely escape absolute want.

REMARKS.

No false religion, ancient or modern, is comparable to this. Its philosophy is, indeed, not exceeded in folly by any other; but its doctrines and practical piety bear a strong resemblance to those of holy Scripture. There is scarcely a principle or precept in the Bedagat which is not found in the Bible. Did the people but act up to its principles of peace and love, oppression and injury would be known no more within their borders. Its deeds of merit are in all cases either really beneficial to mankind, or harmless. It has no mythology of obscene and ferocious deities; no sanguinary or impure observances; no self-inflicted tortures; no tyrannizing priesthood; no confounding of right and wrong, by making certain iniquities laudable in worship. In its moral code, its descriptions of the purity and peace of the first ages, of the shortening of man's life because of his sins, &c., it seems to have followed genuine traditions. In almost every respect, it seems to be the best religion which man has ever invented.

At the same time, we must regard Boodhism with unmeasured reprobation, if we compare it, not with other false religions, but with truth. Its entire base is false. It is built, not on love to God, nor even love to man, but on personal merit. It is a system of religion without a God. It is literally atheism. Instead of a Heavenly Father, forgiving sin, and filial service from a pure heart, as the effect of love, it presents nothing to love, for its Deity is dead; nothing as the ultimate object of action but self; and nothing for man's highest and holiest ambition but annihilation.

The system of merit corrupts and perverts to evil, the very precepts whose prototypes are found in the Bible; and causes an injurious effect on the heart, from the very duties which have a salutary effect on society. Thus, to say nothing of its doctrines of eternal transmigration, and of uncontrollable fate, we may see, in this single doctrine of merit, the utter destruction of all excellence. It leaves no place for holiness; for every thing is done for the single purpose of obtaining advantage.

Sympathy, tenderness, and all benevolence, would become extinct under such a system, had not Jehovah planted their rudiments in the human constitution. If his neighbor's boat be upset, or his house on fire, why should the Boodhist assist? He supposes such events to be the unavoidable consequences of demerit in a former existence; and, if this suffering be averted, there must be another of equal magnitude. He even fears that by his interfering to prevent or assuage his neighbor's calamity, he is resisting established fate, and bringing evil on his own head!

The same doctrine of merit destroys gratitude, either to God or man. If he is well off, it is because he deserves to be. If you do him a kindness, he cannot be persuaded that you have any other object or reason than to get merit; and feels that he compensates your generosity by furnishing the occasion. If the kindness be uncommon, he always suspects you of sinister designs. In asking a favor, at least of an equal, he does it peremptorily, and often haughtily, on the presumption that you will embrace the opportunity of getting merit; and, when his request is granted, retires without the slightest expression of gratitude. In fact, as has been already stated, there is no phrase in his language that corresponds with our "I thank you."

The doctrine of fate is maintained with the obstinacy and devotedness of a Turk. While it accounts to them for every event, it creates doggedness under misfortune, and makes forethought useless.

Boodhism allows evil to be balanced with good, by a scale which reduces sin to the shadow of a trifle. To sheeko to a pagoda, or offer a flower to the idol, or feed the priests, or set a pot of cool water by the way-side, is supposed to cancel a multitude of sins. The building of a kyoung, or pagoda, will outweigh enormous crimes, and secure prosperity for ages to come. Vice is thus robbed of its terrors; for it can be overbalanced by easy virtues. Instances are not rare of robbery, and even murder, being committed, to obtain the means of buying merit. All the terrors, therefore, with which hell is represented, do but serve to excite to the observance of frivolous rites. The making of an idol, an offering, or some such act, is substituted for repentance and reparation, for all inward excellence, and every outward charity.

It ministers also to the most extravagant pride. The Boodhist presumes that incalculable merit, in previous incarnations, has been gained, to give him the honor of now wearing human nature. He considers his condition far superior to that of the inhabitants of the other islands in this system, and his chance of exaltation to be of the most animating character. Conceit, therefore, betrays itself in all his ways. The lowest man in society carries himself like the "twice born" brahmin of Hindustan.

We need not multiply these remarks. It is enough to move our sympathy to know that this religion, however superior to any other invented by man, has no power to save. Though we have no stirring accounts to present of infants destroyed, or widows burned, or parents smothered in sacred mud, it is enough that *they are perishing in their sins*. It matters little whether a soul pass into eternity from beneath the wheels of Juggernaut, or from amid a circle of weeping friends. The awful scene is beyond! May the favored ones of our happy land be induced to discharge their duty to these benighted millions.

PART III.

TRAVELS IN HINDUSTAN, MALAYA,
SIAM, AND CHINA.

CHAPTER I

Voyage to Calcutta — Saugor Island — Hoogly River — Landing — Houses — Servants — Streets — Weddings — Doorga Pooja — General Assembly's School — Benevolent Institution — Orphan Refuge — Central School — The Martiniere — Leper Hospital — Operations of Education Committee — Colleges — Progress of the English Language — Use of Roman Alphabet — Native Periodicals — Hindu and Mahometan Edifices — Ram Mohun Roy — Bromha Sobha — Population of Calcutta — Expenses of Living — Habits of Extravagance — Morals — Religion — Clergy — Places of Worship — Missionary Operations — Christian Villages — Hinduism shaken — Serampore — Aspect — Population — Marshman — College — Grave-Yard — Operations of the Mission.

A HOT and disagreeable passage of seventeen days from Rangoon, in a small schooner, brought me to Calcutta, September 20, 1836. The vessel, being loaded with timber and stick-lac, had plenty of scorpions and centipedes. Twice, on taking a clean shirt out of my trunk, I found a centipede snugly stowed in it. Having several times caught scorpions on my mattress at night, we undertook a general search, and on the under side of the cabin table, discovered a nest of twenty or thirty. I had written here constantly for a week, with my knees pressed up hard against the edge, to keep me steady, and felt truly thankful to have been unmolested. Several of the females had white leathery bags attached to them, about the size of a grape, full of young ones, scarcely bigger than a pin's head.

The constant increase of the sands at the mouth of the Hoogly, and the absence of any landmark, renders the approach always

a matter of some anxiety. The floating light is stationed out of sight of land, and the tails of the reefs, even there, are dangerous. When the shores are at length discerned, their dead level and unbroken jungle, without any sign of population, and the great breadth of the river, gives the whole an aspect excessively dreary, well suiting to one's first emotions on beholding a land of idolatry.

Saugor Island, which is first coasted, is famed for being the spot where many infants and others are annually immolated. The Hoogly, called by the natives *Ba-gir-a-tee*, being considered the true mouth of the Ganges, and the junction of this sacred stream with the ocean being at Saugor, great sanctity is attached to the place. A few devotees are said to reside on the island, who contrive for a while to avoid the tigers, and are supported by the gifts of the boatmen, who cherish great faith in the security they are supposed to be able to confer. An annual festival is held here in January, which thousands of Hindus attend, some even from five or six hundred miles. Missionaries often embrace this opportunity of preaching and distributing tracts. As a sample of these efforts, the following extract from the journal of the late Mr. Chamberlain* will be interesting.

"Gunga Saugor.—Arrived here this morning. Astonished beyond measure at the sight! Boats crushed together, row upon row, for a vast extent in length, numberless in appearance, and people swarming every where! Multitudes! multitudes! Removed from the boats, they had pitched on a large sand-bank and in the jungle; the oars of the boats being set up to support the tents, shops, &c. Words fail to give a true description of this scene. Here an immensely populous city has been raised in a very few days, full of streets, lanes, bazars, &c., many sorts of trade going on, with all the hurry and bustle of the most flourishing city. We soon left the boats, and went among the people. Here we saw the works of idolatry and blind superstition. Crowds upon crowds of infatuated men, women, and children, high and low, young and old, rich and poor, bathing in the water, and worshipping Gunga, by bowing and making salams, and spreading their offerings of rice, flowers, &c. on the shore, for the goddess to take when the tides arrive. The mud and water of this place are esteemed very holy, and are taken

* The life of this brother, by the Rev. Mr. Yates, of Calcutta, is every way worthy of perusal, and ought to be reprinted in America. It is a large octavo, and might be somewhat curtailed; but the abridgment, by the American Sabbath School Union, though suitable for their purpose, is too meagre for general circulation.

hundreds of miles upon the shoulders of men. They sprinkle themselves with the water, and daub themselves with the mud; and this, they say, cleanses them from all sin: this is very great holiness. In former years, it was usual for many to give themselves to the sharks and alligators, and thus to be destroyed. But the Company have now placed sepoy's along the side, to prevent this. A European serjeant and fifty sepoy's are here now for that purpose."

The veneration paid by Hindus to this river, is almost incredible. Descending from a height of fifteen thousand feet above the level of the sea, and running a course of fifteen hundred miles, it receives, in every part, the most devoted homage. The touch of its water, nay, the very sight of it, say the Shasters, takes away all sin. Its very sediment is counted a remedy for all diseases. If it fails, they are not undeceived; for they say the man's time has come, and there is no remedy for death. Drowning in it is an act of great merit. Thousands of sick persons endure long journeys, that they may die upon its banks. Its water is sworn upon, in courts of justice, as the Bible is, in ours. From 50,000 to 200,000 persons assemble annually at certain places, of whom many are crushed to death in pressing to bathe at the propitious moment. Still more die on the road, of poverty and fatigue. No man, acquainted with the history of Hindustan, can sail upon these bright, unconscious waters, without being filled with sorrowful contemplations.

That the scenery here has been described in such glowing colors, can only be accounted for, by considering that the writers had been for months immured in a ship, and that, having previously seen no country but their own, every thing *foreign* became deeply interesting. The boats which come off, of strange construction; the "dandies," with their dark bronze skin, fine Roman features, perfect teeth, and scanty costume; the Sircars, which board the ship with presents of fruit, dressed in graceful folds of snow-white muslin, — are indeed objects of interest, and form fruitful topics for journals and letters, to young travellers. As to the river itself, at least in the lower part of its course, none could be more dull and disagreeable.

As the ship ascends the river, (generally a slow and difficult process,) objects of interest multiply. Fishermen's villages and scattered huts appear on each side, imbosomed in stately palms. Trees, of shapes unknown before, fields of sugar-cane, wide levels of paddy ground, and a universal greenness, keep up an interest, till, on reaching Gloucester, European houses begin to

be seen, and the ear once more catches the sounds of machinery and commerce. The cold emotions of wonder, and the pain of reflecting that one has arrived in the regions of degradation and idolatry, now give place to a sense of exultation and homeness. On every side is evidence of the presence of those who stand with the highest among the civilized, the free, the scientific, and the religious nations of the earth. Hope portrays the future, benevolence stands ready to act, and discouragement is cheered by assurance of coöperation.

At length, in passing a bend in the river, called "Garden Reach," a superb array of country-seats opens on the eastern bank. Luxury and refinement seem here to have made their home. Verdant and quiet lawns appear doubly attractive to a voyager, weary of ocean and sky. Buildings, coated with plaster, and combining Grecian chasteness with Oriental adaptation, lift their white columns amid noble trees and numerous tanks. Steamboats, budgerows, and dingies, ply about upon the smooth water. The lofty chimneys of gas-works and factories rise in the distance, and every thing bespeaks your approach to a great city.

We passed just at sunset. The multiform vehicles, for which Calcutta is famous, stood before the doors, or rolled away through the trees, followed by turbaned servants in flowing muslin. Ladies and children, with nurses and bearers, lounged along the smooth paths, and it was difficult to realize that this beautiful climate should prove so insidious. The general observation, however, is, that death owes more victims to high living, indolence, exposure at night, fatigue in shooting excursions, &c., than to the positive effects of climate. Indeed, some affirm India to be as salubrious as England, and the aspect of some who have been long in the country would seem to countenance the assertion.

A farther advance brings an indistinct view of the fort and the fine buildings of the Chouringy suburb, all presented in one great curve, which is soon relinquished for a more minute and inquisitive contemplation of "the course." This is a broad road on the bank of the river, passing round the esplanade and fort, to which the English residents drive every evening at sunset. As every clerk in the city keeps his buggy or palankeen carriage, the crowd of vehicles rivals that at Hyde Park. The sight is even more imposing. Most of the higher classes use stately landaus, or open barouches; and the ladies are without bonnets. Crowds of gentlemen are on horseback. Indian side-runners

give a princely air to the slow procession. The shipping of every nation, the clear horizon, the noble fort, the city front, the pleasure-boats, the beautiful ghauts, &c., make it a scene which always pleases; and the citizens repair thither from day to day, and from year to year, without weariness or satiety.

On passing Garden Reach, the river becomes covered with boats, of every conceivable form, from which a dozen different languages meet the ear. A multitude of vessels lie at anchor; steam-engines pour from their towering chimneys volumes of smoke; beautiful ghauts slope into the water; palankeens, tonjons, buggies, coaches, phaëtons, gares, caranches, and hackaries, line the shore, and before us spreads out the great city, containing, with its suburbs, almost a million of souls.

All who die in or beside the river, and even those whose dead bodies are committed to it, being deemed certain of future bliss, multitudes are brought to die upon the banks, or are laid at low water on the mud, whence the return of the tide washes them away. These and the half-consumed relics from the funeral pile, in every variety of revolting aspect, are continually floating by. Government boats ply above the city to sink these bodies; but many escape, and we daily saw them float by, while vultures stood upon them, contending for the horrid banquet.

There being no wharves or docks, you are rowed to a ghaut in a dingey, and landed amid Hindus performing their ablutions and reciting their prayers. No sooner does your boat touch the shore, than a host of bearers contend for you with loud jabber, and those whom you resist least, actually bear you off in their arms through the mud, and you find yourself at once in one of those strange conveyances, a palankeen. Away you hie, flat on your back, at the rate of nearly five miles an hour, a chatty boy bearing aloft a huge palm-leaf umbrella to keep off the sun, whom no assurances that you do not want him will drive away, but who expects only a pice or two for his pains. The bearers grunt at every step, like southern negroes when cleaving wood; and though they do it as a sort of chorus, it keeps your unaccustomed feelings discomposed.

Arrived at the house, you find it secluded within a high brick wall, and guarded at the gate by a durwan, or porter, who lives there in a lodge, less to prevent ingress, than to see that servants and others carry nothing away improperly. The door is sheltered by a porch, called here a veranda, so constructed as to shelter carriages—a precaution equally necessary for the rains

and the sun. The best houses are of two stories, the upper being occupied by the family, and the lower used for dining and store rooms. On every side are contrivances to mitigate heat and exclude dust. Venetian blinds enclose the veranda, extending from pillar to pillar, as low as a man's head. The remaining space is furnished with mats, (tatties,) which reach to the floor, when the sun is on that side, but at other times are rolled up. When these are kept wet, they diffuse a most agreeable coolness.

The moment you sit down, whether in a mansion, office, or shop, a servant commences pulling the punka, under which you may happen to be. The floor is of brick and mortar, covered with mats, the walls of the purest white, and the ceilings of great height. Both sexes, and all orders, dress in white cottons. The rooms are kept dark, and in the hottest part of the day shut up with glass. In short, every thing betrays a struggle to keep cool.

Another great contest seems to be against ants. You perceive various articles of furniture placed upon little dishes of water or quick-lime, without which precaution every thing is overrun. White ants are most formidable; for from those it is impossible wholly to guard. They attack every thing, even the beams in the houses. A chest of clothes, lying on the floor a day or two only, may be found entirely ruined. A mere pinhole appears in your precious quarto — you open it, and behold a mass of dust and fragments!

The number of servants, and their snowy drapery, huge turbans, stubby mustachios, bare feet, and cringing servility, form another feature in the novel scene. Partly from the influence of caste, but more from indolent habits, low pay, and the indulgence of former masters, when fortunes were easily made, they are appointed to services so minutely divided as to render a great number necessary. The following list, given me by a lady long in India, not only illustrates this peculiarity, but shows how large opportunities private Christians possess of doing good to natives even beneath their own roof. A genteel family, not wealthy, must have the following domestics:—

Kánsuma — a head servant, butler, or steward; *Kít-mut-gár* — table-servant; *Musálche* — cleans knives, washes plates, and carries the lantern; *Bóbagee* — cook; *Surdar* — head bearer, cleans furniture, &c.; *Bearer* — cleans shoes, and does common errands, (if a palankeen is kept, there must be at least eight of these,) pulls punka; *Abdar* — cools and takes care of water; *Meeta* — man sweeper; *Metráne* — female sweeper; *Ayah* — lady's maid, or nurse; *Durwán* — gate-keeper; *Molley* —

gardener; *Dirgey*—tailor; *Dobey*—washerman; *Garee-walla*—coachman; *Syce*—groom, one to every horse, who always runs with him; *Grass-cutter*—cuts and brings grass daily, one to each horse; *Guy walla*—keeper of the cow or goats; *Hurkaru*—errand boy or messenger; *Sircar*—accountant, or secretary; *Chuprasse*—carries letters, and does the more trusty errands; *Chokedar*—watchman; *Cooley*—carries burdens, brings home marketing, &c.; *Bheestie*—to bring water. Of gardeners, maids, table-servants, nurses, &c., there of course must often be several. It is generally necessary to have part of these Mussulmans, and part Hindus; for one will not bring some dishes to the table, and the other will not touch a candlestick, &c. If a child makes a litter on the floor, the ayah will not clean it, but calls the metrane.

A walk into the native town, produces novel sights on every side. The houses, for the most part, are mere hovels, with mud floors and mud walls, scarcely high enough to stand up in, and covered with thatch. The streets are narrow, crooked, and dirty; and on every neglected wall, cow dung, mixed with chaff, and kneaded into thin cakes, is stuck up to dry for fuel. The shops are often but six or eight feet square, and seldom twice this size, wholly open in front, without any counter, but the mat on the floor, part of which is occupied by the vender, sitting cross-legged, and the rest serves to exhibit his goods. Mechanics have a similar arrangement.

Barbers sit in the open street on a mat, and the patient, squatting on his hams, has not only his beard, but part of his head, shaved, leaving the hair to grow only on his crown. In the tanks and ponds are dobies slapping their clothes with all their might upon a bench or a stone. Little braminy bulls, with their humped shoulders, walk among the crowd, thrusting their noses into the baskets of rice, gram, or peas, with little resistance, except they stay to repeat the mouthful.* Bullocks, loaded with panniers, pass slowly by. Palankeens come bustling along, the bearers shouting at the people to clear the way. Pedlers and hucksters utter their ceaseless cries. Religious mendicants, with long hair matted with cow dung, and with faces and arms

* These are individuals turned loose when young, as offerings to an idol, which are thenceforth regarded as sacred. Though no one looks after them, their privileged mode of life keeps them in good order; and, mixing so much among crowds, from which they meet no ill treatment, makes them perfectly gentle.

smear'd with Ganges mud, walk about almost naked, with an air of the utmost impudence and pride, demanding rather than begging gifts. Often they carry a thick triangular plate of brass, and, striking it at intervals with a heavy stick, send the shrill announcement of their approach far and near. Now and then comes rushing along the buggy of some English merchant, whose syce, running before, drives the pedestrians out of the way; or some villanous-looking caranche drags by, shut up close with red cloth, containing native ladies, who contrive thus to "take the air."

No Englishmen are seen on foot, except the very poorest, as it is deemed ungenteel; nor native women, except of the lowest castes. Costumes and complexions, of every variety, move about without attracting attention — Hindus, Mussulmans, Armenians, Greeks, Persians, Parsees, Arabs, Jews, Burmans, Chinese, &c. &c.; bheesties, with leather water-sacks, slung dripping on



A Bheestie.

their backs, carry their precious burden to the rich man's yard, or hawk it along the street, announcing their approach by drumming on their brass measure. Snake-charmers, jugglers, and blind musicians, gather their little crowds. Processions are almost always abroad in honor of some idol, or in fulfilment of some promise; making all possible clamor with voices, drums, cymbals, and trumpets. Women carry their children astride on their hips. Wretched carriages, drawn by more wretched ponies, jingle along, bearing those who have long walks and moderate means. Women crowd about the wells, carrying water on their hips in brass jars. Children run about

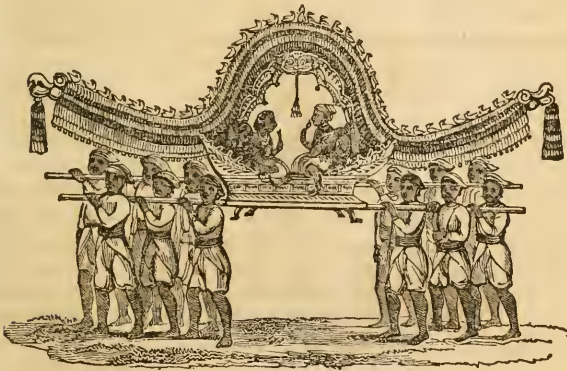
stark naked, or with a thin plate of silver or brass, not larger than a tea-cup, hung in front by a cord round the hips. Mud-holes, neglected tanks, decaying car-casses, and stagnant ditches, unite with fumes of garlic, rancid oil, and human filth, to load the air with villanous smells. The *tout ensemble* of sights, sounds, and smells, is so utterly unlike any thing in any other part of the world, that weeks elapse before the sensation of strangeness wears away.



Woman carrying Water.

My residence with Mr. Pearce on the circular road, which is a principal thoroughfare, afforded continual opportunity of observing native character and habits. A spectacle of frequent recurrence was the wedding procession of young children, affianced by their relations. Music and many torches dignify

the procession. The girl is often carried in a palankeen, and the bridegroom on horseback, held by a friend. Sometimes the little things are borne in a highly-ornamented litter, as in the engra-



Part of a Wedding Procession.

ving. It is always affecting to think that if the poor little boy die, his betrothed is condemned to perpetual widowhood. Many of these, as might be expected, become abandoned characters.

One is constantly struck with the excessive cruelty displayed

toward oxen and horses by the natives; so strongly contrasting with the tenderness of Burman drivers. The cattle are small, lean, and scarred all over with the brands and fanciful figures of their owners. Poor in flesh, and weak, they are urged with a large stick, and by twisting the tail, in the most violent manner. The heavy blows were continually sounding in my ears, and, with the creaking of the wheels, which are never greased, keep up an odious din. The horses of their miserable caranches fare no better—the driver scarcely ever suffering his whip to repose.

I saw many funerals, but none in which any solemnity or pomp prevailed. The body, without a coffin, was carried on its own paltry bedstead by four men, covered merely with a sheet; a few followers kept up a wailing recitative, and beat upon small native drums. The body was thus conveyed to the place of burning, or thrown into the Ganges.

Close to my residence was one of those numerous tanks resorted to in this city, not only for drinking-water, but ablutions of all sorts. Every hour in the day some one was there bathing. Those who came for water, would generally walk in, and letting their jar float awhile, bathe, and perhaps wash their cloth; then filling their vessel, bear it away with dripping clothes. Some dobeys, or washermen, resorted thither, whose severe process fully accounted for the fringes constantly made on the edges of my clothes. They depend on labor and the sun, rather than on soap and fire. Standing knee deep in the water, and gath-



Washerman.

ering the end of a garment in their hand, they whirl it over their head, and bring it down with great force upon a stone or inclined plank, occasionally shaking it in the water. They spread out the articles on the hot sand, and a powerful sun enables them to present clothes of snowy whiteness.

My stay in the city included several annual festivals, of which one was the *Door-ga Poo-ja*, which commenced on the fifteenth of October, and lasted till the nineteenth. The whole population unites in this celebration, and the government offices are closed. It is in honor of Bhagabâtee, wife of Seeb, who is called Doorga, from her having destroyed a dreadful giant of that name, who had subdued most of the gods.

The first day is spent in waking up Doorga, and other gods, who are supposed to have slept since the festival of Shayan Ekadashee. The second day, vows are made, and offerings of water, flowers, sweetmeats, &c., are presented. The third day is occupied with ceremonies to bring the soul of Doorga into the image. To effect this, the priest repeats prayers, offers incantations, and touches the eyes, cheeks, nose, breast, &c., of the image with his finger. The image now becomes an object of worship, and crowds offer it divine honors, presenting at the same time large quantities of fruits, clothing, and food; which, of course, are perquisites to the Brahmins. The fourth day streams with the blood of animal sacrifices. The worshippers dance before the idol, smeared with gore; drums beat; and shouts rend the air. The heads only of the victims are offered, the worshippers eating the carcasses, and rioting in strong drink. Such Hindus as worship Vishnu, not being permitted to shed blood, offer pumpkins, melons, sugar-cane, &c., which are cut in two with the sacrificial knife, that the juice may flow forth. All these days, the image is kept in the house, and the services performed in interior courts, so that the streets show little confusion or stir. The evenings are occupied with songs and dancing, often of an indecent character.

The last and great day brings the goddess abroad, carried in triumph upon the shoulders of men, to be thrown into the river. Crowds follow with shouts; bands of music accompany each group; and towards sundown the streets are literally full of these processions. I rode to the margin of the river, at that time, to witness this part of the festival; and during the stay of a single hour, scores of images were thrown in at that place. Above and below, the same scenes were enacted.

These exhibitions not only present Doorga, but several other images, often as large as life, very handsomely moulded, of wax, clay, or paper. Under an ornamented canopy stands the goddess, stretching out her ten arms, each of which has an occupation. One transfixes with a spear the giant Mahisha; others hold implements of war, flowers, sceptres, &c. Beneath her

feet is a lion, tearing the said giant; and on each side are her sons, *Kartik* and *Ganesh*. The whole is borne on a frame or bier, requiring twenty or thirty bearers. The group is generally got up with much skill, and no little ornament, some of which is really tasteful and costly. Vast sums are expended at this festival by all ranks, amounting, in some cases, even to twenty or thirty thousand rupees! Almost every respectable family makes one of these objects, and lavishes on it considerable expense. The offerings, the music, the feast, and still more, the gifts to Brahmins, make up a heavy cost. I could not help observing, that the men employed to cast the fabric into the river, no sooner got a little way from the shore, in the boat, than they began to rifle the goddess of her muslins, plumes, and gilded ornaments, so that often nothing but a mere wreck was thrown overboard.

Calcutta being the focus of religious intelligence for all the East, and the seat of numerous missionary operations, I was not sorry that no vessel offered for my next port of destination, for two months. It gave me an opportunity of visiting the charitable, literary, and religious institutions; attending the various churches, and several anniversaries; mingling with ministerial society, committees, and conferences; and gathering no small amount of information from the best sources. I shall, however, only note here such as will interest the general reader.

One of my first visits was to the school of the Scottish General Assembly, founded by Rev. Mr. Duff, and now under the care of Rev. Messrs. Mackay and Ewart. It occupies a large brick building, enclosing a quadrangular court, formerly the residence of a wealthy Baboo, and standing in the midst of the native town.* It has existed about six years, and now numbers about six hundred and thirty-four pupils; boys, mostly under fourteen years. They are all Bengalees and Hindus, generally of the higher castes, and many of them Brahmins. Many have been in the school from the commencement. They purchase their own school-books, and receive no support from the school; but the tuition is gratis. There are five ushers, besides twelve or fifteen of the more advanced scholars, who act as assistant teachers. The instruction is wholly in the English language. I examined several classes in ancient and modern history, mathematics, astronomy, and Christianity; and have never met classes show-

* A new building, capable of accommodating 1000 pupils, has since been erected on Cornwallis Square.

ing a more thorough knowledge of the books they had studied. Nearly all of the two upper classes are convinced of the truth of the gospel, and went over the leading evidences in a manner that, I am sure, few professors of religion in our country can do. Some six or seven pupils have given evidence of a work of grace in their heart; a few of which have made a profession of religion.

A few weeks after, I had the pleasure of attending the public annual examination of this school, held in the town hall, a truly noble building. I never witnessed a better examination. The pupils were often led away from the direct subject, by gentlemen present, and in every case showed a good insight into the subject they had studied. Several excellent essays were read in English, wholly composed by the scholars, two of which were of special cleverness; one in favor of caste, the other against it. The former received some tokens of applause from the Europeans, for the talent it displayed; but not a native clapped. On the conclusion of that against caste, the whole mass of pupils burst out into thundering applause! This incident is worthy of note, as showing the waning influence of Brahma.

The Benevolent Institution, instituted thirty years ago by the Serampore Missionaries, has continued without interruption; imparting the English language and English literature, on the Lancasterian plan, to an average of three hundred pupils. Several times that number have left the school with more or less education, many of whom are now honorably employed as teachers, writers, and clerks. There are now a hundred and eighty in the boys', and thirty in the girls' department. The establishment of other schools has diminished its number. It was intended entirely for the benefit of the children of nominal Christians, chiefly Catholic, who were growing up in ignorance and vice; but some pagan youth are now admitted. The Rev. Mr. Penny has devoted himself to this service for many years; and recently his salary has been paid by government. The boys live with their parents, and receive no support from the school.

The Boarding and Day Schools at Chitpore, one of the northern suburbs of Calcutta, were established by the Baptist missionaries, in 1829. They are under the care of Rev. J. D. Ellis, and contained boys and girls, till the latter were removed to Seebpore. The boarding school is for the children of native Christians, and contains forty-five interesting boys, none under seven years. They are entirely supported, at an average expense of about four rupees a month; including food, clothes, books, salaries of as-

sistant teachers, building, medicine, &c. Nine of the boys have become pious, and been received into the church, and three others are to be baptized soon.

The day school, on separate premises, is for heathen boys, and contains three hundred pupils, from eight to eighteen years of age. They study the English language, and all the branches of a good high school. They provide their own books and stationery, so that the salaries of the native ushers, amounting in the aggregate to seventy-five rupees a month, and the rent of the buildings, constitute all the expense. This school is decidedly the best I found in Calcutta, excepting, perhaps, that of the General Assembly just mentioned, to which it is not inferior. The arrangement of the school-house and grounds, the general government, the deportment of the pupils, and the degrees of proficiency, are most satisfactory. None have become open Christians; but most of the senior boys theoretically reject idolatry, and declare ours to be the only true faith. I was astonished at the readiness with which they went over the evidences of Christianity, from miracles, prophecy, history, internal structure, &c. I started many of the plausible objections of heathen and infidels, and found they had truly mastered both the text-books and the subject.

Bishop's College, founded by Bp. Middleton, stands a few miles below Calcutta, on the River Hoogly. The college edifice is of great size, and substantially built, in the Gothic style, and the professors' houses, pleasure-grounds, &c., are every way suitable. A distinguished civilian politely took me there in his carriage, and the president kindly showed us every part. The fine library, beautiful chapel, and admirable arrangements, with the high character of the instructors, seem to invite students; but there have as yet been never more than ten or twelve at a time. This is possibly owing in part to the exclusively Episcopal character of the college. The salary of the principal is one thousand pounds per annum, and of the second teacher, seven hundred pounds.

The Indian Female Orphan Refuge, and Central School, were founded by Mrs. Wilson, (then Miss Cook,) about twelve years ago. The two departments under the above names occupied the same building, till the present season, when the Refuge was removed to new and more suitable premises, six miles north of the city. The increased and improved accommodations will enable this excellent lady to enhance the value of her admirable charity. Here native orphans, and other destitute or abandoned

children, are received at any age, nowever young, and remain till marriageable, supported in all respects. A considerable number of them were redeemed from actual starvation, during the dreadful desolation of a hurricane on the Hoogly River, a few years since. All are taught to read and speak English, beside the elementary studies and needle-work. They are found to be acute, and generally learn to read and understand the New Testament in one year. Some six or eight are Mussulman children; the rest are Hindus, who, of course, lose whatever caste they may have; though this now, in Calcutta, is productive of comparatively little inconvenience to the poor. The present number in the Refuge is one hundred and eight, and the whole cost per annum, for each child, is found to be about twenty-five rupees. Mrs. Wilson (now a widow) resides in the institution, and devotes herself most steadfastly to the arduous work. Possessing the unlimited confidence of the philanthropists of Calcutta, she has been able to meet the expenses of her new and extensive buildings, and is not likely to want funds for sustaining the school.

The Central School has, on an average, two hundred and fifty girls, who attend in the day-time only, and receive no support. The first impressions, on entering the vast room where they are taught, are very touching. Seated on mats, in groups of eight or ten, around the sides of the room, are thirty classes; each with a native teacher in the midst. The thin cotton shawls, covering not only the whole person, but the head, are lent them every morning to wear in school, and kept beautifully white. In their noses or ears hang rings of large diameter; and many of them had the little spot at the root of the nose,* indicative of the god they serve, tattooed. Some had on the arms or ankles numerous bracelets or bangles, of ivory, wood, or silver; and many wore rings on the toes; all according to the immemorial usage of Bengalee women.

All were intent on their lessons; and when it was considered that those lessons comprised the blessed truths of revelation, the scene could not but affect a Christian's heart with gratitude and hope. Two pious ladies devote themselves to the management

* This custom of marking the forehead illustrates, very forcibly, the expression of Deut. xxxii. 5, "*Their spot is not the spot of his children.*" Some have one spot just above the root of the nose — yellow, brown, or red, as the sect may be. Some have two spots, some a perpendicular line, others two or three lines; some a horizontal line, or two, or three. Thus every one carries on his front a profession of his faith, and openly announces to all men his creed.

of this school, and attend all day. A native preacher conducts daily worship, and preaches once a week. The native women, being paid one pice per day for each scholar, are thus induced, though heathen, to exert themselves to keep their classes full.

The two institutions last named show what may be done by ladies. What abundant opportunities are presented, in several parts of the world, for them to come forth, and be co-workers in the missionary enterprise!

The Martiniere, founded by a munificent legacy of General Martin, was opened March, 1835, and has already eighty pupils, of which fifty are wholly supported. It is intended solely for the children of Europeans, and has a principal and two professors. The building, which cost 200,000 rupees, is truly noble, and stands on the southern edge of the city, amid extensive grounds. Many more pupils can be accommodated; and there is no doubt the number will soon be full. The children are not required to be orphans, or very poor, but are admitted from that class of society which, though respectable, find it impossible to give their children a good education, and are glad to be relieved from their support.

The Leper Hospital, founded by the exertions of Dr. Carey, is located on the road to Barrackpore, a little north of the city. Instead of a large building, it is an enclosed village, with neat grounds and out-houses. Any lepers may resort there, and receive maintenance in full, with such medical treatment as the case may encourage. It generally contains several hundred; but many prefer to subsist by begging in the streets.

Beside these institutions, there are several others, such as orphan asylums, a floating chapel, &c., of a character similar to those of our own country, and which therefore do not need any description.

In 1813, parliament required the East India Company to devote £10,000, or a lac of rupees, annually, for the education and improvement of the natives; but nothing was done for fifteen or sixteen years. The funds, with other appropriations, which had accumulated to nearly 300,000 rupees *per annum*, were then placed under the control of a "Committee of Education," who proceeded to work in earnest. The Hindu, Mahometan, and Sanscrit Colleges in Calcutta, were taken under the patronage of the committee, and schools and colleges at Benares, Delhi, Hoogly, Agra, Moorshedabad, Bangulpore, Saugor, Maulmain, and Allahabad, were soon founded. In 1835, a new impulse and direction were given to these operations, and there were established the Medical College of Calcutta, and schools at Pooree.

Gowhatte, Dacca, Patna, Ghazepore, and Merut. The following are now in course of being established — Rajshahi, Jubbulpore, Hoshungabad, Furruckabad, Bareilly, and Ajmere. The whole number of pupils at present is three thousand three hundred and ninety-eight,* of whom one thousand eight hundred and ninety-one study English, two hundred and eighteen Arabic, four hundred and seventy-three Sanscrit, and three hundred and seventy-six Persian. Most of the rest are confined to the local vernacular. Of the students, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one are Hindus, five hundred and ninety-six Mussulmans, seventy-seven Christians, and the rest are Burmans, Chinese, &c. A summary view of those in Calcutta will give a general idea of the whole.

The Hindu College, (called by Hindus the *Vidyalyaya*,) established in 1816, by wealthy natives, contains four hundred and fifty pupils. About sixty are on scholarships; the rest pay from five to seven rupees per month for tuition. It has two departments; one for imparting education in English, and English literature, open to all classes and castes; the other for the cultivation of Sanscrit literature, and open only to persons of the Brahminical order, who are not admitted under twelve years of age. In the English department, instruction is given in reading, writing, arithmetic, composition, mathematics, history, natural philosophy, geography, &c. The institute has a valuable library in English, which serves to give efficacy and expansion to the system of instruction. The fact that natives are willing to pay so much for tuition, and support themselves, shows the prevailing anxiety to acquire our language. Scholars are received into the English department as young as six years.

The Sanscrit College has about one hundred and thirty-five pupils; part of whom study English, with the other branches. They are instructed in Hindu literature, law, and theology. The fewness of scholars seeking instruction in this worthless stuff is a good sign. Even of these, fifty-seven are *paid* monthly stipends of from six to eight rupees. The rest are not charged for tuition. The term of attendance is twelve years; viz. three for grammar, two for general literature, one for rhetoric, one for logic, one for theology, one for mathematics, and three for law. All the forms and distinctions of caste are observed at this school.

The Mahometan College (generally called the *Madressa*)

* The number of pupils has now (January, 1839) increased to nearly 7000, but those studying Arabic, Sanscrit, and Persian, are fewer than in 1835.

is for the instruction of that class of natives in their own literature and faith. Formerly, the students were allowed stipends of seven or eight rupees per month; but, as those who hold these fall off, they are not renewed to others, so that the number is annually diminishing. It has two departments, Oriental and English; the former containing ninety-one students, and the latter one hundred and thirty. The studies are reading, writing, spelling, grammar, arithmetic, geography, history, natural philosophy, and the Mahometan laws and religion.

The Hoogly (or Mahomet Muhsin's) College, situated about twenty-five miles above Calcutta, has grown out of the Hoogly School, which flourished several years, teaching chiefly the English language, to about one hundred and thirty pupils. Large endowments from the above-named Baboo have lately become available, and yield an annual revenue of no less than a lac of rupees. It was re-opened on an enlarged system in August, 1836, and already enrolls more than fifteen hundred students, who have entered the western department; that is, to prosecute English and English literature exclusively; and three hundred who have entered the Oriental department. About one hundred of the latter study English in connection with Eastern languages, and two hundred study Arabic and Persian exclusively.

The Medical College was instituted by a general order of the supreme government, in which it was directed that the Native Medical Institution, then existing under Dr. Tytler, and the medical classes at the Sunscrit and Mahometan Colleges, should be abolished, and a new institution formed. Medical science is here on the most enlightened principles, and in the *English language*. Instruction commenced June, 1835, with forty-nine students, selected from numerous applicants. All were required to be able to speak, read, and write English with ease and accuracy. The institution is a great favorite with Britons in Calcutta, and promises very important benefits to Bengal, beside raising up suitable doctors for the native regiments. None but native students are admitted; but these may be of any creed or caste; and for fifty of them, a competent support is provided. They are received between the ages of fourteen and twenty, and such as are allowed stipends are required to remain five or six years.

For each of these institutions a good English library and philosophical apparatus have been ordered from London, toward which object a wealthy Baboo has given twenty thousand rupees. Persons of all ages, religious opinions, and castes, are admitted as

pupils in all the government institutions except the Hindu, Mahometan, and Sanscrit Colleges at Calcutta, and the Sanscrit College at Benares. The effect of these last-named institutions is regarded by many as wholly tending to support the national systems of religion and literature, and, therefore, so far as the eternal well-being of the pupils is concerned, decidedly injurious.

The circumstances of the country make these colleges, not what a cursory reader would infer from the name, but *schools*; or, at the best, academies. Education has not long enough prevailed to have produced a race of young men prepared by elementary studies to pursue the higher branches. The pupils of these "colleges" are taught to read, write, and cipher, as well as grammar, geography, logic, mathematics, &c., from the rudiments upward.

Until 1835, the policy of the committee was to encourage the study of Persian, Sanscrit, and Arabic literature, as the best means of elevating the general intelligence of the natives. Hence the endowment of schools and colleges, expressly for these studies, and *paying* the students liberal monthly stipends. A great number were thus induced to study these dead languages, who felt no interest in them, and made no valuable proficiency. While modern science was enlightening all Europe, these students were learning Ptolemy's astronomy, Aristotle's philosophy and Galen's medical institutes, and reading the shockingly lascivious stories of the Mricchakata, and the Nol Damayanti. Bishop Heber examined some of these students at Benares, and says,* "The astronomical lecturer produced a terrestrial globe, divided according to their system, and elevated to the meridian of Benares. Mount Meru he identified with the north pole, and under the south pole he supposed the tortoise 'Chukwa' to stand; on which the earth rests. He then showed me how the sun went round the earth once in every day, and how, by a different motion, he visited the signs of the zodiac." As Hindu literature has been highly extolled by some, I will add a specimen from Ram Mohun Roy's account of it. † "'*Khad* signifies to eat; *Khaduti*, he, she, or it eats: query, does *Khaduti*, as a whole, convey the meaning he, she, or it eats, or are separate parts of this meaning conveyed by distinctions of the word?' As if, in the English language, it were asked, How much meaning is there in

* Travels in India.

† Letter to Lord Amherst, Governor-general of India.

the *eat*, and how much in the *s*? And is the whole meaning conveyed by these two portions of the word distinctly, or by them taken jointly?" "In medicine and chemistry they are just sufficiently advanced to talk of substances being moist, dry, hot, &c., in the third or fourth degree; to dissuade from physicking, or letting blood, on a Tuesday, or under a particular aspect of the heavens; and to be eager in the pursuit of the philosopher's stone, and the elixir of immortality."*

The Rev. Mr. Wilson, in a sermon on behalf of the Scotch Missionary Society, and dedicated to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Grant, governor of Bombay, preached in Bombay, November, 1835, touches this matter briefly; and I quote some of his remarks, because of the high authority on which they come. Speaking of the appropriation of the lac of rupees, he remarks, "We, the representatives of the British nation in India, instead of applying this grant wholly to the diffusion of a knowledge of the literature and science of the West, as, we must suppose, was intended, employed most of it in the support of colleges for teaching *pensioned* students the elements of the Sanscrit and Arabic languages, and inculcating through them the immoral precepts of the Vedas and Purannas, the aphorisms of dreamy and obsolete legislators, and the prescriptions of quack doctors and alchemists; or in printing Oriental books to fill the shelves of the learned and curious, but illiberal and unphilanthropic confederacy, of English and French antiquarians."

This policy of the committee led also to the expenditure of enormous sums in procuring translations of elevated scientific works into those languages, and printing original Arabic, Persian, and Sanscrit works hitherto unknown to Europe. Of the books printed by the committee up to 1832, there were of Sanscrit thirteen thousand volumes, of Arabic five thousand, Persian two thousand five hundred, Hindu two thousand. A large proportion of these are quarto volumes, of seven hundred to eight hundred pages, and printed in editions of five hundred copies. Of course, were they ever so valuable, they could not be generally diffused over an empire of two millions of inhabitants. Not a single work was printed in the prevailing and spoken languages of India! The books thus brought forth as treasures of Oriental literature, were indeed such to some philologists of Europe; but false philosophy, fabulous histories, and impure romances, could do no good to Hindus, even supposing the mass of the people could have read them.

* Heber.

The policy of the committee, as at present constituted, is, to cultivate Western, rather than Eastern literature, and to diffuse modern science and arts, by extending a knowledge of the English language, and by multiplying valuable works in the vulgar tongues. In accomplishing this important change, perhaps no man has been more instrumental than C. E. Trevelyan, Esq., of the Bengal civil service, to whom India is, in many other respects, greatly indebted.

The stipends which were paid to pupils in the Arabic, Sanscrit, and Persian languages, are now refused to new applicants, and expire as vacancies occur. This change not only adds to the available funds of the committee, but leaves the dead languages to be cultivated, just so far as their intrinsic worth shall induce the native. In all the new institutions, pupils are admitted without distinction of caste.

The prospect now is, that English, with its vast stores of knowledge, in every department, will become the classical language of the country.* The holders of office, and influential natives generally, of the next generation, will be enlightened beyond what could have ever been hoped for, under the old system. Some of those who give themselves to literary pursuits, will no doubt acquire such a mastery of certain sciences, as to become able to bring forth works of great utility in their mother tongue. By such works, and not by translations made by foreigners, light may spread to all the people, and this vast continent be brought forth into a worthy place among the nations.

Missionaries long since saw this subject as the education committee now see it, and thousands of natives, in Calcutta alone, have been taught in their schools to read English. There are probably now in that city not less than four thousand youths receiving an English education. In the Hindu College, established in 1816, and conducted wholly with reference to English, there are four hundred and seven students, of which three

* When we consider the vast spread of the British empire in India, the diffusion of the English language over the whole continent of North America, and many of the West India islands, the establishment of British laws and language in all South Africa and Australia, and the growing colonies on the west coast of Africa, it is not unreasonable to anticipate the prevalence of our language, at no distant day, among millions in all quarters of the globe.

hundred and fifty-six pay from five to seven rupees a month for tuition, while the Sunscrit College, where fifty-seven students receive a stipend of from six to eight rupees per month, and the rest are taught gratuitously, there are but one hundred and thirty-five pupils. In the Arabic College are two hundred students, one hundred and thirty-four of whom study English, and most of the remainder receive stipends. The Hoogly College has grown out of the Hoogly School, in which the English language was always a primary object. Having received endowments from a native gentleman, yielding annually 100,000 rupees, it has recently been thrown open to receive more pupils; and already fifteen hundred students have entered the "western department," that is, to study English, and English literature exclusively. About three hundred have entered to study English, in connection with Oriental literature; and two hundred to study Arabic and Persian exclusively.

A further evidence of the present demand for English, is seen in the operations of the Calcutta School-book Society. This institution prints elementary books, in all the languages required by schools in the presidency, at the cheapest possible rate; and from its depository, most schools are supplied, in whole or in part. The following summary of sales is from the last annual report, viz. :—

English.....	31,649	books.
Anglo-Asiatic (i. e. in the Roman Character).	4,525	"
Bengalee.....	5,754	"
Hindui.....	4,171	"
Hindustani.....	3,384	"
Persian.....	1,454	"
Oriya.....	834	"
Arabic.....	36	"
Sunscrit.....	16	"

With this impulse in favor of the English language, and European literature, has sprung up, chiefly through the same instrumentality, another, equally strong, in favor of using the Roman letters for Indian languages. I regard this as scarcely less important than the other, and have briefly handled the point in some remarks on "The mode of conducting missions," in Part IV

That the elements of society are not stagnant in Calcutta, and that light is breaking in upon the public mind, is evinced, among other proofs, by the present state of the native newspaper press. Formerly there was no such thing in the city; now there are seven or eight. Among them are "The Durpin," published in Bengalee and English, by nominal Christians, but somewhat neuter; the "Chundrika," strongly in favor of the entire idolatrous system; the "Cowmoodee," temperate and conciliatory, and rejecting the grosser Hindu superstitions, but decidedly polytheistic. The "Reformer," in the English language entirely, and the first newspaper conducted in English by natives, advocates the Vedant system, but is temperate. The "Inquirer," also in the English language, is the organ of the education party among the natives. The "Gyananeshun," wholly in the Bengal language, resolutely attacks the Brahminical order, and all the monstrous rites and ceremonies of the Hindus. There is another, published in the Persian language, which is conducted with considerable talent, but chiefly occupied with matter not generally interesting to Hindus or English. All these are in addition to the various newspapers, journals, and other periodicals published by Britons, of which there are not few, and several of them decidedly pure and religious in their character. For English readers there are several newspapers and magazines, and two medical journals. The Asiatic Society, founded in 1784, continues its elevated career, and annually renders important contributions to general, as well as Oriental science and literature. The Calcutta Christian Observer is an admirable monthly, sustained by all persuasions, and replete with information, not only on missionary, but scientific and literary subjects.

The Hindu and Mussulman religious edifices in Calcutta are few and mean; strongly contrasting with those in some other parts of the country, and with the stupendous pagodas and splendid zayats of the Burmans. The mosques resemble Oriental mauso'eums, seldom larger than a native's hut, and often not bigger than a dog-house. The dome is almost always semi-spherical, and generally the plaster, which covers the brick walls, is wrought into minute ornaments, of Arabesque tracery; not always tasteful, or even chaste. Tombs, both for Europeans and rich natives, are often so built, that natives might dwell in them very comfortably, and remind one of some passages in Scripture, where lunatics and others are said to live in tombs. They resemble handsome summer-houses, and afford all the shelter a Hindu desires, and much more than he often enjoys.

The conspicuousness of the late Ram Mohun Roy, and the eclat given for a time to the reformation, which he was supposed to be effecting, called me to his meeting with feelings of no ordinary interest. The Rev. Mr. Lacroix, to whom the language is perfectly familiar, kindly took me to the *Bromha Sobha*, as the congregation is called, and interpreted for me the substance of the various exercises. We found the place to be a commodious hall, in a respectable Hindu dwelling-house. There was no idol, or idolatrous representation, of any kind. On a small stage, raised about eighteen inches from the floor, handsomely carpeted, sat cross-legged two respectable-looking pundits. One side of the room was spread with clean cloths for the native attendants, who sat after the manner of the country; and on the other were chairs for the accommodation of strangers. In the centre, and opposite to the rostrum, lay some native musical instruments, and a violin. The room was well lighted, and the punkas of course waved overhead.

One of the pundits opened the services by reading Sanscrit, from a loose palm-leaf held in his hand, stopping at every two or three words, to expound and enforce. The subject was *knowledge* — what it was, and what it was not, &c. Abstract ethical questions were discussed, not unlike the fashion of the old scholastics; but no moral deductions were made, nor any thing said to improve the hearers. The whole discourse must have been unintelligible to most of them.

The other then read a discourse in Bengalee, consisting chiefly of explanations of their religious system, and encomiums on it. He particularly dwelt on its liberality; boasting that they quarrelled with no name or persuasion; and assuring us, that it was of no consequence whether we worshipped idols, Mahomet, Jesus Christ, or the Virgin Mary; that it was not possible to come to any certain knowledge respecting religious things; and that if any man believed his way to be right, that way was right for him. These discourses extended to about an hour; and the rest of the time, about another hour, was occupied with music. At the close of the preaching, professed musicians advanced to the instruments, and, seating themselves on the mats, put them in tune, with the usual amount of discord. Two of them then sang several hymns, with instruments accompanying it. The themes were the unity of the Divine Essence, and the various attributes of majesty and power. No one joined the strain, nor were there any books to enable them to do so. Nothing could be less reverent or devotional, than the manner of the musicians.

They looked about them with all possible self-complacency, making unmeaning gestures, bowing and blinking to each other, and vociferating with such a nasal twang, that it was a relief when they had finished. I thought it was literally such music as the poet speaks of—intended “to soothe savage breasts;” for certainly no other could well endure it.

On their retiring, a very different singer took the place, and proceeded for half an hour with great power of execution, and not a little taste. His voice was uncommonly fine. He accompanied himself skilfully on the native guitar. The violin had been well played from the beginning, and the music was now truly excellent, furnishing, I was informed, a fair specimen of the best Bengal art. The singer, as well as the violinist, is distinguished at the nautch entertainments of the city. The subject was still the attributes of God. The Bengalee language has, for this purpose, a noble advantage over ours, in numerous expressions derived from the Sunscrit, which utter in a *single word* what may be called the negative attributes, and which we cannot express with brevity; such as, “He that needs no refuge;” “He that is never perplexed;” “He that can never grow weary;” &c. The singer used these epithets with great majesty; using animated gestures, and with a countenance finely varying with the theme. At the close of this exercise, the assembly broke up.

No female was present, nor do any ever attend. Most of the congregation came in only in time to hear the music, and stood near the staircase, not without disorder. The number of the regular attendants was not over twenty. I am informed, thirty is the largest number ever present. The spectators were somewhat more numerous.

Few of the professed adherents are so confident of their rectitude, as to detach themselves wholly from the common religious customs, though more negligent in these matters than their neighbors. The very pundits officiate, not because converts to these opinions, (for such they do not profess to be,) but because regularly *paid* for their services. One of them, in his discourse this evening, expressly told us that there was no impropriety in worshipping idols—a doctrine which R. Roy would not admit. The musicians also are paid, and perform here for the same reasons that they do at a nautch, so that the whole concern is sustained by the money of a few friends, and descendants of R. Roy.

Such is the boasted reformation of Ram Mohun Roy. Not another congregation of his followers is found in all India! Of his labors as a reformer, this is the sum:—Fifty or a hundred

persons rendered negligent of the national religion, or gathered here because they were so before, without being a whit the better in their private life or public influence; in some cases, adding the sins of Europeans to those of their countrymen; without being disentangled from the horrid system of the Shasters; without being ready, or without the moral courage, to restore to their own wives and daughters the rights of human nature. With all the superiority to prejudice and custom, boasted by Ram Mohun Roy, he did nothing for the elevation of the sex.

A striking instance of this occurred, not very long since, in the case of D. T., one of his most intelligent followers. This gentleman is a partner in a European house, in the habit of mixing with European gentlemen, and evidently much more enlightened than most of his countrymen. Yet was he so much under the influence of Hindu public opinion, as to marry his daughter to a Ku-len Brahmin, for the purpose of elevating the family above the reproach occasioned by one of his ancestors, with many others, having been compelled to eat beef, by a Mahometan enemy named Per Ali. The young lady is well educated, reads and writes English, and is remarkably intelligent. The Brahmin is as ignorant as the rest of his class, and will probably marry others, as avarice or caprice may move him. Brahmins of this caste may marry *any number* of wives, but are not bound to live with them. They not unfrequently leave a wife after a few weeks, and never see her again. She is thus doomed to hopeless widowhood, merely to gratify the ambition of her family. Thus completely is Ram Mohun Roy's principal disciple under the influence of a thralldom which that great man professed to despise. A good school would have done more than all that has been accomplished by the Bromha Sobha. We should expect pupils who had become so far released from Hindu prejudice, to advance to a complete emancipation. But this people show no tendency to advance; they have long stood still; and every thing already wears an aspect of decrepitude and decay. What a monument of the entire inefficacy of unassisted reason, to ameliorate the religious condition of any people! Already may the undertaking of this truly great man be pronounced a failure; and soon all traces of it will be lost from earth.

R. Roy established a weekly newspaper, called the Reformer, which was intended chiefly to excite among those Hindus who understand English, a desire for improvement in their civil condition. It is yet continued, edited by an intelligent

native ; though incorporated now with a Calcutta paper, conducted by a European. It has often contained well-written papers against Churruck Pooja, Ku-len marriages, and the other abominations of the Hindu system, and is, doubtless, as at present conducted, a valuable journal.

R. Roy was not a Unitarian Christian, but a Unitarian Hindu. He believed that there was such a person as Jesus Christ, and that he was the best moral teacher the world ever saw ; but regarded his death as having no efficacy of atonement. His capacious mind, and extensive knowledge of the Shasters, impelled him to abhor the abominations of the Veda, and the monstrosities of its thirty-three millions of gods. But he found in the Vedanta Sar (an exposition of the four Vedas) a sort of Unitarianism, which he endeavored on all occasions to disseminate. The doctrine might as well be called pantheism ; for it maintains the old Pythagorean doctrine, that God is the soul of the world, and that every animal, plant, or stone, is therefore part of Deity. It makes perfect religion to consist in knowledge alone, or the realizing in every thing the Supreme Being ; and excludes ceremonies of all kinds.

There was formerly a Unitarian Christian congregation in Calcutta, established under the care of Rev. W. Adams, (previously a missionary,) who met for a short time at a private house. The first Sunday they had sixty or seventy persons present, the second fifty ; and soon only five attended. Mr. Adams, thus disconcerted, became the editor of a paper, and subsequently accepted an appointment under government, to visit various parts of India, and to report on the state of education in the interior. In this last capacity, he has acquired honorable distinction, and increasing usefulness. His reports are exciting great attention, and show not only unwearied industry, but superior talents.

The population of Calcutta is ascertained, by a census just taken, to be 229,000 within the ditch ; and 500,000 are supposed to reside in the immediate suburbs. Within a circuit of twenty miles, the population is generally set down at *two millions*. Of the number within the city, about 130,000 are Hindus, 60,000 Mussulmans, 3000 English, and 3000 Portuguese, or Indo-Britons ; the rest are French, Chinese, Armenians, Jews, Moguls, Parsees, Arabs, Mugs, Madrasees, &c. The whole number of houses is 66,000 ; of which nearly 15,000 are brick ; the rest are of mud or mats. Officers stationed at the principal avenues into the city,

found that about 100,000 persons enter daily from the surrounding villages ; chiefly sircars, clerks, servants, fruiterers, &c.

The means now in operation, for the education and religious instruction of this vast population, have in part been mentioned. That they are so great, is matter of devout thanksgiving and encouragement ; but their distressing inadequacy to the wants of such a multitude is obvious.

Society in Calcutta, like that of other places, where a large portion of the gentry live on stated salaries, has a tendency to extravagance. Most families live fully up to their income, and many, especially junior officers, go deeply in debt. The expenses of living are, in their chief points, as follows : — Servants' wages, from four to six rupees, without food or lodging ; rent of a small, plain house, fifty to eighty rupees a month ; rice, three and a half rupees a maund ; fowls, two to three annas each ; ducks, five to six annas apiece ; washing, three rupees per hundred pieces ; board and lodging of one person, per month, in a plain way, fifty rupees.

A few years since, the state of morals was generally bad, both in the city and Mofussil. Scarcely any officers or civil servants were pious, and the marriage tie seemed held in contempt. Gross immoralities are now more rare, and, where they exist, less shamelessly exposed. A considerable number of distinguished individuals, both in the civil and military service, are not only avowedly, but earnestly pious. The strong and constant resistance, lately made by the government of India to the spread of the gospel, is within the memory of every reader. This resistance was enforced and stimulated by almost every European resident, especially among the higher classes. They really believed, that to permit missionary operations, was to hazard their possession of the country ; and that violent commotions on the part of the people, would follow any attempt to overturn their religion. Now, the missionary, in every part of India, meets kind and respectful treatment from Europeans, and in many places liberal contributions are made toward their schools. It is found that the natives can hear their religion pronounced false, and even hold animated debates on the subject, without dreaming of revolt. No convulsions have ever resulted from evangelical labor, nor have any chiefs taken offence, on this account, against the government.

There is still room for great improvement, especially in regard to the observance of the Sabbath. Merchants, tradesmen, and

mechanics, generally, keep their people at work on that day as usual. Buildings go on, ship-yards resound with the hammer and axe, goods are borne through the streets, bazars are open, the gentry take their usual drive, and Sunday is as little discoverable by appearances as in Paris. The general reason given is, that the religion of the laborers is not infringed. But it should not be forgotten that the commandment is — “Thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor the strange, that is within thy gates.”

The state of religion, as we commonly understand that phrase, is very low. I attended most of the principal Protestant places of worship, and, by actual enumeration, found the largest audience not to exceed two hundred and fifty persons. Several of them were not more than one third that number. The church in the fort, being attended by troops, according to regulation, is full. The monthly concert of prayer is held unitedly by all the churches except one. At one of these meetings which I attended, only sixty persons were present, and in the other about eighty. During the week, there are few prayer-meetings; and those which I attended seldom had more than from six to ten persons present. I could not hear of a single Sunday School in the city. The announcement of the anniversaries of the Tract and Bible Societies awakened the most pleasing expectations; but at neither of them were there more than seventy-five persons present, beside the ministers.

Benevolent institutions are numerous, and generally supported with great liberality. Beside those which have been named, are the Bible Association, the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Association, the Diocesan Committee for promoting Christian Knowledge, the Auxiliary Missionary Society, the Bethel Union, the Seaman's Friend Society, the Military Orphan Society, the Military Widows' Fund, Lord Clive's Fund, the King's Military Fund, the Marine Pension Fund, the Civil Fund, the Mariners' and General Widows' Fund, the Presidency General Hospital, the Native Hospital, the Hospital for Native Lunatics, the Government Establishment for Vaccination, the Charitable Fund for the Relief of Distressed Europeans, the European Female Orphan Society.

Calcutta has sixteen Episcopal clergymen, viz., six Company's chaplains, two chaplains to institutions, two professors in Bishop's

College, and six Missionaries. There are also one Scotch Kirk chaplain, one pastor, and three missionaries of the Independent persuasion, two Scotch Presbyterians, and six Baptist missionaries, and several others; making, in all, with the bishop, mariners' minister, &c., about thirty-five Christian ministers, beside those of the Armenian, Greek, and Catholic churches.

There are in the city eleven Christian places of worship, generally large, where services are held every Sunday in English. Of these, five are Episcopal, two Baptist, one Scotch, one Independent, and a floating chapel, for seamen. There are also three Roman Catholic churches, one Armenian, and one Greek. At Howrah, Kidderpore, and other adjacent villages, preaching in English is also regularly maintained. Each of the Baptist churches have handsome brick meeting-houses. Mr. Yates is pastor in Circular Road; Mr. Robinson was, till recently, settled over Lallbazar, and Mr. Pearce over the Bengaleese. A vast printing-office and type foundry, gradually enlarged to its present dimensions at a cost of nearly \$100,000, with three excellent dwelling-houses, have been erected, without pecuniary aid from England, and chiefly through the profits on the printing-office. This establishment not only prints largely in English for government and individuals, but in all the written Oriental languages, and casts type in most of them. Six presses, on an average, are constantly employed in printing the Scriptures. Mr. Yates, beside officiating as English pastor, has acquired great celebrity for skill in Bengalee and Hindustance, and for his admirable revision of those versions. He seems raised up to complete the labors of Carey in these important translations. Many recollect with pleasure his visit to this country.

Beside the places of worship for foreigners, there are, in and around the city, various preaching bungalows and chapels for the natives. Of these, four are maintained by Episcopalians, four by Baptists, five by Independents, and one by the Scotch Kirk. Some of these are daily occupied, and, in general, with encouraging attendance.

I was several times present on these occasions, in different parts of the city, and was deeply interested with the decorum and earnestness of attention shown by the auditors. As a specimen of these occasions, I will describe one which I attended with the Rev. Mr. La Croix, a German missionary, who has acquired such a command of the Bengalee, as to be as much at

home in it as in his mother tongue. He devotes himself wholly to preaching and other evangelical labors, and unites great bodily vigor to untiring energy, and ardent interest in his work.

On arriving at the place, no one had assembled; but no sooner were we seated, than some passers-by began to collect, and the number gradually increased, during the services, to seventy or eighty. Some sat down, but the greater part remained standing, and scarcely advanced beyond the door. For a while, the preacher went on expounding and arguing, without interruption; but at length some well-dressed persons proposed objections, and but for the skill of the missionary, the sermon would have degenerated into a dispute. The objections showed not only acuteness, but often considerable knowledge of the Christian Scriptures. Some countenances evinced deep anxiety. Sometimes there was a general murmur of applause, when strong arguments were advanced, or satisfactory expositions given. At the close of the meeting, many accepted tracts, selecting such as they had not seen before. One of the most venerable hearers, and a chief speaker, approached us as we came away, and pronounced upon us, in his own manner, but very solemnly, a cordial benediction; declaring, at the same time, that what we advanced was all good; that, no doubt, Christianity was the best religion, but that too many difficulties were yet in the way, to permit him and his countrymen to embrace it. I am sure no Christian could be present on these occasions without being satisfied of the importance of maintaining these efforts, and cheered to exertions for their extension.*

I attended worship, on several occasions, at Rev. W. H. Pearce's native chapel; and was highly gratified, not only with the number present, and their deportment, but especially with the psalmody. All united, with great animation, in this delightful part of Christian worship.

* There is the fullest evidence that the Hindu system has received, in Bengal, a great check. Few of the numerous individuals who have received education in the missionary and government schools, retain confidence in the system of their fathers. A smattering of geography and astronomy, is itself sufficient to break the power of the prevailing belief on the mind of the pupil. Multitudes are convinced that their system is wrong, who are yet retained in the ranks of idolatry or Mahometanism by a fear, lest possibly, the faith of their fathers may be best for them, and a want of principle, sufficient to encounter opposition and suffering. But their stated observances are coldly rendered; their children are not brought up with the old enthusiasm for the national faith; and a thousand acts and expressions apprise those children of their parents' true sentiments. These, together with the numerous youths who are receiving education from Europeans, already form a considerable body of the

The name of Serampore is so intimately associated with the history of modern missions, especially those of the Baptist denomination, that I of course spent some time there. A pleasant ride of fifteen miles brought me to Barrackpore, a military station on the river side opposite to Serampore, and the seat of the governor-general's country residence. The road is bordered with fine trees the whole distance, and the country, as far as the eye can reach, is in high cultivation. Many laborers were ploughing — an operation which stirs up but a couple of inches of soil, and would call forth the surprise and contempt of a New-England farmer. The plough costs but fifty cents, and the miniature oxen which draw it, but five dollars the pair. The latter are generally marked all over with lines and circles, burnt upon their skin. The view of Serampore from the river, is exceedingly attractive. The same architecture which prevails at Calcutta, gives the houses the appearance of elegant marble villas; and the huge college, with its superb columns, confers dignity on the whole scene. The river is here about eight hundred or a thousand yards wide, placid, and full of boats.

The population of Serampore is fifteen thousand. About one hundred of the houses are designed for Europeans, but nearly half of them are empty. I was kindly received by the venerable survivor of that noble triumvirate, which will never be forgotten while missions retain an advocate. Though in his sixty-ninth year, Dr. Marshman's eye is not dim, nor his step slow. He leads the singing at family worship, with a clear and full voice; preaches with energy; walks rapidly several miles every morning, and devotes as many hours every day to study, as at any former period. His school for boys, and Mrs. M.'s for girls, are continued, though less lucrative than hitherto, from the number of similar ones now established in the country.

Every walk through the town and its environs, presents objects which awaken tender and serious thought. There is the Ghaut, where, thirty-six years ago, Marshman and his family landed, friendless and discouraged by the opposition of the Company's government. There, twenty-four years ago, landed Harriet Newell and Ann H. Judson, whose feet now tread the starry plain. And up those steps, for many years, mission-

rising generation. Brahmins are not venerated as heretofore. I have often seen the sacred thread over the shoulders of common sepoy, market-men, mechanics, and door-keepers.

aries of all names and parties have ascended, to receive a fraternal welcome to India.

Close by are part of the foundations of the houses of Carey and Ward, long since overturned by the encroachments of the river. Further down is the printing-office, whence so many thousands of thousands of portions of the word of God, in languages spoken by *more than half the pagan world*, have been produced. Still further is the college, a superb and vast edifice, the principal hall of which is said to be the largest in India. It is a chaste and noble building, constructed of the most durable materials throughout. The staircases are of ornamental cast iron, imported from England at great expense. Its library is exceedingly valuable, and contains the immense collection of dried botanic specimens by Dr. Carey. Connected with the institution are about one hundred pupils, but for the most part young, and studying only preparatory branches. At this time, there are but two regular students in the college proper. The building was erected when there were no similar institutions in India, and shows the capacious plans and noble spirit of its founders. But the starting up of so many schools of similar character, and other causes, have prevented the expected accession of students. There is reason to hope that the active operation of the numerous elementary schools in the vicinity will, ere long, create a race of scholars prepared to proceed in the elevated course of studies intended to be here pursued.

In the rear of the college are two professors' houses, in one of which Carey spent his last years. The room in which he died called up indescribable sensations, and I trust wrought improvement upon my spirit. Behind is the extensive botanic garden, where that wonderful man, by way of relaxation, gathered a vast collection of trees, flowers, fruits, and vegetables, from every part of India, and from whence he diffused a taste for natural science, which is now yielding invaluable results.

A handsome church was built in the town, by the Danish government, many years ago; but no chaplain has ever been appointed, and the missionaries have always officiated there. They have, beside this, a commodious chapel of their own, where worship is performed on week days and Sunday evenings, and a considerable church of natives. A mile and a half from town is another.

A little to the north of the town, in a calm and retired spot, is the mission grave-yard, surrounded with palm groves. It con-

tains about an acre, enclosed with a good brick wall; and along its nice gravel walks are mahogany trees, set at proper distances. The monument for Ward is a circular pavilion, beautiful and chaste, with a suitable inscription on one side, read from within. Carey's is a plain cenotaph, built many years ago, for some of his family, and now bearing additional inscriptions for himself and his widow. His own epitaph, by his express direction, is merely this:—

WILLIAM CAREY,

BORN 17TH OF AUGUST, 1761

DIED 9TH OF JUNE, 1834.

*"A wretched, poor, and helpless worm,
On thy kind arms I fall."*

Mrs. Carey, his third wife, died about a year after her husband. Mr. Ward's widow survived him ten years. Carey's son is now a missionary in the upper provinces. Ward left two daughters, both of whom are pious, and have been married several years.

This mission was commenced in 1793. Its history is too well known to leave me the necessity of describing it, or dwelling on its fruits. It was the commencement of those grand operations, which we trust the church will never relinquish till the earth be filled with the knowledge of the Lord. With the exception of what had been done in the Tamul and Malayalim languages, the whole of India was then entirely destitute of the Scriptures in their vernacular tongues. Few in number, and sustained by their own resources, the missionaries have given the world the whole Bible in Sanscrit, Chinese, Bengalee, Hindu, Mahratta, Oriya, Sikh, Pushtu or Afghan, Cashmere, and Assamee; and the New Testament in the Gujeratee, Kunkun, Multanee, Bikaner Bhugulcund, Maruar, Nepaul, Harotee, Kanoja, Mugudh, Oojuyi-ne, Jumbo, Bhutneer, Munipore, Bruj, Kemaon, Shree-nagur, and Palpa; beside portions of the New Testament in various other languages. Some of these versions have been repeatedly revised, and successive editions printed.

There are now eighteen mission stations, and twenty-two churches, connected with Serampore; at which are laboring five Europeans, and twenty-two Indo-Britons, with twenty-five native preachers and catechists. Of the eleven members which constituted the first church in India, Mr. Marshman and wife alone remain.

The late transfer of the printing-office, and steam paper-mill,

to Mr. John C. Marshman, has been matter of much discussion, and seems not clearly understood. The explanation given me on the spot amounted to this: Some years before Dr. Carey's death, the concern was deemed bankrupt. The printing-office, paper-mill, and other property, valued at about 126,000 rupees, was made over, in fee simple, to Mr. J. C. M. in consideration of his assuming all the debts. To whom these debts are due, and for what, and what portion has been paid, were not mentioned, and I felt unauthorized to ask. It is much to be regretted that this transfer was not made public, till so long after its execution, and till Carey was no more. No one could so satisfactorily have explained the matter to the public. The controversy is now useless, as a question of property. The lots and buildings are reduced to a value almost nominal. Since the place ceased to be an asylum for debtors, who fled hither from the British territories, it has constantly decayed. At this moment Mr. J. C. M. is about to remove the printing-office to a new building of his own, not on the Society's land, and the old office is almost a ruin. One dwelling-house, now in good order, and valuable, is nearly the sum of all the English Society's acknowledged property.

One thing is certain — that there have seldom appeared men so disinterested as Carey, Marshman, and Ward. Carey received, for upwards of thirty years, more than five hundred dollars a month, as professor in the College of Fort William, and Bengalee translator to government. Ward earned equally large sums in the printing-office, as did Mr. and Mrs. Marshman by their school. Yet, as Dr. M. assured me, they ate at a common table, and drew from the common fund only the paltry sum of twelve rupees per month each! The rest went for the support of out-stations, casting types, and the translating and printing of the sacred Scriptures. The expense of the Chinese version alone, for pundits, types, &c., exceeded a hundred thousand dollars!

The agreement made at an early period, by the Serampore brethren, one with another, and published to the world, is worthy of all praise; especially the following extract: "Let us give ourselves up unreservedly to this glorious cause. Let us never think that our time, our gifts, our strength, our families, or even the clothes we wear, are our own. Let us sanctify them all to God and his cause. O that he may sanctify us for his work! Let us forever shut out the idea, of laying up a covey for ourselves or our children. If we give up the resolution which was formed on the subject of private trade, when we first united at Serampore, the mission is from that hour a lost cause. A world-

ly spirit, quarrels, and every evil work, will succeed, the moment it is admitted that each brother may do something on his own account. Woe to that man who shall ever make the smallest movement toward such a measure. Let us continually watch against a worldly spirit, and cultivate a Christian indifference towards every indulgence. Rather let us bear hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ, and endeavor to learn in every state to be content."

Never were there more laborious men than the Serampore missionaries, and never shall we see stronger temptations to amass wealth, relinquished for the cause of Christ. The arrangement for drawing six dollars a month for personal expenses was discontinued in 1817, and each drew what he needed; but neither of them laid up property for himself. Carey died without leaving his widow any thing. Ward left only about five thousand dollars, the proceeds of his *private* property, put to interest on his first leaving England. Marshman is known to be poor; and his style of living, now at least, is more frugal than that of almost any other missionary I saw in Hindustan. Many of his measures are generally disapproved, but his diligence and true greatness must stand confessed. It cannot be said the glory of Serampore is departed. Though it has now become a mere unit among missions, its history will ever be one of the brightest pages in the records of modern benevolence. The benefits it has produced are lasting as the world. It has been swallowed up in more diffused endeavors, like the morning star giving place to day, — swallowed up in brighter light.



Bengal Mode of Churning.

CHAPTER II.

Madras — Catamarans — Difficulty of Landing — Black Town — Esplanade — Population — Illustrations of Scripture — State of Religion — Catholics — Teloogeois — Travelling by Palankeen — Pondicherry — Cuddalore — Tranquebar — Combaconum — Tanjore — Kohlhoff — Swartz — Trichinopoly — Heber — Seringham — Slavery in Hindustan — Idolatry supported by Government — Brahmins and Brahminism — Progressive Poverty of the Country — Modern languages of Hindustan.

A VOYAGE of fourteen days, in a small trading vessel, without a white face in it but my own, brought me to anchor in the roads of Madras, January 26, 1837. It was a fortnight of great discomfort; but I could not waive my rule of going in the first vessel when my work at any place was done. Generally, if an opportunity is allowed to pass in India, weeks and even months elapse before the occurrence of another. Our captain, in this case, was a quiet native of Chittagong, and, though he had no means of ascertaining longitude, made a short and safe voyage by dead reckoning. By taking such a vessel, instead of an European, I saved three fourths of the customary price of passage.

There being no indentation of the coast, nor any island to break off the sea, a heavy swell rolls in throughout the year. Vessels anchor in the open roads; the large ones keeping a mile or two from shore. The swell keeps them pitching and rolling, as uncomfortably as when at sea. The danger is so great, during the south-west monsoon, that vessels are not allowed to lie here for several months in the year, and the anchorage seems deserted. Cargoes are loaded and unloaded, by boats adapted for passing through the surf. Among the first objects that struck me, were the *catamarans*, gliding in every direction. These are exactly like a New England stone-sled. Three flattened timbers, eight or ten feet long, are tied together horizontally, and sharpened a little at the point. One or two men propel it with a paddle, flattened at both ends, and dip first on one side, and then on the other. They sit on the calves of their legs, with the toes inward, and in this position, which is the only one the case admits, they often remain for hours. The water, of course, comes up between the timbers, and washes over the little raft, so that the men are kept wet to the middle. If they would carry

any articles dry, which is seldom attempted, they construct a high pile of bushes in the centre. When no boat could live five minutes, these catamarans go about in perfect safety. The men are often washed off; but instantly leap on again without alarm. A water-proof cap, for the carriage of letters to and from newly-arrived vessels, is almost their only article of dress. The rest is but a strip of cotton cloth, two or three inches wide, fastened, front and rear, to a twine tied round the hips.

Landing seemed so difficult, though the weather was fine, that it was hard to conceive how goods could be conveyed without getting wet. Yet these boatmen do it, and display energy and skill scarcely to be surpassed. Keeping time to a rude tune, they now take long pulls, and now short ones, as the waves run past; they at length push the boat forward on a foaming surf, and she is thrown upon the beach. As it recedes, some jump out with the ropes, and, at every returning wave, get her a little higher, till she lies still upon the sand. The operation is sufficiently disagreeable, especially to the timid. The passenger is not only almost thrown from his seat, by the heavy and repeated striking of the boat upon the beach, but is generally well sprinkled by the breakers dashing against her before she can be hauled up sufficiently. The boats are large and deep, made, without ribs or timbers, of thin, wide planks, warped by fire to a proper shape, and fastened together by strong twine. Against the seams, straw and mud are fastened strongly, by the twine which ties the planks together. No nails are used, for none could keep a boat together with such thumping.

The city presents, from the sea, nothing to create large expectations. Only a few public buildings are visible, and not much of the town, as the site is quite level. It is, however, a noble city, and has many fine streets. The Black town, so called from the color of the natives, who reside there, is well laid out, and is defended by a substantial brick wall. The houses are far better, on an average, than those of the natives in Calcutta. Though there are not so many fine residences of rich Baboos, as in that city, there are some scarcely surpassed in elegance by any in America.

A space of several miles in the rear of the Black-town is occupied by the Europeans. Their houses are not placed in rows, but scattered about, and embosomed in gardens and shrubbery. Trees are planted in rows along the principal avenues, and the number of pleasant drives surpasses those of any city I have yet seen in the East.

The fort is on the shore south of the Black-town, with a large open space between, reserved as an esplanade. On the margin of this opening, next to the sea, and also below the fort, is the fashionable evening drive. Here, weary of lassitude or labor, come all the gentry to enjoy the freshness and glory of sunset. The rushing of the ceaseless surf—the numerous vessels, of varied make—the cool sea breeze—the majestic ocean—the wide sweep of western sky—the superb equipages—the cheerful faces—and the cordial greetings—make it every way charming. In going to “the course,” you meet, along the less pretending roads, merchants on their camels, Arabs on their steeds, Burmans and Moguls on their ponies, native gentle-



Hindu Gentleman's Carriage.

men in their handsome bullock carriages; while the sircars, &c. are drawn by a single ox, in an indescribable sort of wheelbarrow, or are borne in palankeens.

While in this city, famous for snake-charmers, I sent for some to show me their skill. They brought a boa constrictor, and several cobra de capels; the latter being, as is known, highly venomous, and generally fatal. They were in shallow baskets, coiled up as close as possible. The keeper had a simple flageolet; on hearing a few notes of which, the snake gracefully erected half its length, and spread out its beautiful head and neck to

a breadth of several inches. The keeper sometimes ceased his music, and irritated the creature with his hand; which it bit violently, but without injury, its fangs having been extracted.

These men are often employed to draw forth from their holes snakes which infest gardens and old buildings. Playing on their flageolet, they pass round the suspected places, and if serpents be there, are sure to bring them forth. Without permitting the music to cease, an attendant seizes the snake by the tail, and whirls it round so rapidly that it cannot bite; sliding one hand up gradually, till he gets it firmly by the neck; then, taking a little stone or shell, he crushes out the fangs, and puts it in his basket or bosom, and carries it away. The transaction forcibly reminds one of the passage, Psalm lviii. 5, which compares the wicked, who persist in their ways in spite of counsel or entreaty, to serpents that will not be charmed. This text, as well as Jeremiah viii. 17, where Jehovah threatens to send among Israel "serpents which will not be charmed," shows that the trade of these men is of no recent date.

The population of Madras, including all the villages within several miles, is generally reckoned at 420,000. But a census made in 1823 gave only 27,000 houses. This, at seven inhabitants to a house, would make the population about 190,000. Large spaces, even within the walls, are wholly vacant. Allowing for houses omitted in the census, the population is perhaps 200,000. There are populous villages in the neighborhood, containing 100,000 more. One of the most striking peculiarities in the town is the universality with which males and females, old and young, bear upon their foreheads, arms, and breasts, the marks peculiar to their religion, or sect of it.* Some have a red

* Those know little of the world, who advance the existence of sects as an objection to Christianity. Over all Hither India, the same books are held sacred; yet the community is divided into many sects, holding their preferences with bitter zeal and exclusiveness. Brahma has no followers, because, as the supreme God, he is above all concern with mortals. Vishnu and Siva have each their sects, and even these are far from harmony. The worshippers of Vishnu are divided into twenty sects; those of Siva into nine. There are four sects who adore Doorga, and ten devoted to various other objects, which, with some subdivisions, swell the number of Hindu sects to nearly *seventy!* Collisions, among these, are perpetual and rancorous. At Hurdwar, and many other places, scenes of violence and bloodshed invariably occur at the great annual festivals. The feuds of similar kind which prevail among Mussulmans, are well known, and the bloody character of their conflicts. It was thus also with Jews. Even the followers of Zoroaster, are stated by Gibbon to have been

or blue spot on their forehead; others blue, red, white, or yellow perpendicular lines; others, horizontal lines. Some, in addition to these, have ashes or clay rubbed in lines on their arms and breast. I could not help recurring continually to that text, (Deuteronomy xxxii. 5,) "Their spot is not the spot of his children." The allusion is doubtless to a similar custom. These marks are shown in the picture of a native woman carrying water page 223 and of a Brahmin, page 278. The former shows also the costume and ornaments of women in the lower classes, as I saw them in the street. The highest classes wear much the same, but of far costlier materials.

Men of distinction have servants running before; and at least two always run beside the carriage. Even persons on horseback are never without one of these runners, who is called *syce*. It is astonishing how long these men, accustomed to the business from childhood, can endure. The rider never slacks his pace on their account, and they keep up during the whole drive. For a long time, the sight of these poor men destroyed the pleasure of my rides. They, however, do nothing else, and their labor, on the whole, is certainly far less than that of a mechanic with us.

The incident of Elijah running before the chariot of Ahab, (1 Kings xviii. 46,) has been continually brought to recollection by this custom, wherever I have been in India. He had assumed an attitude of great grandeur, in mocking the national faith before the king, and denouncing his sins before all the people; and, after so long a famine, he had now been praying for rain, and already the heavy thunder announced rescue to a starving nation. But in all these honors was he proud? Was he disposed to refuse his lawful king the proper homage of a subject? He would let all Israel see how he honored the ruler of his people, and how far he was from vain-glory amid such triumphs. Gathering his robes about him, therefore, and mixing with those who ran before the king, he did nothing out of the way, nothing for effect, nothing in the least supernatural; but testified, in the happiest manner, not merely his own humility, but that even a wicked king had ceremonial claims, which a good subject should not deny.

divided into seventy sects, in the time of Artaxerxes. The truth is, man will have diversity of opinions, to the extent that opinion is free. Despotism alone makes unity in such matters

My stay in Madras extended from January 26 to March 17th, 1837, including journeys into the interior. The weather, during this period, was truly delightful. Instead of remarks, resulting from my own experience, I transcribe a table, showing the highest and lowest state of the thermometer, and the mean temperature, for every month in the year :—

January.....	Max.	86.	Min.	65.	Mean height.	75.5.
February...	"	87.	"	66.	"	77.8.
March.....	"	90.	"	69.	"	80.7.
April.....	"	94.	"	75.	"	83.7.
May.....	"	99.	"	78.	"	86.
June.....	"	98.	"	79.	"	88.4.
July.....	"	95.	"	73.	"	85.
August....	"	93.	"	72.	"	84.6.
September.	"	92.	"	72.	"	83.
October....	"	91.	"	70.	"	82.
November..	"	87.	"	67.	"	78.
December..	"	84.	"	65.	"	76.

The state of religious feeling in Madras, at this time at least, is little better than in Calcutta. The concert of prayer, which is held, *unitedly*, at different churches in rotation, was held, while I was there, at the Scotch kirk. One city minister only, was present, and but thirty-five other persons ; though the evening was delightful. The services were just those of public worship, so that it could not with propriety be called a *prayer-meeting*. But religion seems to be exerting its blessed influence in the city more and more, and recently there have been among the troops in the fort, some forty or fifty cases of conversion.

I was happy to find several Sunday schools, though only that of the Wesleyans seems flourishing.

This city is the seat of several missions, by various societies in England and America. There are Episcopal, Scotch, Independent, and Wesleyan churches, with excellent places of worship, where pastors are regularly settled, who conduct services in the English language. Beside the bishops and six Company's chaplains, there are fifteen missionaries, Episcopal, Scotch, Wesleyan, and American, beside several who support themselves, and are not connected with any board. Of all the regular missionaries, there are but three who are devoted wholly to the natives. The rest preach in English, or take charge of schools, printing, agencies, &c. There are also in Madras fourteen

Catholic priests, and congregations of Armenians, Jews, &c. Some thousands of native youth are gathered into schools under missionary superintendence, and several printing establishments are owned by the missionary boards. The language of the region is Tamul, and in this, there are printed the whole Old and New Testaments, and two hundred tracts, beside the Pilgrim's Progress, Ayah and her Lady, Swartz's Dialogues, &c. Many of these publications, however, need revision, and many are wanted on other subjects.

As regards Christianity among the natives, Madras is behind Calcutta. I inquired of several ministers, and most of the missionaries, but no one knew the state or number of native converts. The nominal Christians are few. As to real converts, one missionary thought there were but two or three in the whole city and suburbs! Another thought there were not half a dozen, at the utmost. No one supposed there were more than that number. Some hundreds have been baptized, with their children; and many have grown up who were baptized in infancy; but the conduct of this body is not always honorable to the cause. Of the Catholics, there are some thousands; but they are distinguished from the heathen, it is said, not by better morals or manners, but only by not smearing their bodies and faces with idolatrous marks.

I had the pleasure of attending the anniversary meetings of the Wesleyan Mission, the Madras Bible Society, &c. They brought me into a pleasing acquaintance with many missionaries from distant stations, and thus enabled me to enlarge my stock of official memoranda.

I was particularly pleased with the Wesleyan plan of having a second anniversary for the natives, in which the services and speeches were in Tamul. The body of the chapel, cleared of the settees, was well filled with natives, who sat, after their fashion, on the floor. They behaved with perfect decorum, and listened with attention. It certainly is a plan happily calculated to enlighten and improve the converts, while it instructs and informs the heathen.

A case has recently occurred, which has excited a great interest among the natives, far and near. Arumuga Tambiran, (literally, the six-faced god,) a distinguished devotee, has been converted to Christianity. He is now very old, having been for fifty years a prominent pilgrim and teacher. Dressed in a yellow robe, the sacred beads round his neck, smeared with ashes and clay, and bearing the various insignia of his high station, he

made pilgrimages to many and distant places of distinguished sanctity, and was every where received with profound veneration. Eleven others, who had begun this course with him, had died. Scarcely any man, far and near, stood so high as Arumuga. His very appellation — *Tambiran* — struck awe to the bosom of every Hindu; for “Tambirans rank higher than Brahmins, and inferior only to the invisible gods.”* His public baptism, last August, has created a strong sensation through the entire peninsula. Being a poet, he has written several pieces, which have been printed in large quantities, and are sought after with great avidity; this being the style of the sacred books. His case, however, is an additional evidence, that though the people are disposed to ask if any of the great have believed on Christ, yet that such an event has little other visible effect than transient wonder.

At Cudapah, the London Missionary Society have another station, occupied by Rev. Mr. Howell, an Indo-Briton. He has baptized one hundred and fifty persons, (adults and children,) and settled them on lands owned by the mission. The houses cost eight or ten rupees each. Each family is expected to pay its own taxes, and support itself. He has three schools; one for Christian children, and two for heathen. A few of the baptized, probably twenty, Mr. H. hopes, are really converted. The rules binding on nominal Christians, are, to attend worship every morning and evening at the school-house; to attend public worship on Sunday, and two evenings in the week; to settle their disputes before a committee of five brethren, and not go to law; to send their children to school, &c.

At Bellary, in the northern part of Mysore, a mission was begun, in 1810, by the London Missionary Society. Strictly, this is a Canarese mission; but Rev. Mr. Reed has acquired an extensive knowledge of the Telooگو language, and has translated and written in it to some extent. He occasionally labors personally among the Telooگوs, who form about a third of the citizens.

The whole Bible is translated into Telooگو; and the New Testament, Genesis, Exodus, Psalms, and Isaiah are printed. The remainder of the Old Testament will be printed at the London Missionary Society's press at Bellary, but how soon, is uncertain. Thirty tracts are printed; but some of them are very poor. A large supply might be advantageously distributed; but the Tract Society of Madras is feeble, even with considerable aid from the parent society in London.

* Dr. Francis Buchanan.

The language is confessedly difficult of acquisition, but has many beauties, and bears a strong resemblance to the Sanscrit. Missionaries now have the aid of an excellent grammar and dictionary, beside translations of Scripture and tracts. Two translations have been made of the New Testament, one by the Serampore missionaries, and the other by Mr. Pritchard, of the London Missionary Society.

The only mode of inland travelling, in India, is by palankeen; and, in the hot season, at night only. Bungalows are built, by government, on some principal roads, where travellers may spend the day, and where a servant is retained, who gets what you require to eat. They are, generally, comfortable brick houses, having several apartments, and furnished with chairs, tables, and sometimes bedsteads.

In this part of India, a "set of bearers" consists of twelve men; ten to carry the palankeen, one cooley to carry the bag-



Palankeen Travelling.

gage, and a *musalche*. Six bearers carry at a time, and four trot along to take their turns, and relieve the others, about every quarter of a mile. The *cooley* carries the baggage in tin boxes, made for the purpose, called *banguy* boxes, suspended from a pole on the shoulder. The *musalche*, or torch-bearer, has a hard roll of rags, four or five feet long, as thick as one's wrist, and oil in a copper goblet, with a very small mouth. When he trims his lamp, he has only to knock off the snuff against a tree, and pour on a little more oil—a process which reminds one constantly of the parable of the virgins. Every traveller is obliged to have his own palankeen, in which he takes his carpet-bag, and some books, etc., hanging on the outside his tea-kettle, hat-box, and goblet of drinking-water. Notwithstanding the loss of time incurred by changing hands so frequently, your speed

averages about four miles an hour; often more. In travelling post, as I did, fresh bearers are had every twelve or fifteen miles. By starting when the sun gets low, and not stopping till eight or nine o'clock next morning, you may go sixty or seventy miles of a night. On roads where no bearers are posted, and where special expedition is not wanted, a single set of bearers is employed, who go journeys of any length, and average thirty miles a day, travelling either in the day or night, as you prefer. I chose to travel by night, not only because the sun was oppressive, but because it prevented loss of time, and gave me the day to be with missionaries at the different stations.

On two or three occasions, I was obliged to spend the day at bungalows, and greatly enjoyed the cool quietude of these resting-places. The solitude was delightful, and refreshing to my spirit, as well as advantageous in enabling me to bring up arrearages in memorandums.

This mode of conveyance has indeed the advantage of a recumbent posture; but the motion was to me excessively wearisome, and, with some bearers, even painful. I liked a palankeen in Calcutta very well, where the bearers are accomplished, and the distances short. But this hasty journey of five hundred miles wore me out, so that I could scarcely stand. The expense with post-bearers is twenty-five cents per mile, which, though dear for the traveller, is an extremely small sum to be divided among fourteen men, who have also to walk back again; making their pay but about a cent per mile for each, for very severe labor. To take one set of bearers for a whole journey, costs less.

Leaving Madras, February 13, 1837, I proceeded from forty to sixty miles each night. The road led through Villacherry, Caliahaucum, Trepaloor, Allatoor, Maubilveram, Sadras, Alumparva, Canjimere, Collacoopum, Pondicherry, Cuddalore, Poon-diacoopum, Chillumbrum, Sheally, Myaveram, Trivellungaud, Combaconum, Paupanasum, and numerous smaller towns; and across the rivers Paular, or Palaur, Cunnabaur, Gaddelum, Pet-tanaur, Vellaur, Coleroon, Câvery, &c. Several of these are mouths of the Câvery.

The first stage kept us along the seaside, every surge laving the bearers' feet, and my old acquaintance, Ocean, the only object of my regard. The rest of the way is through a wild and poor country, though with many towns and villages. Immediately around Pondicherry, and all the country from thence to Tanjore, is a garden. From Tanjore to Trichinopoly, is a

desert, which extends, in a broad stripe, to Cape Comorin. The district of country through which this road carried me, forms the central portion of the Carnatic, and comprehends the former dominions of the nabob of Arcot. It came under the British power in 1801.

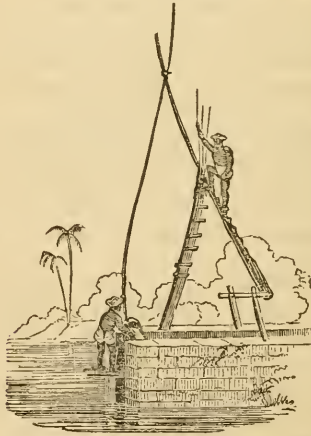
A few hours were devoted to a rapid survey of Pondicherry; reputed to be much the handsomest town in India. No native huts disfigure the streets, as these are all placed separately in the suburbs. There is but little business now done here, and but one foreign vessel lay in the roadstead. The Jesuits have a college and a church here, and the Capuchins a church. Many of the natives have adopted the Catholic faith; but it has done little for their improvement. The French are prohibited, by treaty, from keeping many troops, and the whole city looks silent and languishing.

Cuddalore, on the Panaur, fifty-two miles from Pondicherry, is the first station on this route where there are English. It is one of the great stations where soldiers are placed, who, from having married native women, or other causes, choose to remain in the country after serving out their time, or becoming invalids. A few effective troops also are stationed here. The Episcopal chaplain, Rev. Mr. Hallowell, received me with great kindness, in the absence of the missionary. The invalids and pensioners are obliged to attend worship, and with the gentry, form a large and attentive congregation. The missionary, Rev. Mr. Jones, devotes himself to the natives. This was a station of the Christian Knowledge Society so early as 1737, but has not been constantly occupied. Mr. Jones arrived in 1834, and is able to preach in the vernacular. He found Mr. Rosen's church, and ten schools, which Mr. Hallowell had superintended for five years. He has baptized some adults, and many children, and increased the number of schools. One of these is for girls. The whole now contain 540 children. Mr. Jones has two Tamul services on the Sabbath, and two in the week. The congregation consists chiefly of nominal Christians. They amount to more than three hundred, among whom are many of the native wives of European soldiers.

Though I passed within an hour or two of Tranquebar, it seemed of no use to visit it, as there is now almost no visible effect of missionary labor there. Nor is there any missionary, the last one having accepted the office of chaplain to government. A few of the schools are continued by government; but

there are only three hundred nominal Christians, and the mission is entirely relinquished. The causes of this total abrogation of a long-established mission deserve investigation. Abundant materials exist, as to the history of the men and measures; and the question is of great importance. It is the opinion of some of the best-informed persons in that region, that many of the missionaries have been unconverted men. If such be the fact, the wonder ceases.

A more beautiful country than that from Cuddalore to Tanjore can hardly be imagined. The dense population and rich soil give their energies to each other, and produce a scene of surpassing loveliness. But the taxes, and other causes, keep down the laborers to a state below that of southern slaves. The labor of carrying agriculture to perfection, under a cloudless sky, wholly by artificial irrigation, is, of course, immense. The water is obtained, either from the river by small canals, or from tanks and wells by pecottas.



A Pecotta.

The mechanism for the latter mode is simple and easy. A pole, like that to New England wells, is fixed on an upright beam, and worked by two men, one of whom walks a few steps backward and forward on the pole, and the other guides the bucket. The same plan is common in all parts of India. The water rushes through troughs into channels, which lead to every bed. Another man passes along the field or garden, and, after

suffering a proper quantity of water to flow upon a bed, scrapes with his hand a little soil into that channel, and leads the water into another — passing thus from bed to bed, till the whole is watered. The services of a watering-pot would be wholly inadequate, in a climate so hot, and without rain.

Such a practice is doubtless alluded to, Prov. xxi. 1, where it is said of God's easy control of human hearts, that "he turneth them as the rivers [rivulets] of water."

As there is always power enough, in a tropical sun, to produce vegetation, moisture alone is necessary to constant cropping. Districts, therefore, furnished as this is, with tanks and rivers, present continually all the varieties of seasons in Europe. The eye wanders over large fields, in some parts of which men are ploughing, in others planting, and in others harvesting, at the same time. Each field is divided, as in our own rice-growing districts, into small compartments, separated by a narrow mound of earth, about a foot high. On any one of these the water is turned at pleasure, while the rest are dry; and every stage of the process, and of the growth of the grain, is seen at once. Most of the lands are cropped twice a year; sometimes with rice, but more frequently with rice first, and then some other grain or pulse.

The scene is beautiful; but squalid poverty and miserable mendicants constantly obtrude, and remind one of Pope's lines —

"In vain kind seasons swell the teeming grain;
Soft showers distil, and suns grow warm in vain:
The swain, with tears, his frustrate labor yields,
And, famished, dies amidst his ripened fields."

At Combaconum I found a London missionary, Mr. Nimmo, successor to Mr. Crisp. The city contains forty thousand inhabitants, and was the capital of the ancient Chola dynasty, from which the whole coast of Coromandel (corruption of *Cholamandel*) received its name. It is distinguished among Hindus for its sanctity, and is one of idolatry's strongest holds in Southern India; though missionary labors have here been carried forward by Protestants for more than seventy years. Great numbers of the inhabitants are of the Brahmin caste. The pagodas, gateways, and tanks are very fine.

The chief cause of the celebrity of this seat of idolatry is the general belief that one of its great tanks is filled, every twelfth

year, by the waters of the Ganges, which enter by a subterranean passage. Thousands of people, unable to go so far as Bengal, rush hither, from all parts of Southern India, at these favored times, and bring vast profit to the Brahmins. The efficacy of the water is deemed sufficient, at these times, to wash away, from all who bathe in it, all manner of sin and impurity, even though contracted in many former transmigrations. Papists are numerous in this region, and add much to the difficulties of a missionary.

The station has not been without fruit; and some souls have evidently been born of God. The Danish missionaries at one time had a congregation of five hundred persons. But, among other causes, frequent intermissions of labor, by the death or removal of the missionary, have been very pernicious. Mr. Nimmo settled here in 1833, and has two hundred nominal Christians (that is, baptized persons) under his care, and a church of twelve members. Besides the chapel in the city, he has three others in the vicinity, and employs five readers, mostly from Tanjore. He has twelve small schools, eight of which are maintained by friends on the spot. Only four of his teachers are Christians. The Rev. Mr. Combs, from Tanjore, is about to settle in this city.

At Tanjore, a hearty welcome awaited me to the house of the venerable Kohlhoff, the protégé, friend, and fellow-laborer of Swartz. For more than fifty years he has been a missionary. I was charmed with his purity and simplicity of character, and enjoyed, during the three days spent under his hospitable roof, not only a valuable opportunity of acquiring authentic knowledge of the history of missions in this region, but the deductions of his own long experience and observation, and many delightful facts respecting the private life of Swartz.

The city is the residence of the rajah, who still reigns over the kingdom of Tanjore, paying three fifths of the revenues to the Company. He is son of Serfojee, the rajah who was brought up by Swartz, and who so sincerely loved that admirable man. His residence is within the fortress, which is reputed to be very strong, and which contains not only the palace, but a population of many thousands.

The district of Tanjore was never actually occupied by Mahometans; therefore the Hindu structures remained uninjured, and the religious revenues were not sequestered. Thus it is, that in no part of India does the Brahminical faith show itself more

imposingly. Almost every village has its brick pagoda, and lofty gateway, covered with statues in mortar. Brahmins hold all the power, are the chief landholders, and fill almost every lucrative office.

Swartz lived within the fort, where both his dwelling-house and church yet stand. The former is almost a ruin, but is used as a school-room. It consists merely of three small rooms, a little raised from the ground. Similar humility and moderation are displayed in the house he afterwards built, within the yard of his church. The church is well built and handsome, and, having been lately repaired, at much expense, by the rajah, is likely to last for ages. It is of little service; as but two or three Christian families live within the fort. To these, however, a catechist preaches every Sabbath. Swartz's pulpit remains unaltered; and in the wall, at the opposite side, is the marble tablet by Flaxman, representing his last moments, with the faithful Geriké at his head, and the affectionate rajah and others by his side. O that this spacious church may again contain such audiences as listened to its blessed founder!

In visiting these interesting spots, we passed the rajah's palace, and saw his tigers, &c., kept for show. He had gone to a distant part of the fort, and we therefore witnessed his displays of royalty. The cavalcade was resting near the gate of the inner fortress, where he had entered. It consisted of a score of war elephants, caparisoned, a troop mounted on camels, and a small park of artillery. Men and beasts looked dirty and shabby, and all the pomp seemed poverty-struck. The dens of the wild beasts, originally elegant, and each having a fine tank of brick and mortar, where the animals might bathe at pleasure, were dilapidated, and the handsome iron balustrade nearly mouldered away.

We passed on to the huge pagodas, extensive gardens, and paved yards, devoted to the national superstition. Here, too, idolatry has made one of its "high places." But, though all is grand and large, quietude and decay seem to be nearly in possession. A few fat, supercilious Brahmins stalked along the deserted walks; but, except at certain seasons, worshippers are few. The traces of recent repair are few and partial. Other shrines in the city are more readily reached, and thither the crowds repair.

The city itself seems flourishing. It is regularly built, and is said to contain a greater proportion of good houses than any other native city in Southern India.

The first visit of a Christian teacher to this important city and

province, was that of Pressier, from Tranquebar, in 1728; but he was not allowed to preach, except at his own residence, and remained but a short time. The next effort was made by Wiedenbrock, in 1753. He accompanied an embassy of the government of Tranquebar to the rajah, and staid but twelve days. His diary, preserved in the mission library, states that he had some little opportunity of declaring the system of salvation before the assembled court, in reply to questions from the rajah.

The first regular missionary efforts were made by Swartz and Klein, who began in 1762 their labors at Trichinopoly, making occasional visits to Tanjore. Ten years afterward, Swartz removed hither, and the mission may be said to have been commenced. The blessings which attended his efforts may be seen in his memoir. O that his spirit had descended on all his successors! Two thousand persons embraced a profession of Christianity under Swartz, many of whom, no doubt, were truly pious. But he allowed them to retain caste; and the sad consequences of his so doing are felt to this day. Caste is not even yet wholly done away among the Christians, and its injurious effects are many.

In the province, mostly collected in villages, there are now about four thousand Protestant Christians. Of course, among such a population, a missionary enjoys many of the advantages of a pastor in our own country. It secures, too, to those who may choose to abandon idolatry, the means of subsistence. The children are brought up in the knowledge of the true God; and various other benefits accrue. Still, it is doubtful whether the evils do not overbalance the advantages. The baptizing of such as embrace Christianity, without becoming pious, and of receiving to the Lord's supper all such as exhibit a due measure of outward rectitude, and possess a certain knowledge of the standards of the church, confounds the church and the world in the sight of the heathen, keeps down the standard of piety, brings forth unconverted assistants, and makes church business a matter of civil police. This mode of conducting missions has now been long tried, and is practised by nearly all the missionaries in India, except those of the Baptist persuasion, and those from America. It deserves the serious consideration of the friends at home. Out of the seven hundred and thirty-four communicants belonging to the Tanjore mission, a very small part are deemed pious; nor can many, even of the native assistants, lay claim to this character. Tyerman and Bennett affirm that "no vital religion is found in any of the preachers or native Christians."

The present missionaries at Tanjore are Mr. Kohlhoff, (Lutheran,) and Messrs. Calthorpe and Brotherton, (Episcopal.) All are in connection with the Christian Knowledge Society. The two latter are young, and have but just arrived. The mission, as a whole, wears an encouraging aspect. Three of the native preachers have received ordination; two of whom are evidently converted men. One of these, Visavarnarden, (mentioned in Mr. Hough's reply to Abbe Dubois,) is still active and faithful, though nearly sixty. His labors have been particularly blessed.

The schools, to which government contributes a hundred pagodas [more than three hundred dollars] per month, are in active operation. This allowance, with the avails of Swartz's bequests, nearly support the whole mission, with the exception of the salaries of Messrs. Brotherton and Calthorpe. The whole number of catechists and schoolmasters is seventy-eight. These come monthly to the mission-house, where their reports are received, and where they are catechized, and otherwise instructed. The whole number of scholars is about a thousand, of whom sixty are boarded in the mission compound. The houses for the missionaries, the schools, &c., are excellent and ample. These, with the church now used, are in a pleasant suburb, composed, in a considerable measure, of the native Christians.

Worship is maintained in the church, on Sundays, both in English and Tamul. No audience could behave more properly than did the poor natives. Their knowledge of Christianity, however, is very small. It will probably be long before heathen churches will possess the measure of light, zeal, and devotion, which are often seen in more favored lands.

Behind the pulpit is the grave of Swartz, marked by a flat slab, with an inscription in English poetry, ascribed to the rajah, his friend. The lines are affecting; and the spot will ever be, to the Christian, hallowed ground. Fragrant and blessed will the memory of this holy man be, while earth stands. How glorious is the society of heaven becoming! How blessed it will be to meet there all the good who ever lived, and none but such!

There are about twelve thousand Romanists in the province, and in the city about four hundred. Their priests are generally of the Jesuit order, from Goa. Within a few years, a large party have come over to Protestantism.

The country between Tanjore and Trichinopoly is almost a desert; and I could not place a relay of bearers on the road. One

set of men bore me the whole distance, thirty-eight miles, between nine o'clock in the evening and sunrise next morning, without apparent fatigue. This is the customary arrangement.

Trichinopoly, once the capital of a small kingdom, stands on the Cavery River, and is strongly fortified. It has a population of eighty thousand souls. None of that importance is now attached to this strong hold, which made it the theatre of such sanguinary conflicts, between the English and French, from 1751 to 1755. The Company maintain now five or six full regiments of troops here; but chiefly for the salubrity of the spot, and its ready intercourse with other points on the peninsula.

The mission here was begun by Swartz, in 1762, and he labored in this field ten years. Since that period, it has not been constantly occupied, and previous to 1827 there had been no missionary here for ten years! The injury of these repeated intermissions has been very great. Rev. Mr. Schreivogel now has charge, but the work moves on languidly. There are about five hundred nominal Christians; some of them the descendants of Swartz's followers; but very few give evidence of piety. One of my informants thought there might be forty; but another, who had better means of knowing, could not make out ten.

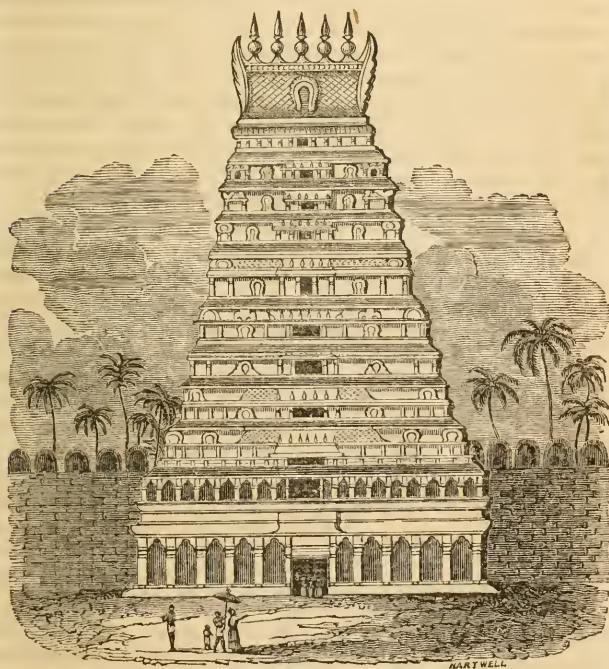
The church and mansion-house of Swartz are within the fort. The former is still used; the latter is empty, and going to ruin. Here, as at Tanjore, it was sweet to linger in the rooms where he prayed, studied, and reposed; to handle his books; to look abroad on the objects on which his eye had rested; and to console myself with the thought, that, though so vastly his inferior, and so unworthy of his society, I belong to that company of redeemed ones, among whom he is conspicuous. What a goodly fellowship! How will that company rejoice and shine, when the memory and the works of the wicked shall have perished forever!

The last days of Heber were spent laboriously in this city; and here, "as a thief in the night," his hour came. Though his published "Travels in India" contain little or nothing to indicate piety, yet no one can follow in his steps, as I have done, without hearing enough to prove that he walked with God. I stood over his grave in the church, and surveyed the bath from whence his lifeless body was taken,* with feelings of sacred brotherhood.

* He had gone into a large and deep cold bath, which he had before used; and, remaining longer than common, his servant entered, and found him a corpse at the bottom. As he could swim, it was thought he had fallen in an apoplexy.

Up to the period of Bp. Heber's visit, in 1826, all the missionary operations of this region were maintained by the British Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. Since that time, this society takes charge of all the schools; and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, assumes the support of the missionaries.

Being within five miles of the famous pagoda at Seringham, I of course made an excursion thither. It is the most distinguished of the renowned seven; and the expectation of seeing it, induced me to omit any remarks on those of Combaconum and Chillumbrum. Hindu architecture is too uniform to make numerous descriptions of it interesting or useful.



Seringham Gateway.

This proud monument of Hindu art, wealth, and superstition, stands on an island, made by the Cavery River dividing itself into

two branches, and forming a junction again a few miles below. The *sanctum sanctorum* of the numerous structures round, is scarcely larger than a native's hut; but is highly adorned, and in some parts gilded. It is enclosed within seven successive walls, a hundred and twenty yards apart; the outer wall being four miles in circumference. These walls are of great strength, twenty-five feet high, and, beside common gateways, have *twenty* stupendous towers or pagodas over as many entrances. One of these is here delineated, and furnishes a fair specimen not only of the twenty here, but of similar structures throughout India. By comparing it with the Peguan pagoda, in the landscape of Tavoy, that of Ava, on page 118, and that of China, in a subsequent part of this volume, a competent idea may be had of the different forms of the pagoda. A multitude of sacred edifices are scattered about, among which are some vast halls. The flat roof of one of these is supported by *a thousand* slender pillars of carved granite. The pavements, stairs, and lower parts of the buildings generally, are of red and gray granite, and sienite. The rough slabs had evidently been split, in the manner now practised in New England. I was surprised to find that what is thought among us to be a modern invention, had been practised here for ages.

Griffins and tigers, gods and men, tolerably sculptured, adorned various parts; and the trumpery of display days, with the cars on which the idols are drawn forth, stood in the by-places. We saw no one performing any kind of worship.

The intervals between the walls are occupied by streets of well-built houses, and present the common aspect of a busy town. The population is about eight thousand. Persons of all grades and occupations reside here, and carry on their business. A very large proportion are Brahmins. The other inhabitants seemed chiefly to subsist by little shops, in which are sold the various articles connected with the idolatry of the place. They made no objection to selling me unconsecrated idols, and whatever else I chose.

A singular aspect is given to the place, by scores if not hundreds of huge monkeys, which are seen at every glance. They are held sacred to Hanimaun, the divine ape, who conquered Ceylon for Rama. Of course, they are not only unmolested, but well fed; and multiply without restriction. They looked on us from every wall, and frolicked on the trees, the images, and carved sides of the towers, often coming within a yard of us, without the semblance of fear. They are by no means peculiar to this

temple, but abound in most Hindu sacred places, and for the same reason.

Pilgrims from all parts of India resort to this place for absolution from their sins; and as none come without an offering, the Brahmins live in voluptuous ease. The establishment receives, also, from the Company, an annual stipend, stated by Hamilton to be 15,600 pagodas, (\$27,300.) Still, their rapacity is insatiate. A half dozen of them, pretending to act as guides, followed us every where, begging with insolent pertinacity. With idolaters, as with Papists, clerical mendicancy is regarded as a virtue, rather than a fault.

The number of slaves in the Carnatic, Mysore, and Malabar, is said to be greater than in most other parts of India; and embraces nearly the whole of the Punchedam caste. The whole number in British India has never been ascertained, but is supposed, by the best informed persons I was able to consult, to be, on an average, *at least* one in eight, that is, about *ten millions*. Many consider them twice as numerous. The number is kept up not only by propagation, but the sale of children by their parents. Manumissions, however, are frequent among the opulent in the northern provinces. Forbes says,* "I believe most of the tribes of Pooleahs and Pariars in Malabar, are considered as slaves. The number of poor people who come down to Anjengo, and the other seaports, from the inland countries, during a famine, either to sell themselves, or dispose of their children as slaves, is astonishing. During the rainy season, even when there is no uncommon scarcity, many are weekly brought down from the mountains, to be sold on the coasts. They do not appear to think it so great a hardship as we imagine."

It is strange that the British public should be so slow to open their eyes to this great subject. For twenty years, appeals and pamphlets have frequently appeared. In 1828, a volume of 1000 pages of parliamentary documents, on East India slavery, was printed; and within four or five years, some strenuous efforts have been made to call attention to this enormity; but as yet, nothing has been done to purpose. Surely the zeal which has achieved the freedom of a few hundred thousand slaves in the West Indies, will now be exerted in behalf of *twenty-five times the number* in the East.

* Oriental Memoirs.

The countenance and support given by government to the prevailing forms of religion, is a weighty subject, and calls for the solemn consideration of British Christians. I cannot but sympathize deeply with the missionaries, in the trials and obstructions they meet on this account. They have little doubt but that the pernicious influence of the Brahmins would wither, and their system lose its power, if government did not render its aid, both by open countenance and direct taxation.

An extreme fear of creating political disturbances, if efforts were made to convert the natives to Christianity, seems to have possessed the Company's government from the beginning. Hence the refusal, at first, to allow missionary effort. Hence Chamberlain, though in the service of her royal highness, the Begaum, was deemed pestilent for preaching at a fair, and her majesty was reluctantly obliged to send him down to Calcutta. Happily, the little band that found a refuge under the Danish flag at Serampore, lived to prove, practically, that such fears are groundless.

But, though the government now permits and protects missionary effort, it has not wholly lost its early fears; and these, together with a desire to be strictly neutral, lead to measures directly favorable to idolatry. It levies and collects the revenues for supporting brahmins and temples, as the former rulers did; thus virtually making idolatry and Mahometanism the established religions of the country! The annual allowance from the public treasury, for the support of the temple of Juggernaut, is 56,000 rupees, (about \$26,000,) and many other temples have allowances equally liberal. C. Buller, in his letter to the Court of Directors, on this subject, says, "Large pensions, in land and money, are allowed by our government, in all parts of the country, for keeping up the religious institutions both of Hindus and Mahometans." Lord Wm. Bentick, governor-general of India, under date of August, 1835, speaking of the tax laid on pilgrims, which yields the Company a handsome revenue, says, "As long as we maintain, most properly, in my opinion, the different establishments belonging to the Mahometan and Hindu religions, we need not much scruple about the tax in question."

In the district of Tinnevely, an examination on this subject was made by Mr. T., who found 2783 temples, and 9799 petty kovils, of male and female deities, and some inferior religious stations; making a total of 14,851 places of idolatrous worship. The total charge of these on the government amounts to 30,000 pounds sterling, (about \$145,000,) per annum!

Beside this regular support, there are numerous other modes,

in which the national systems are countenanced. Mr. Rhenius has stated, that, in 1831, government contributed forty thousand rupees toward the performance of a certain ceremony in the temple at Tinnevelly, and to repair the idol's car! At the principal festivals, guns are fired by national ships, and by the Company's troops, and the military bands of music are loaned to grace the occasions. Thus *Christian* soldiers are compelled to do honor to the false prophet and to dumb idols! A letter of the Rev. William Fyvie, dated Surat, September 1, 1836, published in an English periodical, mentions one of these cases, which are constantly occurring in every part of India. It was the annual *coco-nut day*—a festival in which coco-nuts are thrown into the river as offerings. "This Hindu festival was ushered in by a salute of guns from the honorable Company's ship, lying in the river opposite to Surat. The castle guns fired a salute at the same time. About four P. M., after the brahmin had consecrated the coco-nut with prayers, the European magistrate presented the offering to the river, amidst the poojas (worship) of the brahmins and other Hindus present. While this vain and idle ceremony was going forward, the ship, before alluded to, first moved down and then up the river, displaying her colors, and firing salutes. The British flag was waving on Surat Castle all the day, in honor of the festival. In this way our rulers and their agents directly and publicly countenance idolatry and superstition in this place. The new moon, excepting twice in the year, when the Mussulmans are mourning, is regularly saluted by five guns, to please the Mahometans. Two thousand rupees are annually given to the same people by government, to assist them in the celebration of their Eeds, (festivals.) When shall these practices be brought to a perpetual end?"

Various idolatrous temples and gateways have been built or repaired by government. Vast sums have been spent on colleges and schools, for the inculcation of heathen and Mahometan doctrines and customs. By these same laws and customs, British judges and magistrates regulate their decisions, instead of the pure and equitable laws of their own land, and of the Christian Scriptures! When the cars of certain gods are to be drawn in public procession, there has been, for some years back, in various places, a deficiency of people. In such cases, the officers of government send out magistrates, and constables, or peons, who, with whips and ratans, beat the wretched people, and force them to quit their work and drag at the ropes! Mr. Pegg, formerly a Baptist missionary at Cuttack, has fully shown,

in a pamphlet, published in England in 1835, on the pilgrim tax system, that the temple of Juggernaut, of which we hear so much, is wholly supported by the British government; and that a large premium is paid by the government to "pilgrim hunters," who pass throughout the land, enticing persons to make a pilgrimage to the idol, and receive twenty per cent. of the tax laid upon them! In regard to these agents, "The Friend of India" very forcibly observes, "We have a body of *idol missionaries*, far exceeding in number all the Christian missionaries, perhaps, in the world, going forth, from year to year, to propagate delusion, and proclaim (what, perhaps, not one of them believes) the transcendent efficacy of beholding a log of wood; and all this through a perversion of British humanity, and good faith, paid from year to year, by the officers of a Christian and a British government."

Until lately, the appointment of native Christians to any office, however low, was wholly prohibited. That prohibition is now removed; but, as the local officers are not bound to employ them, and the general feeling is against it, they are still excluded. How impressively does this say to the natives, that their rulers do not want them to become Christians! I have heard several officers declare, that a man who would change his religion, is not worthy of confidence! After many inquiries, I could never find any one who knew of a Christian sepoy being ever raised above the ranks.

Corporal punishment has been abolished in all the native regiments. Recently a native drummer committed an offence which formerly was punished with flogging. The question was started, whether this man, being a Christian, came under the new law. The decision was, that he was not a native, in the eye of the law; and he was made to undergo the lash! I take this fact from the Calcutta newspapers of the day.

Public offices are closed entirely on various native festivals; but on the Christian Sabbath, native officers and servants, and many Europeans, are employed as usual. I have been in no part of the Company's territories where public works, carried on by native laborers, are not continued on the Lord's day.

By Mahometan and Hindu laws of inheritance, the son who changes his religion loses patrimony. British judges, therefore, deciding by these laws, are compelled to turn the convert from his home, a beggar. The very records of these courts are *inscribed* to *Shree*, to *Ganesh*, and other false gods. Brahmins and others have been appointed and employed by government to make inter-

cessions and invocations to pagan gods for rain, and for fair weather! It is so customary for British officers to subscribe to one Hindu and one Mahometan festival annually, that some who recently declined, from conscientious scruples, gave great offence to their superiors.

I speak in no spirit of bitterness in narrating these facts. The government has, in the main, good intentions, I have no doubt; and, next to the profit of the Company, and the preservation of these countries to Britain, desires the well-being of the people.

Two incidents have just occurred, which will be likely to attract attention. Mr. Casamajor, a distinguished civilian, has resigned his appointment, rather than collect revenues for the support of idolatry. Of course, those who hold similar appointments are anxious to quiet their consciences and sustain their reputation; and a thousand arguments are brought forward against Mr. Casamajor's course. The present commander-in-chief on the Madras presidency, principled against countenancing idolatry, yet not able to forbid the attendance of troops on festive occasions, which is a government regulation, issued a circular, forbidding the music to accompany them. This order has created him much trouble. Sir F. Adam, the governor, repeatedly and positively required him to issue a countermanding order. This Sir P. Maitland would not do, choosing rather that the governor in council, who has the power, should himself countermand the order. After some days of sharp contest, the governor's time to embark for England arrived; and nothing was done.

Facts on the subject have for many years been constantly laid before parliament, and the court of directors of the East India Company and the British public been widely appealed to by powerful pens. We may therefore cherish the hopes expressed by the editor of the *Bombay Oriental Spectator*.*

"We trust that the time is now at hand when our rulers will cease to be the bankers and factors of the idols and their prototypes, the abortions of those who became 'vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened;' when they will no longer grace heathen and Mahometan revelries by attendance, and participation in their unholy rites and ceremonies, nor rend the heavens and provoke the thunders of Omnipotence by firing salutes in their honor; when they will suffer no document dedicated to 'the lord of devils,' † or profaning the name

* Vol. vii. No. 11.

† Gauesh.

of Jehovah,* to leave the public offices; when they will cease to appeal to the 'vanities of the heathen' for rain and fruitful seasons; when they will neither in respect 'make mention of the name of heathen gods, nor cause to swear by them,' † nor regulate the affairs of their worship, nor settle the rank of their deluded votaries; and when they will no longer bewilder the minds of the 'twice-born' youth by the exploded and absurd science of the Vedas and Puránas, taught in Sanscrit colleges, and qualify them for dexterously poisoning the souls of the people throughout the length and breadth of the land, by compositions prepared under the auspices of the great Destroyer. We hope, we say, that this, the most happy day which India has seen, and the prelude of one still more glorious, will speedily arrive; and we invoke the blessing of God on all, in India and Britain, who, by remonstrance with man, and prayer to God, may seek to hasten it."

My personal knowledge of Hindustan and the Hindus, though too limited to authorize me to pronounce new opinions, is abundantly sufficient to satisfy me of the truth of portraits drawn by others. I read much on both sides, and constantly marked whatever tended to show up the native character, and the tendency of Brahminism, and at every step was more and more confirmed in the opinion of Lord Teinmouth, whose personal knowledge of India was so extensive, that "the Gentóos are as degenerate, crafty, superstitious, litigious, and wretched a people, as any in the known world, and, especially, the common run of Brahmims;" and of Claudius Buchanan, who pronounced the Hindus to be "destitute of honesty, truth, and justice;" and of Sir James McIntosh, (quoting Sir Wm. Jones's opinion as his own,) who, among the evidences of their depravity, speaks of "the general prevalence of perjury, which is, perhaps, a more certain sign of the general dissolution of moral principle, than other daring and ferocious crimes, and much more horrible to the imagination." Of the same mind with these distinguished men, is Forbes, Author of the "Oriental Memoirs," already several times quoted. He says, "I cannot praise a religion which encourages thousands, perhaps millions, of idle yagabonds, who practise no virtue; but, under the mask of piety, with a sort of stoical apathy and pharisaical zeal, undergo needless austerities and penances near their celebrated temples, or per-

* Or *Hu*.

† Josh. xxiii. 7.

vade the provinces of Hindustan, singly, and in large bodies, to make depredation on the hard-earned property of the poor villagers, and violate the chastity of their wives and daughters, under a cloak of sanctity and religious perfection."

I will only add the very temperate remarks of the celebrated Wilkes.* "The Hindoo character, like all others, is of a mixed nature; but it is composed of strange and contradictory elements. The man who may be safely trusted for uniformly unfolding the whole truth to an European in whom he reposes confidence, may be expected to equivocate, and even to contradict every word he has said, if called on to repeat it in the presence of a third person, whom he either fears or suspects; and in one of these descriptions he usually includes all strangers. The same individual, who, from pique, and often without any intelligible motive, will perjure himself without shame or compunction at a public trial, is faithful, kind, and respectable, in the intercourse of society."

Were all such testimony rejected, as partial or vindictive, the fine rhapsodies on Hindu innocence and happiness would be exploded by the slightest inspection of their declared religion. The utter contrariety of the whole system to all mildness, purity, benevolence, and peace, may be seen on opening any of their sacred books.

"The abode of the chandalas must be out of the town; they must not have the use of entire vessels; their sole wealth, must be dogs and asses; their clothes must be mantles of the deceased; their dishes for food, broken pots; their ornaments, rusty iron; and continually must they roam from place to place. Let food be given to them in potsherds, but not by the hands of the giver; and let them not walk by night in cities or towns."

In the code of Menu, it is declared, that if one of the Shoodra caste reads the Vedas, or listens to them, heated oil, wax, or tin, shall be poured into his ears, and the orifice stopped up. And, if a Shoodra gets by heart any of the Vedas, though he may not have seen the book, he shall be put to death. The same code affirms, that the only things in which Shoodras, and other low castes, need be instructed, is the superiority of brahmins; and that the great means of obtaining favor from the gods, is giving them charity.

The following turgid and shocking account of the brahmins is quoted from their own Ramayana:—

* History of Mysore.

“Even he who cannot be slain by the ponderous arms of Indra, nor by those of Kali, nor by the terrible Chackra of Vishnu, shall be destroyed if a brahmin curse him, as if he were consumed by fire.” In other parts, brahminical potency (almost, it may be said, omnipotency) is strongly enforced.

“Let not a king, although in greatest distress for money, provoke brahmins to anger, by taking their property; for, once enraged, they could immediately, by sacrifices and imprecations, destroy him, with his troops, elephants, horses, and cars.”

“Who, without perishing, could provoke these holy men, by whose ancestors, under Brahma, the all-devouring fire was created; the sea, with waters not drinkable; and the moon, with its wane and increase?” “What prince could gain wealth by oppressing those, who, if angry, could frame other worlds, and legions of worlds — could give being to new gods and mortals? When a brahmin springs to light, he is born above the world; the chief of all creatures; assigned to guard the treasury of duties, religious and civil.”



Brahmin.

“He who, through ignorance of the law, sheds blood from the body of a brahmin, not engaged in battle, as many particles of dust as the blood shall roll up from the ground, so many years shall the shedder of that blood be mangled by other animals, in his next birth; or so many thousand years shall the shedder of that blood be tormented in hell.”

The accompanying picture of a brahmin shows the marks of clay, &c., on his forehead and breast, as described page 255. In his hand he holds a native book.

All the writers I have been able to consult, and most of my friends in various parts of Hindustan, declare India to be in a state of progressive poverty and depression. The following observation of Hamilton embodies the general idea. After stating many facts, and adducing public records to prove his assertion, and remarking that the nature of the connection which binds the country to Britain will sufficiently account for this tendency to deterioration, without resorting to local mismanagement, he says, — “All the offices of emolument, civil and military, and the highest lines of commerce, are in the hands of strangers,

who, after a temporary residence, depart, with the capital they have accumulated. Under native rulers, even the extortions of rapacity, and the drains of tribute, returned into circulation, and promoted, in some form, territorial industry. Under its present constitution, the remittance, or rather tribute to Britain, carries off every year a large share of the produce, for which nothing is returned.*

It may be interesting to some, and seems necessary in order to give a general idea of British operations in India, to state the salaries of a few of the government officers. From these the general scale of salaries may be deduced.

Rupees per annum.

The Governor-General receives.....	250.000
“ Members of Council (each).....	100.000
“ Judge of Native Supreme Court.....	50.000
“ Members of head Board of Revenue.....	50.000
“ Secretaries to Government of India (each).....	50.000
“ Salt Agents.....	from 50.000 to 56.000
“ Commisioner of Revenue.....	36.000
“ Secretaries to Government of Bengal (each)....	36.000
“ Judge of a Zillah or City.....	30.000

While such salaries are paid to the civil servants of the Company, they are by no means niggardly to their military officers; and when it is recollected that they maintain constantly a standing army of 200,000 men; that the military pensions are already enormous; that the recruiting and bringing to India of each British soldier costs the Company, on an average, five hundred dollars; that all the clothing and equipments of the army, and most of the luxuries of the officers and gentry, are manufactured in England, and that every expense of the Company, to say nothing of profits, must be drawn from the natives,—we can scarcely wonder that the country should be gradually sinking into desperate poverty. Tennent, author of “Thoughts on British Influence in India,” estimates the annual savings of the Company’s servants, sent home to England, at ten millions of dollars.

From time immemorial, the land has constituted the chief source of revenue in India; and for plain and obvious reasons. The habits of the great body of the people are simple and uni-

* Walter Hamilton’s Gazetteer of India.

form; their diet is spare, and confined generally to a few articles of the first necessity; their clothing is scanty and mean; their habitations poor and unfurnished; what we term luxuries, are confined to the opulent few. In all this the keen eye of the financier sees nothing to touch; and he is compelled to have recourse to the expedient of taxing produce in the aggregate.

The government share of rice crops is, on an average, about fifty per cent.! But the mode of collection causes the cultivator to pay about three fourths of his crop. The public treasury is replenished by monopolies; duties on exports and imports, for the most part heavy; licenses for the sale of arrack and toddy; stamps; fees on judicial proceedings; &c. The entire revenue of the Company is probably about a *hundred millions* of dollars.

But the taxes on India are nothing compared with the oppressions and miseries inflicted by her religion. No statistics can measure these—no eloquence describe them. They must be seen, to be understood. In vain poets describe her citron breezes and palmy woods, her consecrated rivers, balsamic gums, fragrant spices, and trickling manna. One wide-spread shade rests on the scene. It is the kingdom of the god of this world—an empire where darkness reigns, and the shadow of death. At every glance, one is reminded of the prophet's forcible description of a people who have forsaken God—"They hunt every man his brother with a net; that they may do evil with both hands, earnestly; the prince asketh, and the judge asketh a reward; and the great man uttereth his mischievous desire; so they wrap it up. The best of them is as a brier; the most upright is sharper than a thorn hedge." Micah vii. 3, 4.

The following are the modern or living languages of Hindustan:—Hindustanee, Bengalese, Cashmerian, Dogura, Ooch, Sindy, Cutch, Gujeratty, Concan, Punjaub, Bicanere, Marwar, Jeypore, Odeypore, Harowty, Malwa, Bruj, Bundlecund, Mahratta, Magadhia, Koshala, Maithila, Nepaul, Orissa, Teloogoo, Carnata, and Tamul. Except the Hindustanee, which is the universal language of intercourse, all these are local.

CHAPTER III.

Voyage to Singapore — Coasters — Prices of Passage in India — Straits of Malacca — Harbor and Town of Singapore — Climate — Productions — Commerce — Islamism — Population — Moral Character of Population — Orang Louts — Chinese Wedding — Missionary Operations — Malacca — History of the Settlement — Extent — Population — Progress of Christianity — Anglo-Chinese College — Common Schools — Malay Peninsula — Origin of Malay Race — Divisions — Keda ·

MARCH 18th, 1837. Again at sea. The lapse of ten days, since Mr. Day's arrival, enabled me to arrange with him various plans of action, and to feel, on leaving Madras, that my work there was done. I had already procured him a house, and some furniture, in the midst of Teloogoo people, and near to the residence of George Vansomerin, Esq., than whom he could not have a warmer friend; so that he entered at once on house-keeping; and his knowledge of the language will enable him at once to commence some parts of his work. Few are the missions blessed with so devoted a missionary, and few are the missionaries blessed with so devoted a wife.

The "Thames," in which I this day embarked for Singapore, is one of the huge vessels, lately belonging to the East India Company, and has now a cargo of seventeen hundred tons. The ample decks, the cleanliness, the little motion given by the sea, the size of my cabin, the excellent table, and all other circumstances, form an agreeable contrast to the small coasters, in which all my voyages in these seas have, with one exception, been made. I feel truly thankful for this relief. Continued inconvenience, and exposure for so many months, and especially my inland journey to Trichinopoly, had seriously impaired the small stock of health with which I left home, and made me doubtful of living to return. The truly paternal hospitalities of Mr. V. and family in Madras have set me up, and my present voyage is carrying on the improvement. As the rest of my tour will be performed in large vessels, I now set forward, not only with a fair prospect of finishing the work assigned me, but of regaining established health.

In taking my leave, as I hope, of "country vessels," as the coasters are called, I will just "show up" a fair average of their *comforts*, drawn from my experience in seven such voyages. By this plan, I shall not hurt the feelings of any of those captains whose eye may meet these pages, and at the same time avoid telling the same story "with variations" seven times over.

You find, on getting aboard, a cabin five or six feet square, and are fortunate if in it you can stand erect, and still more so if it have a port-hole, or any ventilation, except through the scuttle, by which you enter. Here you eat with the captain, or perhaps off of a stinking hen-coop on deck. There can be no awning on deck, because it would be in the way of the boom; so that you stay below, while the sun blazes on the plank over your head, and keeps the thermometer in the cabin about blood heat. Your mattress is laid on a locker at night, and rolled up in the day. Perhaps you may be able to swing it. The seams on deck, neglected and parched up, during a six months' dry season, let the salt water on you in rapid drops, when the decks are washed. If it be rainy season, your confinement below is scarcely less unpleasant. Trunks and small stores must occupy the margin of the cabin, or be stowed where you cannot come at them. If you attempt to write, three times a day you must huddle together your papers, that the trunk or table may be spread for meals; or if you eat on deck, and so have uninterrupted use of the table, the heat and motion make study difficult. Your cooking is by no means scientific. The fowls, sometimes without the privilege of a coop, and lying on the deck tied by the legs, "get no better very fast." The smallness of the vessel makes her toss about most uncomfortably, when a larger vessel would be quite still; so that, if you take any thing out of its place, it must be "choked" again with care, or it will "fetch way." As to walking the deck, there is hardly room to turn; and if there be, you must have either the sun or dew upon you. But your worst time is at night. Several must sleep in the tiny cabin; and the heavy, damp air, coming down the gangway, gives you rheumatism, without producing ventilation. You perspire at every pore, till nature is exhausted, and you sleep, from very inanity.

There are other disagreeables, which, though worse, are happily not quite so common. Some of the captains have no means of ascertaining latitude, and still fewer their longitude. Sometimes there is no chart on board. The cables, anchors, and general inventory, are apt to be poor. Vessels in the habit of

carrying rice, timber, stick-lac, &c., have always mice, cockroaches, centipedes, scorpions, and ants, in great abundance. In one of my voyages, I killed nearly thirty scorpions in the cabin, and in another, eight or ten centipedes. Thrice, on taking out of my trunk a clean shirt, I found a centipede* in its folds. Large, winged cockroaches infest all Indian vessels; but in some they creep about in every direction, day and night. I had one full specimen of this. Such crowds lighted upon the dinner-table, that we could hardly tell meat from potatoes. To drive them away and eat at the same time was impossible, for they would keep off of a dish no longer than it was agitated. The captain and I just dined patiently, each contenting himself with being able to keep them out of his own plate. At night, they swarmed in thousands on the boards and on the bed, eating our fingers and toes to the quick. A hundred oranges, tied up in a bag, had not been on board thirty-six hours, before it was found that these cormorants had left nothing but the skin. It was a bag full of hollow globes! Uncomfortable and confined as were the voyages up and down rivers, in Burman canoes, they were every way more pleasant than these little voyages at sea.

These things ought not, perhaps, in strictness, to be called hardships, but they are inconveniences, which I found tended rapidly to make me old, and convince me that voyages of this sort cannot be a wise resort for invalid missionaries. I might indeed have gone more comfortably, had I chartered for myself some proper craft, or waited for larger vessels; but I could not think of so greatly increasing the expense, or prolonging my absence. Those who pass only between great seaports, may generally, with some delay, obtain good vessels, and the usual marine comforts.

The prices paid for passages in India are startling to an American, accustomed to cheap locomotion. In general, they are two or three times dearer in proportion to distance, than those of our splendid New York and Liverpool packet-ships. Freights are charged at rates equally exorbitant. Even at these prices, the accommodations between unfrequented ports are generally much worse than our little coasting packets.

The passage through the Strait of Malacca furnishes much to interest the lover of wild scenery. Lofty islands, covered

* These are generally about two inches long, and the thickness of a pipe stem. The bite is never fatal, but more venomous than our spiders.

with forests perpetually verdant, are continually in sight. Equatorial temperature spreads its delightful uniformity, and a smooth sea imparts feelings of safety. Heavy squalls, however, often occur from the west, which the people here call *Sumatras*. One is constantly reminded of being in the region of the Malays, by the recurrence of the name *Pulo*, which is their name for "island."

The whole strait has long been notorious for piracy; and shocking instances of it, are even now often committed on small vessels. Malays are far from considering piracy dishonorable; and many of their princes openly engage in it. Their old romances and traditions constantly refer to such cruises, and invest them with all the glories of a crusade. According to their Mahometan notions, no doom is too bad for "infidel dogs," so that Christians and pagans are robbed, murdered, or enslaved, without compunction. Whatever else of the Koran their Sheiks may conceal, they take abundant pains to proclaim the decrees of merit for the foe of infidels.

Singapore, where we arrived April 19, 1837, lies in latitude $1^{\circ} 17'$, longitude $103^{\circ} 51'$. The harbor can scarcely be surpassed for extent, safety, and beauty. Lofty islands keep the water perpetually smooth, and seem to lock it in on every side. The town has not an imposing appearance from the anchorage, but the fine hill in the rear, covered with vigorous grass, is a charming object to one coming from other parts of India at the close of the warm season, and who has scarcely seen grass for six months.

Numerous vessels, of various uncouth shapes, lie at anchor; while more numerous boats ply in every direction over the still surface. The aspect along shore is busy, and the few European houses, handsome and oriental. The settlement was made here at the suggestion of Sir Stamford Raffles, in 1819. The next year, it was declared a free port, and in 1825 its sovereignty was confirmed to Britain by the Dutch government, which held claims upon it, and by the sultan of Johore, within whose territory it is embraced. The latter had a pension of about 24,000 Spanish dollars per annum settled upon him. Captain Alexander Hamilton says that, at his visit in 1703, the then sultan "made me a present of the Island of Sincapure; but I told him it could be of no use to a private person." A miserable village of fishermen and pirates was, at that time, the only remains of what was, some centuries before, a flourishing Malay city, engrossing the commerce of these seas.

The lapse of more than a month, in daily expectation of a vessel for Siam, my next point of destination, gave me leisure to become acquainted with the place, and to learn, from the best sources, what is known of the tribes occupying the peninsula and adjacent archipelago.

Singapore is divided from the southern point of the Malay peninsula by a strait, in some places not over a quarter of a mile wide, but formerly the highway of ships passing to and from the China seas. The island is of unequal breadth, twenty-seven miles long, and containing about two hundred and seventy-five square miles. A very considerable part has not yet been explored by the English, and is probably uninhabited. Some twenty or thirty other small islands adjacent, belong to Singapore, but they are mostly uninhabited. The town is on the south side of the island; and the direct track of vessels to and from the China seas, is within the roads of the harbor. It is surrounded by abrupt red sandstone hills, enclosing small, sterile, marshy valleys. The highest of these hills is computed to be three hundred and fifty feet high. On some of them are gentlemen's residences, but the rest are rugged and dreary. The plain on the southern side is a low sandy marsh, presenting those successive ridges, which indicate that the sea, at no very distant period, has dammed itself out. Though without rivers, the island is well watered, and has some boatable brooks and small nullas, extending a few miles into the interior. One of these, navigable for a mile or two by large boats, passes through the heart of the town, and greatly contributes to the convenience of commerce.

The town is more attractive than it seems to be from the harbor, and some parts are really beautiful; but Martin, in his "British Colonies," has drawn upon imagination in making his picture. Instead of the houses being "generally of stone," with "superb granite stairs," neither one nor the other can be found in the city! The best houses are of *brick*, and will not compare with many in Calcutta and Madras.

Lying almost under the equator, the variation of seasons is scarcely perceptible. The heat is the same, night and day, all the year round; seldom greater than eighty-nine degrees, or less than seventy-five. A fresh breeze is always felt, though there is no very regular monsoon. There is no rainy season, but a cloudy atmosphere prevails a good deal, and a fine shower falls almost every day in the year. Such causes give an energy to both animal and vegetable life, scarcely found in other latitudes. Plants of innumerable varieties crowd the forest, rendering

human entrance impossible; and myriads of insects and reptiles people both land and water. Corals, madrepores, and mollusca, charm by their novelty, beauty, and simplicity, and excite admiration of Him who causes the earth to teem with happy existence, and with evidences of infinite wisdom and goodness. One of these curious productions, a species of alcyonum, called "Neptune's cup," is said to be found no where else. It is a beautiful, tough, hard, sponge-like goblet, capable often of holding from one to two bushels.

A more delightful climate there is not probably on earth. Storms and hurricanes are rare, though showers occur almost daily.

The following table is constructed from precise meteorological observations for the year 1835:—

	6 A. M.	3 P. M.	8 P. M.		Fall of Rain.
January	78	86	83	18	inches 8 tenths.
February	79	85	82	1	" 5 "
March	78	84	80	10	" 8 "
April	80	84	82	3	" 2 "
May	80	84	82	5	" 0 "
June	81	84	82	6	" 5 "
July	80	87	82	4	" 6 "
August	79	82	81 $\frac{3}{4}$	6	" 9 "
September	82	84	81	3	" 6 "
October	80	83	82	10	" 8 "
November	79	82	80	7	" 4 "
December	77	80	79	20	" 7 "

The reader will do well to examine this table closely, and mark how little is the variation of temperature, either between day and night or the different months. I have omitted the maximum and minimum, and will only remark, the greatest cold known in the year, is about seventy-three degrees; and the greatest heat eighty-eight! The total fall of rain in a year, averages about one hundred inches; which, though much greater than in most parts of the world, is but half that of Rangoon.

Every species of tropical production would probably thrive here; but the English have occupied it too short a time to make fruits abundant. For mangoes, durians, and all the finer fruits, they depend on Malacca. Experiments are now in progress for raising the sugar-cane and nutmeg, on an extensive scale; but the latter, at least, will require eight or ten years, before the result

is decided. I visited some of the nutmeg plantations, and, as the tree is little known, give a picture of the fruit; but would refer the reader, for an account of the mode of culture, &c., to "Crawford's Indian Archipelago." The tree is of moderate size, and the fruit very like the peach. Outside is pulp, a third of an inch thick, then the mace, spread over a thin round shell, and inside that shell, the nutmeg. When ripe, the pulp opens, as in the cut.



Nutmeg.

Almost the only products for export are gambier, sago, and agar-agar. Gambier, or catechu, (formerly called terra japonica, from its being supposed to be an earth, and coming from Japan,) is produced by boiling the leaves of a species of *uncaria*, and inspissating the decoction. It is used for chewing, with betel-nut, over all the East; and exported largely to England, for tanning leather. Sago is brought in a crude state, resembling sour arrow-root, from many islands, and is here refined and granulated for the foreign market. There are eight or ten sago refineries at Singapore, some of which I visited. The price of the prepared article here, is generally about two cents a pound. Most of the powder, or crude sago, is brought from Borneo, and the islands round Sumatra. It is the pith of a species of palm-tree. A good tree is said to yield about two thousand pounds. Agar-agar (*fucus saccharinus*) is a sea-weed abundant along the shores of the islands, chiefly exported in a dry state to China, where it is converted into a rich jelly for the table, and sizing for cotton goods and paper.

The commerce of Singapore consists in buying and selling the commodities of different parts of the world. The imports for consumption are very trifling, and, as has been stated, little is produced for exportation; but almost every article of Indian, Chinese, and European industry, passes through the hands of the merchants. Native vessels, from every part of the archipelago, find here a market, and obtain their supplies. A large part of these are manned by Bugis, who are the maritime men of the islands. They come in prows carrying from ten to one hundred tons, and carry from twenty to sixty men. They begin to arrive in September, and to depart in December. The whole number in a year, is about two hundred; having in them, men and women, at least twenty thousand persons. The name *Bugis* properly belongs to one tribe, on the Island of Celebes, but is generally applied to the traders from every part of Celebes, from

the coasts of Borneo, and from Booton, Bali, Lombok, and Sumbawe.

The commerce of the countries in and around the China Sea, would form an important and interesting theme for the political economist. From the elegant and¹ civilized Chinese to the wildest tribes which roam the interior of the most unknown islands, all are animated and benefited by an honorable commerce, which existed for ages before the European found his way into these seas. The savage Batta collects camphor; the Daya and Harafoora gather diamonds and gold; the Sulu dives for pearl; the Malay explores his lonely shores for edible birds' nests, or gathers the nutmeg and the clove, or sweeps the shore for tripang and agar-agar; the Bugis acts both merchant and mariner, bearing these gatherings from port to port; the Sumatran furnishes pepper for all the world; the more civilized Japanese smelts ores, and constructs articles of elegant utility; the still more refined Chinese gives impulse to the whole by his luxury and his capital; while the Western world shares the precious commodities, and returns the thousand productions of more perfect sciences and arts. This vast, populous, and favored portion of the earth, is that which the ancients, even so late as the time of Constantine, regarded as untenable by man; inhabited only by satyrs, centaurs, headless monsters, and human pygmies.*

The extensive prevalence of Islamism among the islanders is another subject yet untouched by the historian, and well worthy of investigation. We are accustomed to ascribe the triumphs of the false prophet almost wholly to his arms. But here, the *sword* has not made way for his doctrine. At this very day, while Christianity waits to send forth her teachers, the Mussulman, without support and without delay, insinuates his faith, and idolaters turn in tribes. While in Singapore, I saw not less than two hundred of these islanders, then on their pilgrimage to Mecca.

The present population of Singapore amounts to 30,000; of which there are only 7229 females. Of Europeans, there are 105 males and 36 females; Malays, 5122 males, 4510 females; Chinese, 12,870 males, 879 females; Klings, 2246 males, 102

* See Pliny and Strabo; Homer's Iliad, book iii.; and a learned note in Robertson's America, vol. i.

females. The rest are Bugis, Balinese, Bengalese, Negroes, Javanese, Arabs, &c.; with a few Indo-Brittons, Armenians, &c. I saw one or two of the Papua, or Negro race of the Indian islands. They resemble the African Negro in every particular, but are smaller. To account for the existence of two races, so perfectly distinct, as the black and brown population of these islands, has not been successfully attempted.

The growth of the place has not been equal to the expectations originally cherished by Sir Stamford Raffles, its founder. Within the first two years of its settlement by the English, no less than two thousand eight hundred and eighty-nine vessels entered and cleared from the port; of which three hundred and eighty-three were owned and commanded by Europeans. Their united tonnage was 161,000 tons! During the same period, the value of merchandise, arrived and cleared in native craft, was about five millions of dollars, and in ships about three millions more, making about eight millions as the capital turned. It has not grown for some years at a similar rate, if at all; and it is quite uncertain whether the place can become of much greater importance, till the various tribes in these seas become more civilized and numerous, and consume foreign products more largely.

As in every other part of India, each class of community preserves the costume, manners, and religion of its ancestry. This has long ceased to look odd to me. It requires but a short residence in the country to get accustomed to every sort of fashion in dress, and cast of countenance.

The striking disproportion of females, who are but about one fourth of the population, is owing partly to the laws of China, which forbid the emigration of women, and partly to those circumstances which make the male sex preponderate in all new colonies, and purely commercial places.

In going through one part of the town, during business hours, one feels himself to be in a Chinese city. Almost every respectable native he sees is Chinese; almost every shop, ware-room, and trade, is carried on by the Chinese; the hucksters, coolies, travelling cooks, and cries common in a great city, are Chinese. In fact, we may almost call Singapore itself a Chinese city; inasmuch as the bulk of the inhabitants are Chinese, and nearly all the wealth and influence, next to the British, is in their hands. A large part of the Klings and Bengalese are ostlers, servants, washermen, &c., to Europeans; and the Malays and Bugis occupy portions of the city by themselves.

As to the moral character of this mixed population, it is difficult to obtain accordant testimony. Some gentlemen in Singapore considered the morals of the people at large, quite equal to those of similar sized towns in Europe. Others regarded them as far worse. Certainly opium-smoking, gambling, and uncleanness, are quite prevalent.

Among the population of Singapore, is a very large number of those wretched Malays called Orang Lout, or "men of the water;" and sometimes Orang Salat, or "men of the straits." Without any home on shore, they are born and die on miserable boats, scarcely large enough for a man to lie down in, at his ease. Roaming about for fish and coarse fruits, they pick up shells and coral for sale, and sometimes are sufficiently successful in fishing, to barter with landsmen for sago, clothes, or a little rice. They procure sago at about half a cent a pound, or less, so that the whole expenses of a common family of Orang Louts do not exceed two dollars a month. The agricultural Malays of the straits are a grade higher in civilization, but deeply degraded. They contrive to live by the soil, or by bringing in wood; but scarcely one acquires the least skill in any sort of trade. The average height of Malay men is five feet, three and a half inches.

A Chinese population of so many thousands, gave me many opportunities of observing the manners of this singular people. One of these was a wedding, to which I had the pleasure of being invited, through the kind offices of Mr. Ballistier, our American consul, to whom I was much indebted in other respects. As I had no hope of such an opportunity in China, I gladly availed myself of this. The family of the bride being wealthy, the room containing the family altar was decorated both with costliness and taste. The "*Jos*" was delineated in a large picture surrounded by ornamental paper-hangings. Huge wax candles, delicate tapers, and suspended lamps, of elegantly painted glass, shed round their formal light, though it was broad day. On the altar, or table, before the idol, were trays of silver and rich porcelain, filled with offerings of sweetmeats and flowers, while burning sandal-wood and agillocha, diffused a pleasing fragrance.

After the elders had performed their devotions, the bride came slowly in, supported by attendants, and went through tedious gestures, and genuflections before the idol, without raising her eyes from the ground, or speaking. Her robe was both gorgeous

and graceful, covering her, in loose folds, so completely that neither her feet nor hands could be seen. Beside the numerous ornaments and jewels, which bound up her profuse hair, she wore several heavy necklaces of sparkling jewels, apparently artificial. When she had finished, an elder placed on her head a thick veil, and she returned to her apartment. We now waited for the bridegroom, who "tarried" a little, and the interval was enlivened by tea, sweetmeats, betel-nut, &c. Three bands of music, European, Malay, and Javanese, sent sounds of gladness through the halls and corridors; the friends passed about with smiles and greetings; the children, in their gay apparel, danced joyously, they knew not why;—all was natural and pleasing, but the slow and extravagant movements of a Javanese dancing-girl, who, in a corner of the porch, earned her pay, little regarded.

At length it was heralded, "the bridegroom cometh," and immediately many "went forth to meet him." He came with friends and a priest, preceded by another band of music. His devotions before the Jos, were much sooner and more slightly done than those of the lady; and he sat down with the priest, and a friend or two, in front of the altar, where had been placed chairs, covered for the occasion with loose drapery of embroidered velvet. Refreshments were handed, till a movement from within announced the approach of the bride; and all eyes were turned to meet her. She advanced very slowly to the centre, veiled, as when she retired, and, after a few gestures by each toward the other, the happy pair sat down together, her face still invisible. Refreshments again entered, and each partook, but with evident agitation and constraint. Presently, she retired to her chamber, followed by the bridegroom; and most of the guests dispersed; but we were permitted, with some particular friends, to enter with them. It was doubtless a handsome room in Chinese estimation, but its decorations would scarcely please a Western eye. The bedstead resembled a latticed arbor; and from the roof within was suspended a beautiful lamp of chased silver, burning with a feeble light. Standing in the middle of the room, they renewed their bowing, and passing from side to side, with a gravity and tediousness almost ludicrous, till he finished the ceremony by approaching and lifting the veil from her head. We were told that till then he had never seen her! She blushed, and sat without raising her eyes; but, alas for the romance of the thing—she was ugly! A leisurely repast followed, shared by themselves alone; and probably forming the ratifying feature of the solemnity, as in Burmah. Fifty dishes or

more were before them, a few of which they tasted with silver forks; but of course the occasion was too ethereal to be substantiated by veritable eating and drinking. When they rose from the table, the bridegroom, aided by his servant, removed his outer robe, which had been worn as a dress of ceremony, and threw it on the bed, as if marking it for his own. Then, advancing respectfully to the bride, her attendant raised the folds of her dress, and he unclasped the cincture of the garment beneath. This act, so gentle, delicate, and significant, closed the ceremonial. He then returned to his own house till evening, and every guest retired—a capital system, allowing the bride some repose, after the trying and tiresome ceremonies she had performed. This was about four o'clock. In the evening, a sumptuous entertainment was given to the friends of both parties; after which the bridegroom remained, as a son at home.

More refined deportment cannot be, than was exhibited by all parties on this occasion. The guests were not all at one table, nor even in one room; but many tables were spread, each accommodating five or six persons, and all diverse in their viands. Servants were numerous, the silver and porcelain handsome, the deportment of the guests unexceptionable, and sobriety universal. Every thing testified the high claim of the Chinese to the character of a civilized people.

I readily accepted an invitation, a few evenings afterward, to an entertainment at the same house. Order, delicacy, abundance, and elegance, reigned throughout. Of course many of the dishes were new to me, but there were many also, in exact English style. Among the novelties, I tried sharks' fins, birds' nests, fish-maws, and Biche-de-mer. I think an unprejudiced taste would pronounce them good; but only that of a Chinese would consider them delicacies.

From the first settlement of Singapore by the British, operations for the moral and religious improvement of the natives have been carried on. Translations into Malay, and the printing and distribution of tracts and Scriptures, engrossed most of the time of early missionaries. In this department, a good deal has been done; but, so far as can now be seen, with very little success. Great efforts have been made also in the way of schools; not only by the missionaries, but by the British residents, and the government. The latter has allowed, from the public treasury, one hundred dollars per month. Several Chinese schools, and still more Malay ones, have been constantly maintained.

The principal authorities have, at times, exerted their influence to induce the people to send their children; and even gone from house to house to procure scholars. A multitude of children have been in the schools, first and last; and some hundreds have received more or less instruction. But it has been found impossible to secure the attendance of scholars for more than a few months; and almost none have learned to read. What is more lamentable, no case of conversion has occurred among the pupils.

No place in the East offers greater facilities for tract-distribution, or a greater variety of nations and languages accessible; and perhaps at no point has this species of labor been carried to greater extent. Thousands and tens of thousands of tracts and portions of Scripture, have been given away. Not only have the Malay inhabitants been fully supplied, but thousands of Bugis, Javanese, Sumatrans, Chinese, Mussulmans, Arabs, Kelingas, Balinese, &c. So early as 1830, the Singapore Christian Union reported that "in Singapore and neighborhood, our friends have gone round, half a dozen times, passing from house to house, and scattering tracts abundantly." Ever since, it has been vigorously continued.

Not a single Malay in Singapore has made even a nominal profession of Christianity; nor are there any hopeful catechumens. For a long time past, no one competent in the language has resided here; so that the only missionary efforts are the distribution of tracts, and some unpromising schools. Indeed, this has been very much the case from the beginning, as previous missionaries were chiefly devoted to these labors and to authorship; and very little has been done in the way of direct preaching. The history of this mission, now twenty years old, is an item of consequence, in our reasoning upon the modes of missionary labor.

The Catholics have two churches here—a French and a Portuguese; with several priests. They not only take charge of those of their faith who reside here, but have brought over a number of Malays, Chinese, and others, and have full audiences on Sundays. Popish missionaries through India, so far as I could learn, are men of good morals. They live far more humbly than any other missionaries, and mix much with their people. Their stipend, in all cases which came to my knowledge, is one hundred dollars per annum. Their converts are taught, from the first, to contribute to the support of religion, and their teachers, being unmarried, have few wants which these cannot supply.

The Singapore Institution, founded by Sir Stamford Raffles, in 1823, has maintained a feeble existence, but is now likely to be put on a footing of vigor and expansiveness. A new building, large and commodious, has been prepared for it, to which it will soon be removed, after which its course of study will be more collegiate, and its number of pupils increased.

Singapore has, from the first, been a station of the London Missionary Society. It became a station of the American Board of Commissioners in 1834, and is now occupied by Messrs. Tracey, Dickinson, Hope, Travelli, and North, from that society, — the three former giving themselves to Chinese, and the others to Malay. Mr. N. is a practical printer, and has charge of a well-built, and amply-furnished printing-office. These missionaries have all been here so very short a time, that their chief occupation has been the acquisition of language. They have, however, a Malay and a Chinese school, and superintend the labors of a large number of Chinese printers, who have been constantly employed on the revised Chinese New Testament, and various tracts, by Mr. Gutzlaff and others.

The Church Missionary Society have recently made this a station for the Chinese, and the American Baptist Board are about to do the same. Rev. Mr. Squier, from the former society, has been here a few months. While China remains inaccessible, missionaries for that country must prepare themselves in other places. Great commercial emporiums must be considered common ground to all persuasions of Christians, in their operations for the heathen; and in several instances, such as Calcutta, Bangkok, Smyrna, &c., the missionaries of various sects live together in harmony and good understanding. In such places, property is safe, the press free, workmen plenty, and exchanges easy, while uncertainties, and delays in procuring paper, and transmitting books, are avoided.

A little country brig, of thirty or forty tons, carried me to Malacca in four days, and back to Singapore in six, allowing me a stay of one week. The steam-boat demanded a hundred dollars, while this vessel would take me for fifteen; and I could not forbear, by the choosing the latter both ways, to save one hundred and seventy dollars. But sorrow to the man who goes often in country brigs! We were crowded with Chinamen and Klings; and though the accommodations did very well, for their habits, they illy accorded with mine. Noise, stench, and heat, ruled by day, and confinement, dampness, and vermin, by

night. My camp chair was the only seat; and, as there was no table, I ate from a board on my knees. But eating was a brief business; for boiled rice, and dried fish-roes, all day and every day, furnished no temptation to gastronomic excess. There were indeed lots of stews for the Chinamen, to which I was quite welcome; but, either their smell, or their looks, satisfied me to keep to the salt fish-roes, for in them there could be "no mistake."

Through the prompt and abundant hospitalities of the British resident and his lady, whose house, carriages, and attentions, were put at my fullest service, and the kind communicativeness of the missionaries, I was able, during the week, to see and hear all that concerned my official objects.

The city of Malacca, formerly embraced within the kingdom of Johore, was taken possession of by Portugal in 1511; but her authority was never well established in the interior, and the possession neither benefited her commerce nor enhanced her dignity. It was held by the Portuguese till 1641, when it was taken by the Dutch. It was, after two years, taken by the English, in 1660 reverted again to the Dutch, and finally passed over to the English in 1825, and so remains. Why this location of the settlement was chosen, it is difficult to imagine, unless because it was previously the chief town of the sovereignty of Johore. The harbor is very bad, being on the outside a mere roadstead, and all within so shallow, that ships cannot approach the town, nearer than three or four miles. At low water, the sands are bare, a mile from shore. The trifling river, on which the town stands, keeps open a narrow, boatable channel to the town, when the tide is out. The location is eminently salubrious; but the commerce, which once made this place so conspicuous, has passed to Penang and Singapore. I found only a small cutter, like our own, lying at anchor, and was told there was seldom more at one time.

The view of the town, from the water, is picturesque and attractive. An old fort and church, in ruins, occupy the prominent elevation, while handsome houses, fronted by great trees, extend along the shore. The roads are finely Macadamized with a ferruginous clay, soft when first dug out, but very hard after exposure to the air.

The district of Malacca extends about forty miles along the coast, from Salengore to Moar, and inland to Runibo, about thirty miles. The population within these limits amounts to twenty-two thousand, of which much the larger part reside in

the town and suburbs. The Chinese form about one fourth of the whole; the rest are Malays, Klings, Arabs, &c. About five hundred thousand pounds of tin, and the same quantity of pepper, are annually produced and exported; beside some gold, preserved fruits, and smaller articles. Rice is not raised in sufficient quantity for consumption.

The city continues, fallen as are its fortunes, to be head-quarters to the military force in the straits. The officers of six companies of native troops, and the usual civilians, make a pleasant circle of English society; which brings with it, as usual, all the artisans and shops necessary for a missionary's convenience. Living is remarkably cheap; and as to fruits, no place on earth, perhaps, transcends it in number or excellence. A gentleman, not long ago, disposed to see how many varieties were in season at once, ordered his Kansuma to procure all that might be in the bazar; and the result was a desert comprising *seventy-two* different fruits. Few places in India have such a variety of agreeable drives, and, perhaps, none a more salubrious and pleasant climate. It, however, is fast fading away. The stillness of death reigns through the streets; and even the laborious Chinese, seem here to catch the general spirit of quiescence. If the military head-quarters should be removed to Singapore, as is not improbable, it will scarcely hold a place among English settlements.

The reproach which attaches to the European colonial system in India lies strongly on this city. For three centuries, Christians have ruled here; yet we look in vain for evidences of an amelioration in the general condition of the people. Their troops have maintained rule, and their tax-gatherers have scraped revenues, but our holy faith is not yet established; nay, scarcely can even a nominal Christian be found among the Malay inhabitants.

The class called Portuguese * amounts to two thousand souls, and are, for the most part, very ignorant and degraded. One tenth of these are professed Protestants, probably the fruit of intermarriages with the Dutch in former times. The want of any minister to baptize, marry, visit, and instruct this class of

* This cognomen is assumed by every man in India, black, brown, or red, native or mixed, who aims at superiority over the general mass, and can contrive to wear a hat and trousers. As to any descent from Portuguese parents, it is, in thousands of cases, utterly out of the question.

persons, and the ignorance and poverty of most of them, has caused a continual falling away, for a series of years, to the Romish church. They certainly deserve a larger share of attention than they seem to receive. A regular service is held for them on Sabbath afternoons, and schools are open for their children; but a pastor of their own caste, and daily ministerial services, are indispensably wanted.

The late Sir Stamford Raffles, who took the deepest interest in the welfare of these regions, at that time under his control, remarks — “In our present settlement of Malacca, the impossibility of procuring servants for wages, compels almost every person to have recourse to slaves, and a considerable proportion of these are pagans, being chiefly Battas from the centre of Sumatra, Balis from Bali, Dayaks from Borneo, besides natives of Timor, and the more easterly islands. Of all these that fall into the hands of the English, there is perhaps not a single one that becomes a Christian; but the whole of them become Moslems, and despise and hate their masters as infidels! Such is the woful effect of our supineness and indifference, which, if they should extend to the East, would certainly not tend to the progress of general improvement among the Malays.”

I was glad to spend as much of my time as possible with Rev. Mr. Dyer, lately removed here from Penang. He is far advanced in the Chinese language, and preaches fluently, but has devoted most of his time, for some years, to the preparation of a font of Chinese metallic type. Wholly untaught, he has devised his own way, with great labor and patience, and has now, nearly completed, punches and matrices for a beautiful font, which is to embrace three thousand characters. Each punch costs about fifty cents. The size is three times larger than that of Marshman's Bible,* and will be useful chiefly in the text of commentaries and sheet tracts.

The mission to Malacca was commenced in 1815, by Milne, who immediately established a Chinese school, took charge of the Reformed Dutch church, and commenced the “Chinese Magazine.” Mr. M. brought with him from Canton a Chinese teacher and printers; and next year Leang Afa, the teacher, professed the Christian faith. He was then thirty-three years old, and has ever since maintained a holy and diligent career. I saw much of him at Singapore, and derived from him many valuable

* This Bible is partly printed with metallic type, invented by Lawson, of Serampore, about twenty years ago, and used from that time successfully.

facts. In 1817, Messrs. Medhurst and Slater arrived, and an English periodical, called the "Indo-Chinese Gleaner," was established. Mr. Slater, after a year, went to devote himself to the Chinese in Batavia. In 1818, Messrs. Ince and Milton came, and assumed so much care of the schools, as to leave Milne more at liberty to pursue the translation of certain parts of Scripture, agreed on between him and Morrison. In 1818, Dr. Morrison founded the "Anglo-Chinese College;" giving from his own purse about six thousand dollars, and obtaining large assistance from various quarters. In 1820, Messrs. Fleming and Huttman arrived, and, the year following, Mr. Humphreys; and in the next year Collie was added, and Milne died. The subsequent history of the mission is known to the readers of missionary magazines.

During the above period, several other brethren settled in Malacca, to devote themselves to the Malays; by whom large schools were established. At the period of Messrs. Tyerman and Bennett's visit, in 1826, the Chinese schools contained two hundred and fifty boys, and the college twenty. No instance of the conversion of pupils had then occurred.

Malacca is chiefly conspicuous in the missionary world for its college. It has ample buildings, and highly improved grounds, with about ten thousand dollars at interest. The location is within the city, on the margin of the sea; and was granted it by government. There have presided over it, in succession, Milne, Humphreys, Collie, Kidd, Tomlin, and Evans. The last arrived in 1833.

Like other "colleges" in the East, it is rather an elementary school. The pupils are taught from the alphabet upward, and retire from a full course, with a decent knowledge of English, and the common rudiments of science. About sixty or seventy thus educated have left the institution, who generally reside in the straits, employed as porters, runners, and under-clerks. I could not learn that any of them are more than nominal Christians. Until lately, the school has for some years been very small; but it is now increased to above seventy, of all ages, from six or seven years upward. Mr. Evans not only has large experience in teaching, but is a skilful financier; and the prospect of utility was never so great as at present. He has lately baptized several pupils, on their fully embracing the Christian system, some of whom he hopes are truly pious. The whole cost of an in-door student, including food, apparel, washing, &c., is four dollars per month.

The system of common schools has been largely pursued by the London Missionary Society for twenty years. By the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. G., I was able to visit most of them. They form a curious variety — Chinese, Malay, Tamul, Portuguese, and English; some for boys, and some for girls; and numbering in the whole not less than eight hundred pupils. The resident English have not only liberally contributed to the expense, and shared the labor of management, but have been unceasing in their pains to gather and encourage scholars. Little benefit has resulted, in comparison to the means and the money employed. I regretted to see so much charity-money bestowed on *Portuguese* schools. The cause of benevolence is not concerned to perpetuate this language in the East; and the spoken language is so corrupt that the pure Portuguese, learned at school, is almost useless. It has not been possible to obtain in this language a proper supply even of school-books; much less will the pupils find valuable reading, even if they become able to understand it. Nearly three hundred pupils, the descendants of Chinese fathers, married to Malays, &c., study Chinese. No objection is made by these parents to the use of Christian school-books, nor to the pupils attending worship on the Sabbath, and other religious services.

A number of German brethren have recently settled at Malacca to labor for the Malays, some of which are supported by individuals in England and elsewhere. The school formed by Mr. Tomlin, (and still principally supported by him,) for all sorts of boys to be taught in English, is still maintained, taught by one of these. Its plan is happy, and many have learned not only the English language, but the rudiments of geography, grammar, arithmetic, &c.

As to conversions to Christianity, Malacca has few instances; so few as to call for anxious inquiry. As to the natives, it remains a moral wilderness. The schools, so vigorously and so long maintained, have not been prolific of spiritual good. Thousands who have attended them, are now heads of families, and ample time has elapsed, to allow the efforts to show mature results; but no Malay Christian, that I could learn, is to be found in the place! Even the Protestant, Portuguese, and Dutch inhabitants have diminished in number.

The Malay race is classed by itself, in geographies, as the fifth great division of the human family; but with what propriety I do not see. They have, certainly, no peculiarity of form or fea-

ture, to entitle them to this distinction, and history, so far from furnishing a claim, shows them to be a mixed race, of comparatively recent origin.

The original country of the Malays is not known. The evidence is in favor of Sumatra. Both at Celebes and Sumatra, there are prevalent traditions, which assign the period of their origin to the middle of the twelfth century. About that time, a celebrated chief of Celebes went on an exploring and trading voyage to the westward, from whence he had occasionally seen natives. In the course of the expedition, he put into a river of Sumatra, where a large number of his followers absconded in a body, and, passing into the interior, settled the region of Menan-kâ-bo. Obtaining wives from the adjacent tribes, and possessing more civilization, they gradually formed a new race, and rose to dominion. Most of them had been slaves, obtained from the Moluccas, and employed as wood-cutters and drudges to the fleet. Hence they were called Malays, from *Mala*, to bring, and *aya*, wood. Sir Stamford Raffles affirms that, to this day, the people of Celebes look with great contempt on Malays; and are in the habit of repeating* the origin of the name. A general similarity between the Malays and the inhabitants of the Moluccas has been often remarked. And, what is more remarkable, the Malay language is spoken more purely in the Moluccas than on the Malay peninsula.

If this origin of the Malays be true, it accounts for the similarity which has been remarked between them and several of the tribes of the archipelago, such as the Eidabans and Dayas of Borneo; the Sabanos, of Magindano; the Tagats and Pampan-gocs, of the Manillas; and the Biscayans, of the Philippines.

On the arrival of the Arabs in Sumatra, the Moslem faith rapidly supplanted paganism, and this by proselytism, not by force. Whether their language had before been reduced to writing, is not clear; but it now was written in the Arabic characters, which continue to be used. Since the introduction of European influence, the Roman alphabet is becoming prevalent, and the larger part of those who can read, do so in that character.

The new nation extended their conquests and colonies, till all Sumatra yielded them feudal homage. In the thirteenth century, they passed over to the peninsula, and took or built Malacca and Singapore. Gradually extending their dominions and colonies, the chief seat of their power was transferred to the new territory; and the chiefs of Sumatra began to throw off their yoke. Proceeding to acquire power and numbers, they at length not only

regained Sumatra, but conquered the Sunda, Philippine, and Molucca Islands, with many smaller groups, and are now found in all these regions, as well as Borneo, Luconia, and many other islands; but without any centre of unity or power, without literature, freedom, or civilization. They have sunk to insignificance, and are apparently still sinking in national character.

To elucidate and establish the filiation of the Malays, and many of their neighbor tribes, a full comparison of the languages of Farther India, is greatly wanted. Leyden published a work on this subject; but it is much too imperfect to be of any value. No one man can do more than *contribute* to the undertaking. The Rev. Mr. Brown, missionary at Sudiya, in Asam, is making exertions to obtain comparative vocabularies of as many of the Eastern languages as possible, and, we presume, will succeed in presenting a valuable contribution toward this desideratum.

At what period the people of Menangkabo embraced the doctrines of the prophet, does not appear. The conversion of Malacca and Acheen took place in the thirteenth century; but it is uncertain whether Menangkabo was converted previous to this date; although the religion is said to have been preached at Sumatra, as early as the twelfth century. About A. D. 1160, a colony issued from the interior of Sumatra, and established themselves at Singapore, where a line of Hindu princes continued to reign until 1276. Whatever may, in more remote times, have been the nature of the intercourse between foreign nations and Menangkabo itself, we know that Singapore, during the period noticed, was an extensively maritime and commercial state, and, at the time when the Portuguese settled at Malacca, embraced the largest portion of the commerce between the Bay of Bengal, and the China Sea.

The Malay peninsula (called by the natives *Tanah Malayu*, "the land of the Malays") is the only great country wholly occupied by this race; and is now divided into the kingdoms of Keda, Perak, and Salengore, in the west; Johore, in the south; Pahang, Tringano, Calantan, Patani, and Ligore, in the east. There are states in the interior less known; viz. Rumbo, Johole, Jompo'e, Gominchi, Sungie-Oojong, Scrimenanti, Naming Ulu, Calang, Jellye, Jellaboo, Segamet, Kemoung, &c. Some of these are divided into separate tribes; as, for instance, Jellaboo consists of the tribes of Bodoanda, Tannah-Dottar, Muncal, and Battu-Balang. Scrimenanti embraces twelve tribes, though the population does not exceed ten thousand. Sungie-Oojong, Johole,

Scrimenantt, and Rumbo, are called "Menangkabo states." The entire population is very small; some of the states numbering not more than two thousand souls. The whole peninsula, except Rumbo and Johore, is claimed by Siam; but many of the tribes are independent, and of others the subjection is but nominal.

Scattered over the peninsula, without specific districts and locations, are several wild tribes, of whom almost nothing is known. East of Malacca are Udai, Sak-kye, and Rayet-Utan, and some negro tribes. These all go under the name of *Orang-Benua*, or country people. These have each a language or dialect, but largely tinged with Malay. Further north, on the mountains, are negro tribes; but evidently distinct from the African race. Of these tribes we hope soon to know more. They seem to be a distinct variety of the human race; differing both from the African, and the Papuan of New Guinea; and inferior to both. The average height of the men is about four feet eight inches. These Malay negroes are thinly spread over a considerable district, in and in the rear of Malacca, and thence northward to Mergui; amounting in the whole to but few thousands. There are at least five tribes of them—the Joc-oons, Sa-mangs, Oo-dees, Sak-ais, and Ry-ots. All of them are much below the Malays, and some scarcely above the apes; dwelling in trees and clefts of the mountain. A few have learned a little Malay, and occasionally venture among adjacent tribes, to purchase tobacco and utensils; but of letters they know nothing. Nor have any religious observances been discovered among them. Their only weapon is the sumpit, a small hollow cane, about eight feet long, through which they blow short arrows, often poisoned at the tip. One of these, together with the quiver full of poisoned arrows, was presented to me by the British resident at Malacca. The sumpit is somewhat ornamented, but as a warlike weapon, is quite insignificant.

CHAPTER IV.

Take leave of British India — European Manners — Voyage to Bangkok — River Meinam — Paknam — Audience with the Governor — Situation of Bangkok — Floating Houses — General Appearance — Visit to the Pra Klang; Servile Forms of Politeness — Chow Fah; Singular Custom — Pra Nai Wai — Pra Amramole — Present of an Elephant; Of a Cochin-Chinese Slave — Population of Bangkok — Police of the City — Climate — Wats — Houses — Streets — Bridges — Somona Codom — History of Siam — Extent of the Empire — Population — Personal Appearance of Siamese — Dress — Amusements — Military Force — Commerce — Prices of Provision — Fruits — Currency — Character — Degree of Civilization — Slavery — Language — Establishment of the Mission — Mission Premises — Worship — Converts — Bangkok a Station for the Chinese — Distribution of Scriptures — Need of more Laborers — Constitution of a Church — Harmony of Sects — Roman Catholics.

As I am now taking my leave of British Indian society, and have but slightly alluded to the mode of living, it is incumbent on me to say a few words on that point. The houses are large and airy, with whitewashed walls; the floors are matted; as little furniture as possible kept in any room; and punkas depend from every ceiling. Every bed has its mosquito curtain of gauze, which is tied up during the day, and let down about sun set, before the insects get abroad. A taper, in a tumbler of oil, burns all night in each room, by which, before day dawn, you dress negligently for the morning drive. At dawn,* a servant brings a cup of coffee, with a slice of dry toast, and announces that the horses are ready. An hour's ride brings you home again, and you shave, bathe, dress, read, &c., till breakfast, which is at ten o'clock. Here the family meet, and enjoy social intercourse during a leisurely repast, when they separate again, the gentlemen to their place of business, and the ladies to their domestic employments. Calls of ceremony are made about noon; always, of course, in some close carriage, to avoid the sun. About one or two o'clock comes tiffin, or lunch, as we say, consisting of plantains and other fruits, with nice bread and butter,

* It will be recollected that between the tropics the sun always rises not far from six o'clock.

and water, bottles of which have been cooled in tubs of moist saltpetre.

Merchants, and gentlemen whose business is at a distance from their dwelling, do not come home to this meal, but have it brought to them. As to dinner, there is a diversity, the plainer sort taking it at five o'clock, and then riding out; the more fashionable riding first, and dining about half past seven or eight. But the sunset drive, all regard as indispensable. Indeed, European life in India seems a constant struggle to keep off death. The standing and favorite dish, both at breakfast and dinner, is rice and curry; the former boiled plain and dry, the latter consisting of prawns, fish, or fowl, stewed with abundant gravy, seasoned almost to burning heat, with ground chillies, ginger, and onions. Instead of water, the curry is mixed with the expressed juice of rasped coco-nuts. The dinner is generally sumptuous, and the etiquette quite ceremonious, but far removed from stiffness and reserve. The waving punka overhead entirely prevents discomfort on account of the heat. So far as my experience goes, English society in India is far more intelligent and agreeable than among the same grade in England; perhaps because they are all travellers; and travelling not only instructs and polishes, but tends strongly to promote liberal and enlarged feelings. After dinner, music and rational conversation fill up the evening, and all retire in good season. A cup of tea is generally handed round in the course of the evening; but spirituous liquors are sinking into disuse.

Missionaries in Hindustan live in a similar manner, only as much more plainly, as ministers in this country live more plain than their wealthy parishioners. The missionaries in Burmah have breakfast and dinner earlier, and omit tea. They do not keep horses, but take their morning and evening exercise on foot. They seldom get any other meat than fowl, or any other vegetables than rice, sweet potatoes, stewed cucumbers, and pumpkins. Plantains are often fried or roasted, and are very fine. At stations where there are English officers, there are always bakers and herdmen, who daily furnish excellent bread, and plenty of butter and milk. Their houses are described and represented on page 66.

Leaving Singapore on the 24th of May, 1837, I arrived off the River of Siam, without accident, in eleven days. We came to anchor on the edge of the bar, amid numerous junks just leaving Siam; but could scarcely discern the low shore, distant fifteen or sixteen miles. The river, called by the natives *Meinam*,

or "mother of waters," is difficult to find, as the coast is a dead level, scarcely above low-water mark. The bar is ten or twelve miles broad, with but one and a half fathom's water at low tide, and extending many miles east and west. Vessels, therefore, can pass and repass with only part of their load. Even thus lightened, they generally ground once or twice; but, the bottom being soft mud, except at its outer edge, they take no harm. The southwest monsoon, concentrating here as in the end of a funnel, raises a heavy sea, and makes it a wild place for vessels to remain, as they must for several weeks. Formerly, ships trading to the Meinam River, anchored in the fine harbor of Ko-ci-chang Island, where wood and water are easily procured; but the great distance renders it inconvenient. A small fleet, however, in possession of that cluster of islands could effectually blockade Bangkok, and cut off all its commerce.

Taking a seat with the captain in the pinnace at dawn of day, on the 4th of June, we crossed the bar in about three hours, scarcely discerning the mouth of the river till we were in it. I looked in vain along the beach for the *nocto*,* said to be taller than the ostrich. The mouth of the river is about a mile and a half wide, and presents nothing but gloomy mangrove, the deadly silence of which was only broken by the occasional screams of unseen birds. The region is precisely similar to the Sunderbunds of the Ganges.

We had scarcely ascended a mile, before there came on one of those violent squalls of wind and rain, common here at this season. On every side had been seen boats; but now, in a minute or two, they were either upset, or, being near the shore, had run aground for safety. Being in the mid-channel for the benefit of the tide, we were near being overturned. As we dashed on before it, using every effort to reduce sail, and expecting at least to lose the mast, we passed some of the natives swimming with perfect coolness beside their boats, and preparing to right them. It was difficult to feel that we must not stay to aid them; but the offer would have been matter of ridicule.

Three miles above the mouth of the river, we reached the town of Paknam, where all foreigners are required to stop and report themselves. The first impressions of Siamese towns were by no means exhilarating. Led through rain and mud, along narrow, filthy passages, called streets, and a stinking bazar, we reached the mean and dirty house of the governor of the

* So called by the Siamese, from *noc*, great, and *to*, a bird.

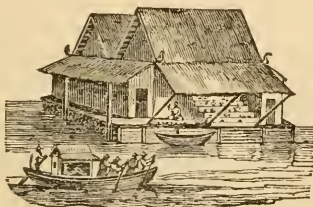
province. The hall of audience presented a burlesque on official pomp. It was a large room, open in front, with part of the floor raised, as usual, a few feet, destitute of carpet or matting. From the lofty ceiling hung an odd diversity of small chandeliers, apparently never used, and against the very tops of the pillars stood Dutch and Chinese mirrors, leaning forward, in which one sees himself drawn out into more shapes than Proteus ever knew. Chinese paper-hangings and pictures, neither new nor nice, covered most of the rest of the roof and walls; the whole grim with dust and smoke. His lordship, perfectly naked, except the cloth round his loins, sat on a mat, leaning on a triangular pillow, covered with morocco. The attendants crouched, as before the highest monarch, and we alone dared to assume any position by which the head should be more elevated than his. A multitude of questions was asked, respecting the ship's size, cargo, armament, crew, &c., and my name, office, countries I had seen, objects in coming to Siam, and intended length of stay; all which were carefully written down to be forwarded post haste to Bangkok.

Preferring exposure to the rain, in the open pinnace, to our catechetical tedium, we embarked as soon as released, and arrived at Bangkok (distant about twenty-five miles) a little after dark. At Paknam, and several places above, are forts on well selected points, and somewhat in European construction. Most of the way, the shores are uninhabited, and appear to be in process of being redeemed from the sea, the high tide laying them under water. Almost the only growth, at first, is the attap, or dennee, called by Siamese chak, (*Cocos-nypa*), and of which the best thatch is made; and the mangrove, (*Rhizophora*), in several varieties. This latter plant grows over all the East, on the boundary between salt and fresh water, and sometimes in the salt water itself; and is a principal agent in extending the deltas of great rivers. It grows down to low-water mark, its thick, strong roots resisting almost any wave. The fruit, club-shaped, and a foot long, bending down the branch to which it hangs, reaches the earth, vegetates, and forms an arch. These arches, roots, branches, and strong stems, obstructing all currents, the quiet water deposits its sediment, and earth gains on ocean.

The latter half of the way presents almost a continued succession of houses, embowered in a dense growth of various palms, and other fruit-trees. Behind, as I afterward found, are rich and extensive paddy-fields. The river at the mouth is, per-

haps, two miles wide, but half way up lessens to one, and at Bangkok to less than half a mile.

Bangkok is about twenty-five miles from the sea; lat. $13^{\circ} 58'$, long. $100^{\circ} 34'$. It covers a considerable island in the river, and extends along both shores for several miles, above and below. Its aspect differs from that of any other city, and but for its novelty, would be rather repulsive. Little is seen on ascending the river, but a row of floating houses, on each



Floating House.

side, small and mean; most of them open in front, and containing a little shop. The goods are arranged on a succession of shelves, like stairs, to the height of about three feet; and the shopman sits alongside on the floor, as seen in the picture. The front of the centre part, or shop, opens with hinges at the top, and is propped up in the day-time with a bamboo, making a good awning. The sides and rear of the building are occupied by the family. The whole stands on a raft of large bamboos, which is renewed every two or three years. They are kept in place, not by anchors, but by large poles on each side, driven into the muddy bottom.

The Chinese junks, which make annual voyages to Bangkok, had not all gone, when I arrived, (early in June,) and a large number lay moored in the mid-river; some of great size, probably eight or nine hundred tons. A few handsome pagodas, and other sacred edifices, rise from what seems to be a forest, but is in reality a great city. Innumerable boats, of every size, move about the river. The larger ones are at once boat, dwelling-house, and shop. The smallest are scarcely so large as a coffin. Hucksters, and retailers of all sorts, ply about with their wares exhibited on the deck of their batteau; one person paddling at each end, generally a woman. Cargo-boats, yawls, sampans, pleasure-boats, &c., make up a scene of extraordinary

variety, animation, and novelty. Canals and ditches, navigable a part of every tide, are ramified in all directions, and reach almost every house. The river is at once the highway, the canal, the exchange, the market, and the pleasure-ground.

It was always interesting to see how a little good nature prevented all confusion and danger. No one resents occasional concussions. Smaller boats always give place to larger. The paddles, held perpendicularly, occupy much less space than oars, and all ply with consummate dexterity. If a man or woman be knocked into the water, there is a laugh on both sides, and no one is alarmed. If a skiff is upset, the boatmen soon hold it edgewise, and, with a sudden toss, throw it up into the air. It comes down quite dry, and they get in and proceed as if nothing had happened. Even children of five and six years push about, wholly alone, in boats not much larger than themselves, with the edge hardly two inches above the water. I sometimes saw these overset; but no one offered assistance, and the child showed no apprehension. On one occasion, as I was passing up the river, a little girl, of six or seven years, coming suddenly out of a little passage between two houses, struck her skiff so hard against my boat, that hers was upset, and she was thrown off several feet, while her little paddle flew in an opposite direction. She looked for a moment perfectly amazed, and then burst out into a fit of laughter! My boatmen never thought of stopping, and I soon perceived, on looking back, that she had recovered her paddle, and was swimming behind her boat, still upside down, pushing it toward the shore. A case of drowning is seldom heard of.

The memoranda sent up by the governor of Paknam to the Pra Klang, or minister of foreign affairs, produced me an early invitation, through one of his writers, to call and see him. As soon as the ship came up the river, and put me in possession of proper clothes, and a present, Mr. Jones and myself waited on him, at an hour agreed upon.

The great man, the apartment, and the ceremonies differed little from the scene at Paknam, except in being more respectable. His lordship seemed about fifty years old, and possessed that important item of honorable distinction in the East—corpulence. His entire dress being only a cotton *pa-nome*, or wrapper round the hips, corpulence seemed any thing but attractive in this case. He held his present office during the embassies of Colonel Burney and Major Crawford from England, and of Mr. Roberts from our country; and is certainly a clever and enlightened man.

We were not required to take off our shoes, or hold down our heads; but those in attendance, among whom were native princes and a Portuguese interpreter, crawled about on hauds and knees, with demoustrations of the deepest homage.

My reception was kind, frank, and respectful. He put many questions respecting my age, clerical rank, objects in coming, what other countries I had ever seen, what I saw and heard among great men at Ava, the condition of Burmah, probable successor to the throne, &c. He had heard, but in a very vague manner, of the death of the Burman king, and was delighted to obtain information from one who had so lately visited Ava. The answers were all written down by a secretary, and read over to him, to be sure of their exactness. They were probably to be communicated to the king. Fruits, sweetmeats, and cheroots were frequently landed, and for drink, tea in little cups, and the juice of pine-apples in flowing bumpers. How dignified, rational, and virtuous, such beverages, compared to the spirituous potations demanded by the hospitalities of more civilized races! I found it difficult to introduce religious subjects, except to present him thanks, on behalf of our Board, for his kindness and protection to the missionaries, which, though scanty, has been valuable; and to descant a little on the nature of true religion, and the policy and justice of free toleration.

I discovered none of that dislike of Burmah, which Crawford mentions as so great, that any allusion to that country was a breach of politeness. On the contrary, my having recently spent several months there, and seen "the great government men," led to numerous questions, not only now, but at each succeeding audience.

At a subsequent visit, I saw my first Siamese acquaintance, the governor of Paknam, submitting to the same servilities. Before the king, this lordly Pra Klang, himself and the highest nobles creep as abject as the poor slaves do here. With us, an inferior *stands*; but, in Burmah and Siam, he seats himself if we stand, squats if we sit, and leans down on his elbows if we sit on the floor. To hold the head higher than a superior or equal, is an affront. Hence, when the servants bring in refreshments, they are obliged to place the waiter on the floor, as soon as they reach the apartment where the master and guests are, and come in crawling on their elbows and bellies, shoving the refreshments before them. I always observed the attendants on the young nobles walk about on their knees, to avoid the elevation of their heads above that of the young master.

There was less of dignity and intelligence displayed by Siamese nobles than I met with in those of Burmah. The magnitude and value of the diamonds and rubies I had seen in Burmah, in what country I had seen the best, and the exact size and hue of the young white elephant I had seen at Madras, seemed topics of primary interest! The Pra Klang produced some of his gems, which were indeed of astonishing size and brilliancy. A full band of Siamese music played, during the interview, at a little distance, in a manner far from disagreeable.

Subsequent visits introduced me to Chow Fah Noi, or his royal highness, Prince Momfanoi, Pra Nai Wai, Pra Am-ramo-le, &c. The circumstances did not so differ from those to the Pra Klang, as to afford new views of national character, and I therefore offer no description. One of the present king's sons, and other "nobles," as they are called, visited the mission-house during my stay, but neither in dress, deportment, intellect, or information, inspired the least respect. Mr. Hunter, the only European merchant in Siam, offered to introduce me to the king; but for various reasons I thought it inexpedient.

Chow Fah Noi is the probable successor to the throne; and in fact is now entitled to it, rather than the present monarch, who is an illegitimate son. Should he assume the government, Siam must advance from her present lowliness and semi-civilization. No man in the kingdom is so qualified to govern well. His naturally fine mind is enlarged and improved by intercourse with foreigners, by the perusal of English works, by the study of mathematics, by freeing himself from a bigoted attachment to Boodhism, by candidly recognizing our superiority, and a readiness to adopt our arts. He understands the use of the sextant and chronometer, and was anxious for the latest nautical almanac, which I promised to send him. His little daughters, accustomed to the sight of foreigners, so far from showing any signs of fear, always came to sit upon my lap, though the yellow cosmetic on their limbs was sure to be transferred in part to my dress. One of them took pride in repeating to me a few words of English, and the other took care to display her power of projecting the elbow forward. This singular custom, as has been mentioned, prevails in Burmah, and is deemed very genteel.



Lady sitting.

Pra Nai Wai (or Koon Sit; as his late title

was) is son of the Pra Klang, and resembles Chow Fah in many points, both of character and attainments, but does not speak English so well. They are intimate friends, and will probably rise together. His influence must prove auspicious to the best interests of his country.

None of these distinguished personages manifested any other than the most friendly feelings. On making my farewell visit to the Pra Klang, I noticed some slaves pushing a young elephant through the gate into the yard in front of the audience-hall. He was just weaned, and came reluctantly, but gently, into the midst of the prostrate crowd, manifesting no dislike to the strange costume of Mr. Jones and myself. When I had caressed him a moment, and admired his smooth, glossy skin, I was told that he was a present for me! What could I do? The vessel had dropped down, and passed the bar, and it was too late now to get water or provisions for such a passenger. Fearful of giving offence, by refusing so great an honor, (for only nobles are allowed to own and use elephants,) I showed why it was not now convenient to take him, and begged that they would give me instead, an *ankus*, or elephant-hook, such as is used in Siam. The poor little elephant was accordingly withdrawn, and the hook sent to my boat. I brought it home as a keepsake and curiosity. But it is a ferocious instrument. The iron head or hook weighs four and a quarter pounds, fastened to a handle of very heavy wood, about four feet long. A blow might be struck with such an instrument, which would break any elephant's skull.

The most interesting gift was a slave boy, about fifteen years of age, brought from Cochin-China, a prisoner of war. The king had given him, with others, to Pra Nai Wai, who, finding him to be a boy of uncommon cleverness, had lent him to the Rev. Mr. Jones, that he might learn English. Having noticed him in that family, and hoping that he might, at some future day, carry the gospel to Cochin-China, or at least prove a blessing to Siam, I asked the prince, his master, to set him free, that he might return with me to America, and receive a trade and education. He chose not to set him free, lest it might offend the king, but gave him to me before witnesses. After accompanying me to Singapore, Malacca, and China, he came home with me to the United States, and is now engaged in acquiring the trade of a carpenter. If it should hereafter seem proper, he will be sent to an academy a few years, before he returns to Bangkok.

The city has no mayor, and little police of any kind. Each great man exercises supreme power over his slaves, which often amount to several thousands. Each class of foreigners have their head man, before whom causes are heard.



Site of Bankok.

There is little litigation among the Siamese. No one dare carry a complaint to a ruler without a bribe; and most persons choose rather to suffer indignities and injuries, than complain. Gambling prevails to a frightful extent, especially among the Chinese. The licensing and management of the "hells" is farmed out by government to an individual, who is said to pay about thirty-three thousand dollars per annum for the privilege. He generally grows rich on his bargain, though his income is only an

eighth of all sums won. Opium-smoking, among the Chinese portion of the population, is very common, and the practice is increasing among the Siamese.

The climate of Bankok may be called hot, but is as pleasant and salubrious, probably, as almost any city in the East. The suite of Mr. Crawford, when here as English ambassador, amounted to a hundred and thirty persons. They were very inconveniently lodged; and their stay was during the four worst months of the year; yet no death, or even indisposition, occurred, except a casualty.

November, December, January, and February, are the winter months. March, April, and May, are hot. The rains begin the last of May, and continue through September, and occasionally till the beginning of November. Even in the height of the wet season, it seldom rains so much and so long, as to be tedious. In the beginning and close of the season, most of every day is fine, and often several days successively. It is, on the whole, a very pleasant part of the year.

The following is an abstract from a register kept for one year by Dr. Bradley, a missionary from the American Board:—

Mean temperature of November, 79.51; of December, 77.83;

of January, 79.86; of February, 80.77; of the entire cool season, 78.99.

Mean temperature of March, 84.38; of April, 86.33; of May, 84.58; of the entire hot season, 85.09.

Mean temperature of June, 84.78; of July, 83.76; of August, 84.02; of September, 83.62; of October, 83.29; of the entire wet season, 83.95.

Mean temperature of the whole year, 82.57.

Mean range of the thermometer, 13°.

The sacred places in Bangkok are called *Wats*. They consist of a spacious grove, containing pagodas, temples, image-houses, dwellings for the priests, and various minor structures used in particular observances. The pagodas do not differ greatly from those of Burmah, but are smaller and less numerous. The priests' residences are generally less sumptuous than those of Ava, but are oftener built of brick, and have tiled roofs. I saw some not only well furnished, but elegant; and as imposing as carving and gilding, in bad taste, can make them.

In and around Bangkok are more than a hundred Wats, occupying all the best locations. As some of them embrace several acres, they cover no small part of the site of the city, and are the only pleasant parts of it. Paved and shady walks, clean courts, and fragrant shrubberies, form a strong contrast to the vile odors, rude paths, and spreading mud, encountered every where else. The style of building and decoration is, in all, more or less Chinese; but generally with incongruous additions of Portuguese, Siamese, or Peguan artists. Griffins, balustrades, granite flagging, &c., imported from China, are found in the best Wats. Most of the buildings are of brick, plastered on the outside, and wrought into an absurd mosaic, with Chinese and Liverpool cups, plates and dishes of all sizes, broken and whole, so set in as to form flowers and figures! A more grotesque mosaic there could not be.

One trace of Egyptian architecture is universally found, both in sacred structures and private; viz. in the tapering shape of doors and windows. Pagodas here, as elsewhere, are plainly of the family of the pyramids. The Burmans make stupendous pagodas and monasteries, while the image-houses and zayats are comparatively small, and often trifling. On the contrary, the Siamese construct trifling pagodas, and small and detached priests' houses, and bestow their wealth and labor in erecting

vast image-houses or temples. These are made beautiful to Siamese taste, by pillars, gilding, historical paintings, and Chinese tinsel. If ever Christianity become prevalent in this country, it will find in these structures an ample supply of churches.

One cannot avoid contrasting the size and costliness of the sacred edifices with the meanness of the city in other respects. The houses are small and rude, and the streets in general nothing more than foot-paths, overgrown with bushes, bamboos, and palms. Every species of filth and offal is thrown among these bushes; and the state of the air may be supposed. Every few rods, a canal or ditch is to be crossed; and a log, or plank or two, without a handrail, is generally the only bridge; those of the principal thoroughfares are better, but none are good or neat. Of the numerous canals, not one is walled up or planked, except sometimes to secure a Wat. Most of them are left bare at half-tide, presenting a loathsome slime, and filling the air with stench, beside being useless half the time. Not an effort seems to be made by the authorities to improve the city. Hindus make tanks, wells, bridges, and choultries for the public good; but no such efforts are known in Siam. Such works are so much less meritorious, according to Boodhism, than the erection of sacred edifices and supporting priests, that private munificence is led by superstition thus to expend itself; and the rulers are too selfish to supply the deficiency.

Several writers speak of the Siamese worshipping a god called Somona Kodom. Among others is Finlayson, who attempts to translate the name, and says, "The founder of the Siamese religion has various names, one of which is *Somona Codom*, that is, '*He who steals cattle*'"! How he got this interpretation he does not say. The American ambassador, Roberts, adopts the same mistake. He says, "Somona Kodom, the cattle-stealer, a Singalese, was the missionary who first propagated this religion in these parts"! Somona Codom is but another name for Gaudama; and the Siamese have no other deity. Their language having no letter *g*, *c* is substituted; and, as final vowels are generally omitted, Gaudama becomes Caudam, or Codom. Somona is merely a title, and means "priest" — the priest Codom. In the word *Boodha*, they change *b* into *p*, and *d* into *t*, making it *Pootah*, or *P-hûta*. They generally write it Pra Pootah Chow, or the "Lord God Boodh."

The Siamese call themselves *Tai*, (pronounced *tie*;) the Shyans

they call *Tai-Yai*, or "the Great Tai." By the Burmans, Siam is called *Yudia*, from the name of the former metropolis, and the people they call *Yudia Shyan*, or *Yudias*. The Asamese, the Shyans, and the Siamese evidently spring from a common stock; the Shyans probably being the parent. Their existence, as an independent people, is probably of no very ancient date. They have history, carrying back its dates to the time of Somona Codom, B. C. 544; but their credible records reach only to about 1350, at which time Ayuthia, the old capital, seems to have been founded. Before this, their capital was Lakontai, in the Laos country. They seem to have been at one time subject to Camboja, as is declared in the records of that country. The fact that the Cambojan language was once that of the court, and remains so to a considerable extent, tends to confirm this position.

The region of Siam seems to have been known to the early Romans. There are good reasons for supposing it to be the country called *Sinæ*, by Ptolemy and Cosmas; though that term may include also Camboja and China.

The first notice of Siam, by European writers, is an account of an overland expedition against Malacca in 1502. Crawford states that, from 1567 to 1596, Siam was subject to Burmah. In 1612, an English ship ascended the river to A-yüt-hia, then the metropolis. Nine years afterward, the Franciscans and Dominicans introduced Popery. In 1683, Phaulcon, an enterprising Greek, became prime minister, and introduced a respect for European customs and nations; but was cut off before he had accomplished any great improvements in society. In 1687, the misconduct of some English merchants, at Mergui, ended in their being massacred; and in the following year, some which had settled at Ayuthia were expelled the kingdom. Contests for the throne distracted the country from 1690 till 1759; and during this interval, viz. about 1750, Alompra, the victorious founder of the present Burman dynasty, seized Mergui, Tavoy, and Martaban, and overran the whole valley of the Meinam. During the war, some of the principal citizens moved to Chantabon, a province on the east side of the Gulf of Siam, and thus escaped the presence and exactions of the Burman armies. Among these was Pye-ya-tak, son of a wealthy Chinaman by a native woman, who gradually gathered followers, and made successful resistance to the new dynasty, till, at length, he drove the Burmans from the country, and assumed the throne. With a view to commerce, he made Bangkok the metropolis, instead of Ayuthia, and, after a successful reign, died in 1782.

The kingdom is now larger and in a better state than ever before. The Tenasserim provinces are indeed lost; but it has acquired Keda, Patani, Ligore, and most of the Malay peninsula. It has recently acquired one of the most valuable and fertile sections of Camboja; embracing the rich province of Bata-bang. The present boundary, in that direction, is on the Camboja River, extending from about lat. 12° to 14° north. Including the districts just named, Siam extends from 7° to 19° of north latitude, bounded by the Tenasserim provinces on the west, Burman Lao and China on the north, Cochin-China on the east, and the Gulf of Siam on the south. The extreme length is about eight hundred miles, and the average breadth about one hundred.

The population of Siam is probably about 3,000,000. Of these about 800,000 are Shyans, 195,000 Malays, and 450,000 Chinese, leaving the number of proper Siamese 1,500,000.

In 1750, the whole population was computed by the French missionaries at 1,900,000. Our late ambassador to Siam, Mr. Roberts, estimates the proper Siamese at 1,600,000; Siamese Laos, 1,200,000; Chinese, 500,000; Malays, 320,000.

The country is described by Mr. Gutzlaff as one of the most fertile in Asia; and by the *Encyclopædia Americana* as very mountainous. Both statements are true in part. The Meinam valley, no where over fifty miles wide, the district of Chantabon, recently taken from Camboja, and some other level spots, are exceedingly productive. But most of the empire is mountainous, poor, and scarcely inhabited.

In personal appearance, they come behind any nation I have yet seen, especially the women. Among the thousands of these that came under my notice, I never saw one who was comely. The men are often good looking. The national characteristics seem to be a broad and flat face, long and square lower jaw, large mouth, thick lips, small nose, forehead very broad and low, cheek bones prominent. A striking peculiarity is the size of the back part of the jaw, the bone and flesh projecting laterally, as if the parotid glands were swollen. The average height of the men is five feet, two inches. Both sexes wear the hair close, except on the top of the head, from the forehead to the crown, where it is about two inches long, and, being kept stroked back, stands erect. The rest is kept shaved by men, and cut pretty close by women. As the shaving is not often done, it is generally difficult to tell a man from a woman. The principal mark is, that a woman has a line round the edge of the top-knot, made by plucking out a breadth of two or three hairs, so as to show

the white skin, as in the picture. Only those who are nice about their persons, however, take this trouble. Roberts declares, in his Embassy to the East, that he never could tell a man from a woman, when numbers were seated together.



Siamese Woman.

The raiment of both sexes is alike; consisting of a cloth, wrapped round the hips, with the end passed between the thighs, and tucked in at the small of the back. It descends below the knees, and is generally of printed cotton. At a distance, it resembles trousers. Young women, and those of the richer sort, wear also a narrow kerchief, or scarf, crossed on the breast, and passing under the arms, as in the figure.

Unlike most Asiatics, the Siamese reject ornaments in the nose or ears, but are fond of bangles, bracelets, necklaces, and finger-rings. Turbans are not used; but in the sun, a light hat, made of palm-leaves, precisely in the shape of a large inverted milk-pan, is set upon the head by an elastic bamboo frame, which holds it up several inches, and permits the air to pass between. Neither sex tattoo any part of their bodies, deeming it a mark of barbarism. The universal mode of carrying small children, as in every other part of the East visited by me, is astride on the hip, as shown in the picture. It certainly is more easy thus to carry a heavy child than in the arms, at least when the infant is divested of all raiment.

Play-acting, cock-fighting, and flying kites, are prominent amusements. In the two latter, princes and priests, both old and young, engage with delight. They have also a small pugnacious species of fish, the fighting of which is a very admired pastime.

In regard to buildings, food, agriculture, education, literature, medical practice, priesthood, religion, crimes, punishments, government, laws, marriage, divorce, burial, and many other topics, the statements made respecting Burmah apply so nearly as to make further remarks, in this place, unnecessary.

They have no standing army, but every able-bodied male is liable at any time to be called into the field, by the mere will of his chief. The king has, for a good many years, made large

annual purchases of muskets, which must amount now to more than eighty thousand stand. Of cannon they have plenty. They make good brass cannon, some of them very large, but seldom have proper carriages. At Bangkok there is the semblance of a respectable navy, consisting of scores of war junks, galleys, and other vessels of various sizes, built on the Cochin-Chinese model, and mounting heavy guns. But the Siamese are no sailors; and when brought into service, these vessels are manned by the promiscuous populace, and officered by Chinese or other foreigners. No crews are now attached to their vessels, and they stand in rude wet docks, covered by regular ship-houses, as in our navy-yards.

The commerce of Siam has narrowly escaped the fate of that of Tringano, Patani, &c. Hamilton states that he visited Siam in 1719, "on the foundation of a treaty of commerce, made in 1684, between King Charles and the King of Siam's ambassadors in London." His ship went up to Ayuthia, leaving the guns "at Bangkok, a castle about half way up the river." The Dutch trade must even then have been considerable, as they had a factory about a mile below Ayuthia, and a resident company of merchants. It appears that, long previous to the said treaty with England, some British merchants had a factory near Ayuthia; but a quarrel with the governor, who commanded in 1684, resulted in their expulsion, and only within about twenty years has that trade regularly recommenced. American, Dutch, and Bombay vessels now resort to Bangkok; and though the trade is not likely soon to be large or important, it will probably be steady. A new treaty of commerce was made with England in 1826, and another with the United States in 1833.

The number of Chinese junks, regularly trading to this city, cannot be less than two hundred annually. Many of them are of five or six hundred tons, and some are not less than a thousand. Thirty or more trade to Canton and vicinity; nearly as many are from Hainan; and the rest from other places. Seventy or eighty sometimes lie in the river at a time. Some of these vessels are owned by Siamese, and still more by Chinamen, residing in Bangkok; but the crews are never Siamese. None of the larger ones make more than one voyage a year; going in one monsoon, and returning in the other. Most of them arrive in December and January, and depart in May and June. Numerous prows and small junks keep up a constant intercourse with the coasts of the Gulf of Siam, and principal neighboring

islands.* Two or three Siamese ships, built on the European model, trade to Singapore. Cochin-Chinese vessels were formerly numerous; but the late war has suppressed that trade, for a time at least. An artificial canal, kept in good order, connected with the Camboja River, brings some trade from that direction. Bangkok has certainly the largest commerce, next to Canton, of any place in the world, not inhabited by white men.

During the presence of the junks in the river, the city exhibits a very active scene of buying and selling; many of them retailing their cargo from the vessel. The shops furnish, at all times, almost every article demanded by European or Indian customs.

The total value of exports per annum from Bangkok, is not less than five millions of dollars. The chief articles are sugar, sapan wood, tin, timber, rice, stick-lac, gamboge, benzoin,† ivory, pepper, and cotton; and small quantities of betel-nut, dried fish, lead, gold, silver, gems, tombac,‡ shagreen skins, and buffalo horns. The export price of sugar is about four cents a pound.

The imports are arms, ammunition, anchors, piece goods, cutlery, crockery, mirrors, and many other productions for European, Chinese, and other foreign consumption.

Sugar, the principal export, is wholly made by Chinamen, and most of the other staples are the fruits of their industry. Indeed, to these emigrants Siam owes much of what elevates her from among barbarians; not only in commerce, manufactures, and improved husbandry, but in domestic habits.

The Siamese have coined money, but use cowries for very small change. The coins are merely a small bar of silver, turned in at the ends, so as to resemble a bullet, and stamped with a small die on one side.

400 Cowries make.....	1 P'hai.
2 P'hai.....	1 Songp'hai.
2 Songphais.....	1 Fuang.
2 Fuangs.....	1 Saloong.
4 Saloongs.....	1 Bät or tical.
4 Ticals.....	1 Tamloong.
20 Tamloongs.....	1 Chang.

* The chief of these are, on the eastern shore, Banplasoi, Banpakung, Banpra, Banpomung, Rayong-Passeh, Chantabon, and Kokung; and on the western side, Ligore, Sangora, Champon, Kalantan, Tringano, Talung, Patani, and Pahang.

† Crude frankincense, sometimes called *Benjamin*.

‡ Native copper with a small mixture of gold.

The two last are nominal. They sometimes have a gold fuang, equal to two ticals. The tical, assayed at the mint of Calcutta, yielded about one rupee, three and a half annas, equal to 2s. 6d. sterling, or about sixty cents of American money.

For weights they use the catty and picul. The catty is double that of the Chinese, but the picul is the same.

Living is not dear, as the following prices show:—Servants wages, per month, \$3; fuel, five hundred small sticks for \$1; fowls, each, 8 to 10 cents; ducks, each, 10 to 15 cents; pork, per pound, 7 to 8 cents; butter (made in the family;) lard, same price as pork; oil, for lamps and cooking, per gallon, 30 to 40 cents; rice, per pound, 1 cent; milk, per quart, 8 to 10 cents; sugar, per pound, 5 cents; tea, per pound, 30 to 40 cents; pine-apples, per hundred, 70 to 100 cents; oranges, per hundred, 30 to 60 cents; coco-nuts, for curry, per hundred, 18 to 30 cents; common laborers, per month, \$1.50.

No part of the East is more celebrated for the abundance and quality of its fruits. Here are united the fruits of China, the Indian islands, Hither India, and tropical America. During my stay, the mango, mangosteen, durian, rambutan, pomegranate, guava, pine-apple, and, I presume, fifty other fruits, were in season. About taste there is no disputing. Many Europeans disparage Oriental fruits; but I deem them incomparably superior to those of high latitudes, to say nothing of their vast variety, and their being enjoyed every day in the year.

I learned nothing, during my seven weeks' residence in Siam, to induce me to dissent from the character hitherto given to this people by all travellers. They are crafty, mean, ignorant, conceited, slothful, servile, rapacious, and cruel. As to truth, "the way of it is not known." No one blushes at being detected in a fraud, or a falsehood, and few seem superior to a bribe. Quarrels are common; but as no one is allowed to go armed, they seldom result in mischief. They are cowardly, and shrink from an air of resolution in a foreigner. The Abbe Gervaise said of them, a century ago, that, "though as enemies they are not dangerous, as friends they cannot be trusted."

But "God made man upright," and the fall has not obliterated all semblance of good from any portion of the human race. The Siamese have some redeeming traits. They are exceedingly fond of their offspring, and cherish reverence to parents almost equal to that of the Chinese. They are temperate, inquisitive, and, except on great provocation, gentle. Women are not re-

duced, on the whole, below their proper level; for, though custom forbids them to rank with men in some things, yet in others they are allowed an influence greater than is accorded them with us. They are always their husbands' cash-keepers: they do most of the buying and selling; and are not made to share as largely in laborious drudgery as in most countries of Europe.

The Siamese are certainly a grade lower in civilization than the Burmans. They make none of those beautiful cottons and silks which the Burmans wear and are destitute of several other arts and handicrafts common in that country. For utensils of brass, iron, and porcelain, and almost every prevailing luxury, they depend on China. Even the coarse brown pottery is made chiefly by Peguans. Malte-Brun mistakes in attributing to them skill in jewelry and miniature painting. In the first they are more clumsy than Burmans, and in the second horrible.

Still the Siamese are much above the semi-barbarians of the Malay states, and the islands of the adjacent seas. They produce a surplus of sundry articles for exportation, and they have an important and well-conducted foreign commerce. Their religious edifices show surplus resources in subsistence and labor, which barbarous tribes never possess. The government, though despotic and ill arranged, is regular and firm, conferring many advantages upon society. In music, they use the same instruments as the Burmans, and excel even the Javanese. I have often listened with pleasure both to single instruments and full bands. Their houses, dress, habits, and entire condition of the nation, are those of a people far above the rudest forms of human society. Such considerations as these give them a dignified position in the grade of nations, and will give momentum to their influence in behalf of Christianity, when they shall have "turned to the Lord."

Slavery prevails in Siam. Many chiefs have hundreds, and some of them thousands. In war, the chief objects are prisoners and plunder. They have almost depopulated some conquered districts, to bring the people to Siam. Around Bangkok are whole villages of Peguans and others taken in war. Their national history mentioned above, states that in one of the wars with the Shyans of Zemmai, they took 120,000 captives.

At all times, a slave-trade is carried on along the Burman frontier, by wild tribes, who find a ready market for any Burmans or Karens they may catch. Persons are daily sold into hopeless slavery by their creditors, for, once sold, they have

no means of paying the debt but by getting a new master. Men may sell their wives, parents, and children, at pleasure; and often sell themselves.

How large a proportion of the people are slaves, no one could help me to guess. It is probably much greater in and around the metropolis than elsewhere. With many of those kept about the person of the master, the slavery is almost nominal; but in most cases it is severe. A common custom is for the master not to support the servant, but to allow him two or three months in a year to work for himself, to obtain food and clothes for the rest of the year. Often they are hired out by the year, receiving food and clothes, but no part of the wages. Children inherit their parents' bondage. As in Burmah, debtor slaves are entitled to freedom on presentation of the amount due, which, however, being generally borrowed, only secures a change of masters.

The Siamese language is exceedingly simple in its construction, and is doubtless an original. It is destitute of terminations to signify gender, number, person, mood, or tense. A few particles supply the place of these; but they are almost universally omitted, not only in conversation, but by the best writers. This renders it easy to learn, but often ambiguous; and makes a considerable knowledge of the language necessary to carry on nice discussions. Foreigners soon acquire it sufficiently for the common purposes of life. The Chinese, being of various dialects, use it in intercourse with each other, as more convenient than their own, and, their wives being Siamese, the progeny speak it as their mother tongue.

Except as improved from other tongues, the language is monosyllabic. Many terms, which seem to be dissyllables, are only words joined. Thus *namta*, "tears," is from *nam*, water, and *ta*, the eye. *Lukmai*, "fruit," is from *luk*, offspring, and *mai*, wood. Many words, particularly in the language of the upper classes, are from the Cambojan. This is a polysyllabic language, and abounds more in complicated combinations of consonants. Terms to express mental operations, and all religious technicalities, are from the Pali,* which is also polysyllabic. These terms undergo various changes, the most common of which is the contraction of the two last syllables into one.

The languages of Siam, Asam, and the Shyans, are essentially the same; but which dialect is primitive, is not known. Our

* Pronounced by Siamese *Balee*.

missionaries at Sudiya and Bangkok, and those soon to go to Zemmai, will be able to investigate the origin and capacities of this language, which, being one of the chief in Farther India, deserves more attention than it has yet received. Captain Low published, in 1808, a Siamese grammar; but he had never been in the country, and has fallen into so many errors, that the missionaries deem his work nearly useless.

The form of the characters differs little from the Pali. There are thirty-four consonants, only five of which are regularly used as final, and twelve vowels, with several diacritical marks. It has intonations like the Chinese, which makes the difficulty of speaking well much greater than that of learning it. Thus *ma*, according to its tone, signifies "come," "a dog," and "a horse." *Ha* means "to seek," "ghost," "five." *Kow* means "to enter," "rice," "a horn," "a mountain," "he," "she," "it," and "them."

The Catholics of Bangkok use the Roman alphabet in writing Siamese. I noticed also that the Pra Klang's secretary wrote in that character. Chow Fah Yai, eldest legitimate son of the late king, and who retired to a convent rather than contend for the throne, has not only written, but printed Siamese in our letters. He has a press made by himself, and types, most of which, probably, were obtained from Italy, through the Catholic priests. It is certainly of great consequence to follow up this beginning. If the number of Siamese who can read, be as small as now appears, there will be a necessity for Christian philanthropy to raise up readers, as well as proper books, and these may be better taught in the Roman characters than any other.

The Baptist Board of Foreign Missions established the mission to Siam in 1833. Mr. Gutzlaff had visited Bangkok in 1828, and remained about three years, but was twice away to Singapore, and studied the Chinese language principally. Mr. Tomlin, London Society's Missionary at Singapore, made a visit with Mr. G., and remained eight months. He afterward came with Mr. Abeel, and both remained six months. Mr. Abeel made a second visit of six months, and then returned in ill health to America. None of these brethren contemplated a permanent residence in Siam, and in the report of their first six months' labors, Messrs. G. and T. called upon the Baptist brethren to "pass the boundary line of Burmah, and come forward to Siam." Mr. T. also wrote urgently to Maulmain for a brother to be sent at once. He considered the Baptist Board called

upon, more than any other, to establish a mission here, not only because their stations in Burmah were but a few days' march from Bangkok, but because they had begun with the Shyans, whose language was so similar, and a large part of whom belonged to Siam. The project was seriously entertained by our Board, when Mr. Jones was appointed, in 1829; but it was left to be decided by the brethren at Maulmain. Mr. J. was designated by them to this service, and sailed from Burmah for Bangkok in September, 1832. He found the station had been wholly vacant for six months, and he remained entirely alone for sixteen months longer. In the mean time, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (without knowing of the movement from Burmah) resolved to make Bangkok one of their stations; and Messrs. Johnson and Robinson were sent out, who arrived about the first of August, 1834. Dr. Bradley, from the same society, arrived the next year. Mr. J. studies the Chinese, and the two others Siamese. Interesting accounts from these brethren will be found in the *Missionary Herald*, published monthly in Boston.

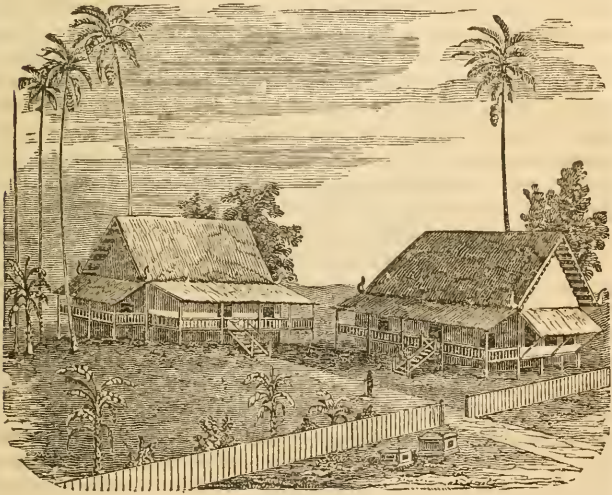
Mr. and Mrs. Jones may be said to have mastered the Siamese language, and can freely impart to the people the knowledge of the truth. Mr. J. has translated Matthew, Acts, and part of Luke, and Mr. Judson's tracts — "Balance," "Catechism," and "Summary of Christian Religion," and prepared a tract on astronomy, and a brief grammar. Matthew, Acts, the Catechism, and the Summary have been printed and distributed; beside sheet tracts, containing the ten commandments, the sermon on the mount, &c. Two school-books for Siamese have also been printed. Mrs. Jones has prepared the History of Joseph, of Nebuchadnezzar, and other reading books, together with a copious dictionary, in Siamese and English, which future students may copy to their great advantage.

Mr. Davenport superintends the printing, and studies the language. The issues of the office, within the year, have been 13,124 books, containing 1,439,720 pages, comprising the Summary of Religion; Acts of the Apostles; Ten Commandments, with explanations; Scripture Parables; A broad-sheet Parable; First Lessons in English and Siamese; Lessons in Arithmetic; Lessons in English; and several publications in Chinese.

It has been found impossible to have satisfactory schools in this city. By no device can the scholars be retained long enough to imbibe any useful measure of knowledge. During

the period of their continuance, they cannot be made to attend regularly. A few have lately been redeemed from slavery, and will be thoroughly instructed. But the cost of children is from forty-eight to sixty, and for an adult, about a hundred dollars; so that this mode of obtaining scholars cannot be extensively pursued. Chinese scholars may be had with somewhat less difficulty.

Mrs. D., beside her daily studies, has a school of twelve or fifteen children, which Mrs. J. daily opens with prayer and religious instruction in Siamese. Such of them as are not Catholics, with a few others, are formed into a Sunday school.



Baptist Mission Premises, Bangkok.

The mission premises, although pleasantly and healthfully situated, are so confined in space, as to be very inconvenient. The land, too, is only hired, and with no assurance of permanence. The buildings consist of three dwelling-houses, a printing-office, fifty-two feet by twenty, and a small fire-proof building for paper, books, &c. The dwelling-houses are similar to those of natives in construction, only larger, and cost each about three hundred dollars. Mr. Davenport's house, and the printing-offices, are in the rear of those shown in the picture.

The great difficulty in multiplying missionaries at this point, is the refusal of government to allow them to rent or purchase land for residences.

It has been erroneously supposed that, from Bangkok, direct overland intercourse might be had with the frontier of China. No part of the Siam frontier approaches China within less than about three hundred miles. The intervening space is inhabited by various tribes, living insulated from each other, and is traversed by mountains probably not passable by caravans. Zem-mai is the nearest point to Bangkok, from whence the western borders of China may be approached, and that station must necessarily depend upon Maulmain, in Burmah, both for epistolary intercourse with America, and supplies of clothing, printing paper, &c.

Deeming it important to form the brothers and sisters of this station into a regular church of our Lord Jesus Christ, I convened them in council, and, after full consideration, it was unanimously resolved upon. After devoting a day to fasting and prayer, and drawing out, in full, the platform of doctrine and discipline, I proceeded, on the following Sabbath, to preach and perform the appropriate solemnities. Nine persons,* of whom two were the Chinamen already mentioned, formed the material of the church. In the after part of the day, I administered the Lord's supper to this precious band of pioneers. The text was, "From the uttermost parts of the earth have we heard songs, even glory to the Righteous One." It suggested topics of joy and hope, in the contemplation of which, all our hearts overflowed with pleasure. Most of the brethren and sisters were accomplished singers, and our voices sounded to each other like almost celestial music. The strange and depressing sensations of being at the utmost possible earthly distance from those we love, gave place to pleasure, on hearing in our own language the praises of the Lord. The sad "Farewell forever" to the sacred fraternities of home, lost half its bitterness while partaking of church privileges and communion, with Christians from our own land, and of our own persuasion. The promises of God, touching the triumphs of his truth, shone with tenfold brightness, amid the gloom and thick dark-

* Two of these are already gone up on high — Rev. Mr. Reed and Mrs. Jones; but Messrs. Slafter and Goddard, who, with their wives, sailed from Boston, 1838, will more than make the number good.

ness of a pagan land, where yet hope has little encouragement in the things that are seen. The visible encouragements to faith in the presence of two Chinese, gave distinctness and glow to our visions of hope. Our souls magnified the Lord, and our spirits rejoiced in God our Savior.

The first Lord's day in July, 1837, was, by this solemn event, rendered memorable in the history of Siam, as the birth-day of the first Protestant church of Christ in the kingdom. It was indeed a small room, and a small company; but an occasion full of present benediction and future promise. Hereafter centennial jubilees will celebrate the event, sacred orators dwell on it with glowing tongue, and unborn generations bless the auspicious hour. The "little one will become a thousand," and the day of small things give place to periods of power, extension, and triumph.



Chinese Junk.

CHAPTER V.

Voyage to Canton — China Sea — Mouth of Pearl River — Outside Pilots — Lintin — Boceatigris — Whampoa — Innumerable Boats — Evidences of dense Population — Dollar Boat — River Scenery — Population of Canton — Foreign Factories or Hongs — Walks in the Suburbs — Streets — Shops — Vacant Spaces — Placards — Perambulatory Trades — Booksellers — Circulating Libraries — Map of the World — Beggars — Small-footed Women — Trades — Labor-saving Machinery — Chinese Piety — Tombs — Visit to a Hong Merchant — Restrictions on Foreigners — Temples — Priests and Nuns — Pagodas — Chinese Sects — Introduction of Buddhism — Jos — State of Morals in the Foreign Society — Opium Trade.

THE pain of frequently parting from missionaries and other friends, to meet no more on earth, has been no small part of the trials of this long and wearisome tour. In leaving Bangkok, the case was peculiar. Mr. Jones had received baptism at my hands; he had been called to the ministry in my church; and under my roof, he and his wife had their last home in the United States. Their feeble health and oppressive labors impressed on me the conviction that their labors on earth, important as they are, will not be much longer enjoyed.* Two of the others and their wives had been my fellow-passengers from the United States. To part with them cheerfully was a duty; but the lonesome hours of shipboard, kept fresh, for many days, the sadness.

A long and tedious passage from Bangkok to Singapore is always expected against the monsoon. Some ships have been six or seven weeks. One vessel, with missionaries, after being out forty-two days, was obliged to return and wait for the change of monsoon. I was favored to get down in twenty-six days without accident. Our ship also staid at Bangkok a month less than is usual; so that I saved, in the whole trip, at least three months. The Rev. Mr. Robinson, whom I left at Singapore, anxious to return to Bangkok, but not then quite ready, was still there, and found no opportunity for the next five months.

My stay, this time, in Singapore, amounted to but few days, as I availed myself of the first vessel for Canton. I embarked in

* Mrs. Eliza G. Jones died March 28, 1838. A Memoir of this admirable woman and devoted missionary was published in 1842, by the American Baptist Publication Society. The same Society has just issued a new and greatly improved edition. Rev. John Taylor Jones, D. D., was summoned to his reward, September 13, 1851.

the *Jessie Logan*, on the twenty-first of September, 1837, with a prospect of a tedious passage, as the monsoon was changing. We were happily disappointed, and reached China on the sixteenth of October. Rains and squalls, however, rendered the voyage comfortless, and my want of an amanuensis rendered it difficult either to improve or beguile the time.

The China Sea has an extraordinary number of shoals and petty islands, making its navigation unpleasant and dangerous, except when the monsoon enables a vessel to proceed through the centre. The boundary of the sea on the eastward is a succession of large islands, scarcely known by name, even to the well-educated in our country. It seems reserved for missionary enterprise to bring to light the numbers and condition of mankind in Luçon, Palawan, the Baihee, Babuyanes, and Busvigan clusters, Mindoro, Balabac, Banguey, Borneo, &c., besides the multitude of the other Philippines, the Moluccas, the Bandu, and Aroo archipelagoes, &c. O, how long must it be ere the tardy and stinted charities of God's people shall spread Christian teachers over all these seas?

Approaching the coast of China in a day literally cloudless, the fine headlands of the vast entrance of the Choo-Keang, or Pearl River, wore their best attractions. No river in the world, it is said, is so easily found and entered as this. No bar obstructs its entrance. No alluvial deposits spread dangerous flats along the shores. Scores of small but lofty islands afford at once distinct land-marks, and a choice of channels. The entrance, thus marked and defended, extends nearly sixty miles along the coast from east to west; and for nearly forty miles toward Canton, the river preserves an average breadth of fifteen miles. At that point, called by Europeans the Bogue, or Bocca Tigris, the breadth is two miles, divided in the centre by an island. This is considered by the Chinese the entrance of the river, and is defended by several forts of no great strength.

We were boarded, many miles from land, by fishermen offering to act as pilots, and by one of them was conducted to our anchorage, while his boat went to Macao, for the usual permit to proceed up the river, and the inner pilot. These boats, though *outré* to us, are admirably constructed, of pine, decked, and schooner-rigged. Under the deck they keep provisions, water, &c., and sleep in bad weather. On the quarter, they put up, in fine weather, a slight house, of bamboo and mats. The sight of these men was not novel to me, as I had already mixed with so many in Burmah, Singapore, and Siam. Their costume

is a pair of very wide blue nankeen trousers, reaching but little below the knee, without buttons or flaps. Its diameter at the waist would embrace a barrel, so that they take a turn in the waistband, and tuck in the ends, which keeps them on. Of laborers at work, this is the whole dress: when not employed, they add a glazed cotton jacket, reaching to the hips, with very wide sleeves. The dress of the genteel classes is not transcended, in beauty, costliness, or delicacy, by that of similar classes in any country upon earth.

Lintin is an island, about in the centre of the outer harbor, and, though large, has few inhabitants, and is noted only as the theatre of the execrable opium-smuggling. Sheltered by its dreary heights lay the "receiving-ships," which take the drug from vessels as they arrive, and get rid of it by means of native fast boats.

At the extreme western side of the entrance, twenty miles distant from Lintin, is the city of Macao, occupying the extreme south point of Heangshan Island. From thence to Canton is an inner passage, chiefly used by native boats.

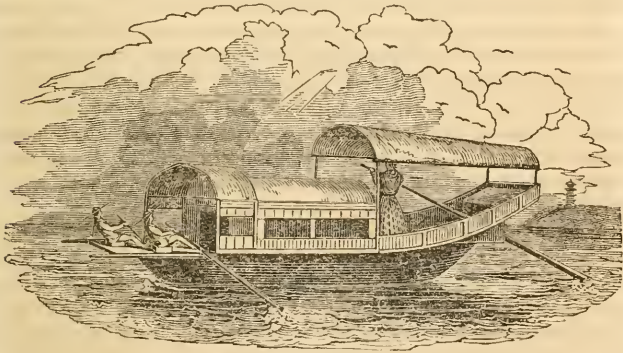
Fifteen miles below Canton is Whampoa, beyond which foreign ships are not allowed to proceed. The anchorage extends two or three miles, along a reach of the river, lying east and west. In ordinary shipping seasons, one hundred or more vessels ride here, chiefly English and American. Owing to the recent commercial embarrassments, there were at this time but about twenty-five. Innumerable sampans, occupied by marketmen, fishermen, fruiterers, washerwomen, &c., with the ships' boats, and here and there the ornamented barge of a mandareen, or a huge, crowded passage-boat, kept the scene busy and cheerful. Whampoa is a considerable village, on an island of the same name. Its chief business is connected with the supply of vessels, and the smuggling of opium.

Boats lie before the town, literally in thousands; and almost every one, the permanent habitation of a family. The occupancy of these boats by a family, so far from preventing active employment, seems rather a qualification. The wife steers, while the husband rows, aided by children of both sexes, if they have any. Such as are not quite old enough to row, play about the boat with a great gourd fastened to their waist behind, to secure them from drowning, in case they fall overboard. Those a little younger are carefully tethered, so that they have the entire use of the deck, but cannot pass the gunwale. If there be an infant, it is fastened on the mother's back, like a knapsack, without

appearing to impede her motions, or be annoyed by them. See picture, below. Any one conversant with boatmen, about other seaports in the East, or even in our own country, cannot fail to be struck with the superiority of these. Their dress, the structure and appointments of their boats, their quiet, order, industry, and good manners, are worthy of all imitation.

The published accounts of the populousness of China, are strongly brought to mind, when one looks around on these boats, and on the green fields and barren islands which make up the scene from the deck of the ship. Every level spot is subdued for paddy, and the sides of every desolate island exhibit not only patches of cultivation, but houses and even villages. The same impression is created by a host of fishing-smacks, which sweep the waters of the vast harbor. They literally swarm. I have stood and counted two hundred at a time, from the deck of the ship.

From Whampoa to Canton, the boats of foreign ships are allowed to pass up and down, without examination at the custom-houses. Passengers, however, generally use native boats, called "dollar boats," as affording better shelter, and more conveniences.



Dollar Boat.

I found mine to be exceedingly neat, clean, and commodious; divided into three compartments; the centre being handsomely panelled and roofed, so as to form a nice cabin, with lockers, windows, &c. Here I was placed with such of my trunks as I needed, and, though long since hardened to the sensations of a foreigner, felt a little more foreign than usual. In one corner of

my cabin was "*Jos*," in grim dumbness, pointing upward with his finger, and looking as fat and contented as Falstaff. Before him smoked tapers of sandal-wood powder, and round about were inscriptions on red paper. His little closet or shrine had latticed doors to keep him from harm, and was the most ornamented part of the boat. Behind, sheltered by a roof, which, upon occasion, could slide over that of the cabin, was the kitchen and pantry. Here the wife, with an infant on her back, steered and skulled; at the same time watching her dinner, and a youngster or two. Forward of the cabin, a flat deck, extending beyond the bows, and of the same width as the boat, afforded ample space to two oarsmen, who sat on stools about six inches high. Between them and the cabin was a small veranda, on one side of which stood the ever-steaming tea-kettle and cups; and on the other the neatly lackered tray of *jos*-sticks or slow matches, from which ever and anon they lighted their cheroots. The men were stout, though short, and pulled with vigor, sheltering their naked backs with a broad palm-leaf hat. We passed hundreds of boats built and manned in precisely the same manner; and as they constitute a very prominent item of the scenery, and I was lonesome, the foregoing drawing was made, which will convey the idea better than any description.

The scenery of the river, though monotonous, is attractive. On each side are rich rice-fields, with villages embosomed among orange-trees, lichis, and palms; while the rugged hills in the rear, irreclaimable even by Chinese industry, are dotted with tombs. Some fine pagodas are visible most of the way, one of which is given on page 343, as seen at a distance. The dikes are for the most part paved with excellent stone masonry, and planted with oranges, lichis, and bananas.

Just before reaching the city is the anchorage of junks or native vessels trading to Canton, and of an imperial fleet. The latter may create a smile, but can awaken no terror. A little further on, other trading-boats of large size lie in hundreds. Then come long rows of floating houses, and these, with every sort of boat, more numerous as you advance, till it becomes difficult, and even dangerous, to thread the maze with a row-boat.

Arriving, at length, opposite Kwang-tung, or, as we call it, Canton, nothing is seen of the city except the river-suburbs, and portions of the wall. Here boats of every description, and small junks, are so crowded together that the utmost skill as well as caution is required, in order to avoid disaster. Cables stretch out from a hundred junks; huge tea-boats, of fifty or sixty tons, lie side

to side, scores in a row. Dwelling-houses of elegant and convenient construction, built on scows, are disposed in regular streets of great length. Mandareen boats, with gorgeous and beautiful ornaments, and fleet as the wind, move slowly round, acting as a river police. Boats from the European ships, floating tradesmen, mechanics, hucksters, shopkeepers, and thousands that seem to be mere dwellings, are multiplied on every side; so busy, so noisy, so crowded, so strange, that it seems as if one had suddenly dropped upon another planet; and a man must be vain indeed, who does not feel himself an insignificant unit among such legions of busy ones, who merely regard him as a foreigner.

It is computed that eighty-four thousand families live in boats at Canton; and that the whole population of the city and suburbs is about a million.

The accurate representation of a Chinese junk, on page 327, will give a perfect idea of their naval architecture. The sails are of mat; three little cabins, each just large enough to contain a man at his length, occupy the stern; over the side hang the hen-coops; a great eye glares upon the bow, and a snake beneath warns you of the "touch me not" pugnacity of the crew. I saw many of these both at Bankok and Singapore; and off the mouth of the Hoogly, passed several which had ventured even to that distance.

In all other parts of the East, Europeans bear themselves so haughtily before the natives, and so transcend them in wealth, luxury, and intellect, that the contrast at Canton is most striking. Here are generally about three hundred foreigners, permanently resident, and often more, kept so completely under, that they may neither bring their wives, nor take native ladies, nor build, buy, ride, row, or walk, without restrictions; wholly forbidden to enter the gates of the city, and cooped up in a spot which would be considered in Calcutta or Madras barely large enough for one good dwelling and compound. The foreign factories, or hong, are thirteen in number, under the names of different nations, but occupied somewhat promiscuously by the merchants and shopkeepers. They form a close front along the river, about three hundred yards in length, with an open space toward the water, which is here about a quarter of a mile wide. The buildings extend toward the rear about two hundred yards. Each hong is divided into several separate portions, entered by a narrow alley, which passes through to the rear, and is thus made to consist of five or six tenements, generally three stories high.

The heat, smoke, noise, and dreariness of the interior of this mass of buildings, with the total absence of female society, gives it, in no small degree, the aspect of a prison. The front rooms, however, are pleasant, and some of them have fine promenades on the roof. An open space in front, about one hundred yards long and fifty wide, serves both as a wharf and a promenade. But the first of these uses obstructs it for the other; to say nothing of barbers, cooks, pedlers, clothes-menders, coolies, and boatmen, who crowd it most of the day.

I was kindly made welcome to the American hong, or, as the Chinese call it, the "hong of extensive fountains," where, at the table of the American missionaries, and of Messrs. Oliphant and Co., I enjoyed, for several weeks, daily opportunities of acquiring authentic information, on all the points which concern my agency.

Fortunately for me, there existed, during my stay in Canton, no particular jealousy of foreigners. Accompanying the missionaries and other gentlemen in their daily walks for exercise, I was enabled to ramble not only over all the suburbs, but among the villages and fields adjacent. We were not specially ill treated; but I have nowhere else found quite so much scorn and rudeness. Nearly all the time, some of the youngsters would be calling out, as we passed, "Foreign devils!" "barbarians!" "red-bristled devils!" often adding obscene expressions, and sometimes throwing light missiles; all which the parents seemed to think very clever. Often, indeed, they would direct the attention of very small children to us, and teach them to rail. Our clerical profession seemed known to many; and these would shout "Story-telling devils!" "lie-preaching devils!" In streets much frequented by foreigners, these things rarely occurred; but in others, we attracted general attention; and if we stopped for a few moments, a crowd would immediately choke up the street. Sometimes Dr. Parker's patients would recognize him, and we would be asked to sit down; tea and pipes would be offered, and a strong sense of confidence and gratitude manifested. But the crowd would soon become disagreeable, and we were glad to pass on to get fresh air, and to exempt our friends from annoyance.

The width of the streets is seldom more than four or five feet, and often less. The houses rarely exceed one story high; and, except on business streets, all the better ones are invisible, being built, like those of Paris, within a walled enclosure. The streets are all flagged with large slabs of smooth stone,

principally granite. The breadth excludes wheel carriages, of course, and the only vehicles are sedan chairs, which are constantly gliding along at a very rapid rate; those for ladies being closed with blinds, or gauze, but not so as to prevent the occupant from looking through. As these chairs, or loaded coolies, come rushing along, a perpetual shouting is kept up, to clear the way; and, unless you jump to the wall or into a shop, you are rudely jostled; for, though they are polite and kind, their headway and heavy burden render it impossible to make sudden pauses. As to walking arm in arm, it is quite out of the question. I saw none of the unbroken ranges of piazza spoken of by geographers; but in some places, mats are spread across the street, which exclude the sun. The end of each street has a strong gate, which is shut up at night; chiefly for security against thieves.

The shops are often truly beautiful; but the greater number are occupied as well by the workmen as the wares. Such minute subdivision of callings I have seen no where else. Not only are trades subdivided into the most minute branches, but the shops are often limited to one or two species of goods. Some of those which I entered would vie with those of London, for style and amount of capital invested. In each, the idol has a handsome and conspicuous situation. As Chinese is read perpendicularly, the sign-boards are suspended downward, and are thus well adapted to narrow streets. They are generally beautifully executed, and often, after announcing the name and occupation, close with sage sentences; such as, "Gossiping and long sitting injure business;" "No credit given; former customers have inspired caution."

The vacant places present a mixture of incongruities — attractive, pitiable, shocking, and ludicrous. Here is a doctor, surrounded by roots, spreading his plaster on a man's shin; there is an astrologer, disclosing fortunes. Here is a group of happy children, purchasing smoking comfits; and there is a meat stall, surrounded by stout fellows, swallowing pork stews. Here are some hungry mendicants, gloating upon the dainties; and close by are some of their fraternity, unable any longer even to ask charity, lying unheeded, to die of hunger. Mountebanks, clothes-dealers, musical beggars, petty auctioneers, gamblers, etc., make up the discordant aggregate.

At these openings and other conspicuous places, placards cover the walls; and as with us, quack medicines, government proclamations, and business cards were the principal. Some were

novel, and showed the want of newspapers, viz. lampoons and criticisms on public men. Some of these were intrepid and severe, but none seemed gross and libellous. Alas, that our country should be so much behind China in the treatment of official characters!

Many trades are here perambulatory, which are so nowhere else. Among these moving mechanics I noticed barbers, coopers, tinnen, blacksmiths, shoemakers, and tailors, beside a medley of fruiterers, hucksters, fishmongers, confectioners, pedlers, rat-catchers, pastry-cooks, butchers, picture-men, and I know not what. The throng and confusion of these narrow streets is thus much increased, while their various bells, drums, gongs, and cries keep up a perpetual din.

In these walks I observed, what I believe is not to be seen in any part of India — regular native booksellers. They generally display a considerable assortment of works, at astonishingly cheap prices. The moral tendency of these works is said to be in general good; but the intellectual benefit is small. This was often illustrated by the close proximity of some gray-bearded fortune-teller, with five times the custom of his literary neighbor. I was often amused to see the ludicrous gravity with which these men of destiny drew wonder and cash from their gaping patients; and to mark the diversified countenances of those who retired. The doleful, drawmouth visage, or the arch chuckle and rubbed hands, plainly told which had received “dampers,” and which brought off animating assurances. As usual, these worshippers of fortune seemed to be those she had hitherto least favored.

Beside the bookstores are circulating libraries, in the literal sense of the term; that is, the librarian, having his books arranged in two neat cases, bears them on a pole across his shoulder, from customer to customer. Some of these have several thousand books; but the greater part being in the hands of borrowers, his burden is not excessive.

A tolerable idea of Chinese geography may be gathered from a glance at their maps. Mr. Gutzlaff was kind enough to present me with one of the world, and to translate many of the names. It is two feet wide by three and a half high, and is almost covered with China! In the left hand corner, at the top, is a sea, three inches square, in which are delineated, as small islands, Europe, England, France, Holland, Portugal, and Africa. Holland is as large as all the rest, and Africa is not so big as the end of one's little finger! The northern frontier is Russia, very large.

The left corner, at the bottom, is occupied by “the western

ocean," as it is called, containing the Malay peninsula, pretty well defined. Along the bottom are Camboja, Cochin-China, &c., represented as moderate-sized islands; and on the right is Formosa, larger than all the rest put together. Various other countries are shown as small islands. I should have given an engraving of this curious map, but that a true reduction to the size of a page would have left out most of these countries altogether! The surrounding ocean is represented in huge waves, with smooth passages, or highways, branching off to the different countries, or islands, as they represent them. They suppose that ships which keep along these highways go safely; but if they, through ignorance or stress of weather, diverge, they soon get among these awful billows, and are lost!

The beggars are very numerous and pitiable. They are seldom obtrusive; but a donation to one will bring several upon you, and keep you annoyed for many paces. In streets so narrow, they cannot, of course, be allowed to sit or lie down. The open spaces near temples and other public places afford the only chance for them to rest, and here many of them, utterly houseless, lie down and die. In one of these openings, not fifty feet square, I have seen six or eight of these unhappy beings at a time breathing their last, covered only with an old mat, such as comes round goods. Many, who walk about, have merely such a mat, fastened round their loins by a wooden pin. With such shelter only, do they pass the night upon the earth or pavement; and always after a cold night, some are found dead. There seems to be no particular want of charity among those who are able to give; but the evil lies too deep for casual gifts to cure. Such as are not too sick to go about, are sure of something daily; for custom gives them a right to enter any place, and makes it disgraceful to send them away empty. They are obliged to depart, however, with the gift even of a single cash, and are often kept waiting a long time. I have often, as I passed, admired the patience both of the beggar and the shopmen. Many of them carry small cymbals, or two pieces of bamboo, with which they keep time, at a deafening rate, to a plaintive drawl. The shopman stands the racket as long as he can, or till a customer come in, when he throws them the cash, and they are bound to go. If he give soon, the place is but so much the sooner filled by another.

Distressing as are the sights of mendicity in Canton, they are less so than I have seen in some other cities, especially Dublin,

and Turin; and almost all are either blind or evidently sick, which is far from being the case either in Ireland or Italy.

I had supposed that small-footed women, being of the genteel circles, would not often be seen. Instead of this, large numbers of them, evidently poor, and often extremely so, are met with in every street. Many of these, doubtless, have been reduced from competency; but many are the offspring of persons, who, from fondness or ambition, had brought up their children in a manner beyond their station in life. The smallest shoes and models shown in America are no exaggerations. All, indeed, are not equally compressed, but often the foot of an adult does not exceed four inches in length; and from a breadth of two and a half inches at the heel, tapers to a perfect point. They walk precisely as a person would do on two wooden legs. Other poor women often go barefoot, but these never. Either the appearance of such a foot is too bad, or the toes, turned under, are too tender. Many of these victims of a false pride sit in open spaces, as public menders of old clothes. A passenger can thus get a patch or a button set on, while he waits — a custom which might usefully be introduced among us.

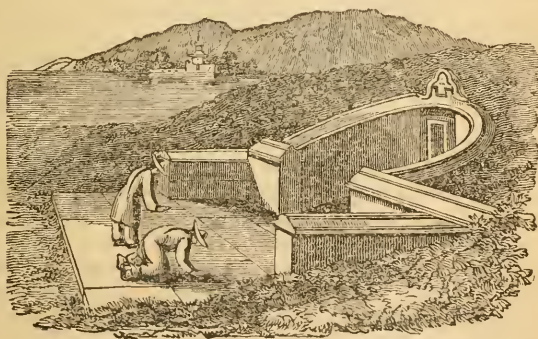
We rail at the Chinese for compressed feet with little reason, so long as we persist in compressing the waist. Nor are we wholly exempt from the folly of crushing the feet also. Even our easiest shoes, though less absurd than the Chinese, are by no means patterned from nature.

I enjoyed, in walking with Mr. Bridgman, what few foreigners do — the advantage of an interpreter. I was thus enabled to stop at many places, witnessing various Chinese arts, and conversing freely with the operatives. Many of these occupations are known among us; but in every case, they seem to be carried on by an unique method. I was surprised to find labor-saving machinery employed to a considerable extent. One instance pleased me exceedingly; viz., a bellows for blowing glass, which almost entirely saved the workman's lungs. In every establishment, whether of an artist, mechanic, or tradesman, we were received with great civility, and generally offered some slight refreshment.

One of our walks was to the place of execution, which in China is generally done by beheading. It is part of a populous street, thirty or forty feet wide just at that point, and a common thoroughfare. On one side is a high blank wall, and on the other is a row of potteries. The drying wares are spread over a considerable part of the space, bringing strongly to mind the bloody

potter's field of the New Testament. A narrow shed, twelve or fifteen feet long, stood against the wall, with shelves of open bamboo. Lifting up an old mat with my cane, there lay a row of heads, apparently three or four days old. On the ground in a corner were a few skulls, nearly bleached by time. Executions occur here every few days, and with very little notice or formality. The poor culprit kneels on the earth; his long cue is twisted up into a knot upon his head; he puts his palms together, in a posture of obeisance; and leaning forward, one stroke severs his head from his body. The remains are generally allowed to be removed by friends.

The Chinese bury their dead, and are very careful of the tombs of ancestors. To these they often resort, to make prayer and offerings; and so long as there are male descendants, they are kept in repair. Their mode of constructing them is peculiar, invariable, and so unlike any others in the world, that a picture alone can explain.



Chinese Tomb.

They cover many acres of ground near Singapore, Malacca, and other cities where Chinamen are numerous, and land plenty; and even in China engross much space, but generally only rocky or barren spots, incapable of other uses.

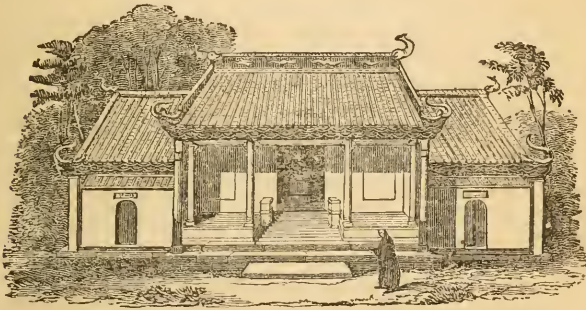
The cheapness and frivolity, as well as the universality, of Chinese piety, was every evening forced upon our observation, whether we returned on foot or by boat. Not a family, on shore or afloat, is without its little altar; nor does a sun set without each being lighted up with tapers and incensed with fragrant matches.

Beside the gaudy domestic altar, with its flaunting mottos and varied tinsel, nearly every house has a little niche in the wall, near the ground, inscribed with sacred characters, where also tapers and jos-sticks are burned. The air is thus loaded every twilight with sandal-wood smoke. Here and there you see men making additional offerings, by setting on fire articles of gilded paper, or making libations before the shrine. These vespers being finished, the Chinaman's religion is complete for that day; and he retires to pleasure or repose, with the full comfort of self-righteousness.

It is so unpopular to be familiar with foreigners, that an opportunity of visiting the private houses of respectable Chinese is rarely enjoyed, by transient sojourners in Canton. One of the principal hong merchants, being particularly indebted to Dr. P. for removing a polypus, and at the same time a man of uncommon independence, I was glad to embrace a proposal to visit him. Dr. P. having announced our desire, we received a very cordial invitation. The house stands in a crowded suburb; nothing being visible from the street, but a wall of the ordinary height. Passing through a vestibule, attended by porters, we were ushered into a large and handsome hall, where the old gentleman soon joined us. His dress was negligent, but costly, and resembled that of the mandareen figures in our tea-shops. He saluted us in English, and the conversation was so maintained. After a little, he invited us to see his establishment, and kindly accompanied us. I was soon bewildered in passing through halls, rooms, and passages; crossing little court-yards and bridges; now looking at scores of gold-fish in a tank, and now sitting in a rustic summer-house on the top of an artificial cliff; now admiring who'e beds of china asters in full bloom, and now engrossed with large aviaries or grotesque bee-hives. Here were miniature grottos, and there were jets of water. Here were stunted forest-trees and porcelain beasts, and there was a lake and a fancy skiff. Yet the whole was compressed into a space not larger than is occupied by some mansions in the middle of our large cities!

There was not that quaint absurdity about all this, that books and pictures had led me to suppose. True, it was exceedingly artificial, and thoroughly Chinese; but there were taste and beauty in it all. Why should we break down all tastes to one standard? He that can only be pleased in a given way, is illy fitted to travel; and I am sure any one not predetermined to contemn, would admire and enjoy the grounds of Tinqu.

The style of the rooms pleased me less. They were numerous, but all furnished in the same manner, and most of them small. Beside gorgeous Chinese lanterns, hung Dutch, English, and Chinese chandeliers, of every size and pattern. Italian oil-paintings, Chinese hangings, French clocks, Geneva boxes, British plate, &c. &c., adorned the same rooms, strewed with natural curiosities, wax fruits, models, and costly trifles, from every part of the world.



Chinese Temple.

There are one hundred and twenty-four temples in Canton, beside the numerous public altars seen in the streets. I saw the principal ones without the walls, which are said not to be inferior, on the whole, to those within. They strikingly resemble the monasteries of Europe. The handsomest is one of the Boodhists, in the suburb of Honan, on the opposite side of the river. Being accompanied by Messrs. Bridgman, Parker, and Morrison, who were acquainted with the superior, I was not only shown every part by his order, but had the pleasure of his society for an hour. Cloisters, corridors, court-yards, chapels, image-houses, and various offices, are scattered, with little regard to order, over a space of five or six acres. Priests, with shaven crowns and rosaries, loitered about; but I never saw common people come to worship either at this or other establishments. Some of the priests occupied small and mean apartments; but those of the superior are spacious, and furnished not only with the ordinary conveniences, but with chandeliers, mirrors, pictures, &c., and with an extensive library. The buildings are chiefly of brick, one story high, the walks handsomely flagged, and the

court-yard ornamented with large trees, or beautiful parterres of flowers. The printing-office contains stereotype blocks enough to load a small vessel, so arranged as that every work is readily accessible. The principal apartment or temple is about a hundred feet square, with the usual images, &c. We attended here, to witness the regular evening service. It seemed to create little interest, for out of one hundred and sixty resident priests, there were but fifty present; and these uttered their repetitions with most obvious indifference. Their prayers are in Pali, ostensibly, but I am told not truly, as their mode of writing renders it utterly unintelligible to any one. They keep time by striking a wooden drum, and occasionally a bell. At a certain stage of the process, the whole company formed into single file, and marched round the hall, without ceasing their repetitions. This gave us a full view of their countenances; and so far as these indicated, a more stupid set could not be picked out in all Canton. I have already remarked this characteristic of the Boodhist priesthood, in other countries; and am confirmed in the belief of its being attributable to the character of their religion, and the nature of their duties.

Instead of the humble dress of Burman and Siam priests, these wear as handsome as they can get, with shoes and stockings. What is worse, some are in rags, barefoot, and squalid with apparent poverty. They have, however, a common refectory, where I presume all fare alike. The buildings were erected at different times by the munificence of individuals, and by the revenues of the establishment, which amount to about eight thousand dollars per annum.

While we walked over the premises, the superior had prepared us a repast of sweetmeats and fruits, to which he sat down with us. His manners were easy and elegant, his dress unostentatious, and his countenance full of intelligence and mildness. His age is but thirty-eight. We, of course, endeavored to make the visit profitable to him. My heart yearned over him; and when he assured me that he meant to visit America in a year or two, I was happy to promise him a most cordial reception. Priests may leave the country, and return, without the restraints which make it dangerous to others.

The whole number of priests in Canton is estimated at two thousand; of nuns, one thousand. The annual expense of the hundred and twenty-four temples is two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. An equal sum is required for the periodical festivals. Half a million, annually paid in one city for religion,

by pagans! And the whole amount which all Christendom gives for pagans in a year, is but six times as much.

I saw no pagodas at any of these establishments. They generally stand on some hill, alone. Unlike the cones or pyramids of Burmah, these rise like shot-towers, with successive stories, marked by a cornice or narrow pent-house. The top is often covered deeply with earth, from which shrubs shoot up, and form a romantic finish; as is the case with that here represented. There are but two within the city. One, called Kwa-ta, or "adorned pagoda," has nine stories, and is one hundred and seventy feet high, octagonal.* The other, called Kwang-ta, or unadorned pagoda, is one hundred and sixty feet high. The first was built about thirteen hundred years ago; the latter during the Tang dy-



Chinese Pagoda.

nasty, which closed A. D. 906. I believe they are not resorted to for devotional purposes; at least not commonly. As crosses are planted, in some countries, to mark the right of possession, so these huge and durable monuments seem only to mark a country swayed by him who claims "the kingdoms of this world, and the glory of them." How artfully, in ten thousand forms, does he, in every pagan land, confirm and perpetuate his rule! But his time is short.

The Chinese are divided into three sects, viz. those of Ju-keasu, Taou, and Boodh.

The Jukeasuists are the followers of Kong-foo-tze, or, as the Jesuits Latinize it, Confucius, who flourished about five hundred and sixty years before Christ, and was therefore contemporary with

* The reader may compare, at his leisure, the different forms of the pagoda, viz. that of Seringham, page 269 of this volume; of the Peguans and Siamese, in the landscape of Tavoy; and in the view of Boardman's grave, page 50; of the interior of Burmah, page 118; and of China as above.

Pythagoras. He was of royal descent, and a mandareen; but early resigned official life, and devoted himself to literature, morals, and political economy. Reducing the maxims of former sages to order, he added valuable extracts from current works, and prudent sayings of his own, and produced a digest, which continues to be the *ultima thule* of Chinese piety. Travelling extensively as a popular lecturer, and sustained, not less by his high birth and eloquent address, than by the excellence of his doctrines, he soon founded a sect which became virtually the state religion. It is, however, much less intolerantly maintained, than either Popery or Protestantism, where united with the state. The other religions are allowed, and sometimes fostered. Great officers, and even the emperor himself; build and endow Boodhist and Taouist temples.

The system of Confucius is highly extolled by European writers, and most extravagantly by Chinese. As accounts of it are accessible to all readers, I need not stop to describe it. He seems to have regarded religion less than politics; and the burden of his works relates to social virtues, civil government, and adherence to ancestral habits.

The sect of Taou (literally *reason*) was founded by Laou-Keum, a contemporary and rival of Confucius. His followers may be called the mystics of China. They profess alchymy, assume mysterious airs, read destinies on the palms, and make great pretensions to deep research and superior light. Their practical works contain, in general, the same laudable precepts which distinguish the system of the Jukeasu.

The third sect follow Fo-e, sometimes spelled *Fohi*. Foe is said to be the old orthography of *Fuh*, which is the Chinese abbreviation of *Fuh-ta*, or Boodha. The Boodhism of China is the same as that of Burmah, which has been sufficiently described. The system is certainly far older than either of the others. It is generally supposed to have been introduced about A. D. 70. Kempfer dates the introduction about A. D. 518, when "Darma, a great saint, came from the West, and laid the foundation," &c. Chinese historians agree that the worship of Fohi was originally brought from India. Sir William Jones says, confidently, "Boodh was unquestionably the Foe of China."

This sect probably embraces one third of the entire population. The government acts with indecision toward it, at one time denouncing it as dangerous, and at another contributing to its support. Mr. Gutzlaff saw, at Pooto, some placards calling on

the people, in the name of the emperor, to repair to the Boodhist temple of that place, in order to propitiate Heaven for a fruitful spring. The priests are numerous, but not greatly respected. I saw some of them in the streets daily. A few were exceedingly well dressed; but generally they were both shabby and dirty, sometimes quite ragged.



The Chinese Boodh.

The idol differs somewhat from that of the Burmans and Siamese. The above is an exact delineation of a large image or Jos, which I obtained from Mr. Roberts at Macao, and is now in the Baptist Missionary Rooms, Boston.

The state of morals among the English and other foreigners here, is delightfully superior to that of other places I have seen in the East. A particular vice, so notorious elsewhere, is indeed effectually prevented by the Chinese police. But in

other respects the superiority is manifest. The Sabbath is well observed; and sobriety, temperance, and industry, distinguish a society, which, but for the exclusion of females, would be excellent. Of course, the total absence of mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters, prevents any man from feeling at home in Canton; and few stay longer than they can help.

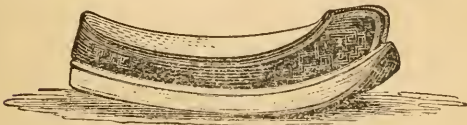
The British and American gentlemen, beside supporting the hospital, have formed two societies for the good of China, viz. the "Morrison Education Society," and the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge." Both are yet in incipient stages. Their designs are fully described in the Chinese Repository. Another measure is gradually ripening for execution, viz. the establishment of a Medical Missionary Society; which promises effectually to try an experiment on which the hearts of many friends of China are strongly set. The object of this society will be to encourage medical gentlemen to come and practise gratuitously among the Chinese.*

The great blot on foreigners at Canton, though not on all, is the opium trade. That men of correct moral sensibilities and enlightened minds should be so blinded by custom, or desire of gain, as to engage in this business, is amazing. A smuggler in Canton is no more honorable than a smuggler on any other coast; in some respects less so. There is less chivalry, hardihood, fatigue, exposure, and inducement, than in the case of a poor man, who braves both the war of elements and legal penalty, to obtain subsistence for his family. Here, among a peaceable and perhaps timid people, they incur no personal hazards, and set at defiance edicts and officers. No other smuggling introduces an article so deadly and demoralizing. The victims of it daily meet the smuggler's eyes, and are among the patients resorting to the hospital he helps to support. So well do they know the moral and physical evils of opium, that not one of them ventures on the habit of using it himself.

* A Medical Missionary Society, with the above object, was formed in Canton early in 1833. It does not purpose to pay the salary of medical men, but to receive such as may be sent by missionary boards, or come at their own cost; and to furnish them with hospitals, medicines, attendants, &c. It will establish libraries and museums, and take every proper measure to spread the benefits of rational medicine and surgery among the Chinese; in the hope of thus paving the way for the relaxation of those laws, customs, and prejudices, which now exclude the Christian missionary. Of this society, T. R. Colledge, Esq. is president. The society has already received cash subscriptions to the amount of \$9936; chiefly from the English and American gentlemen on the spot.

In this, as in other cases, magnitude gives dignity and sanction to the operation. No other smuggling is on so grand a scale. The annual sale amounts to a sum equal to the entire revenue of the United States, and to the whole value of teas exported to England and America! At this very time, though efforts so extraordinary and persevering have been put forth by the Chinese government, to stop this infernal traffic, there are *twenty-four* opium ships on the coast. We have little reason to wonder at the reluctance of China to extend her intercourse with foreigners. Nearly the whole of such intercourse brings upon her pestilence, poverty, crime, and disturbance.

No person can describe the horrors of the opium trade. The drug is produced by compulsion, accompanied with miseries to the cultivators, as great as slaves endure in any part of the earth. The prices paid to the producer scarcely sustain life, and are many per cent. less than the article produces in China. The whole process of carrying and vending is an enormous infringement of the laws of nations, and such as would immediately produce a declaration of war by any European power—the grandest and grossest smuggling trade on the globe! The influence of the drug on China is more awful and extensive than that of rum in any country, and worse to its victims than any outward slavery. That the government of British India should be the prime abettors of this abominable traffic, is one of the grand wonders of the nineteenth century. The proud escutcheon of the nation, which declaims against the slave trade, is thus made to bear a blot broader and darker than any other in the Christian world.



Chinese Shoe.

CHAPTER VI.

Embark for home — Straits of Gaspar and Sunda — Petty Monsoon — Cape of Good Hope — Remarkable Phenomenon — St. Helena — False Alarm — Slave Trade — Landing at Newport — Summary — Reflections.

BESIDES the sweets of being “homeward bound,” the voyage from the East is, in many respects, pleasanter than the outward, especially when we embark in the fall. The winds are almost all fair; the distance is much less; the repeated sight of land breaks up the dreary monotony of four or five months’ passage; and vessels generally touch at the Cape of Good Hope, or St. Helena, which adds a large amount of interesting information, and furnishes refreshments to sustain both health and spirits.

The stagnation of trade is now so complete, (November, 1837,) that but one vessel is loading at Canton for the United States, and no other expected to sail for six or eight weeks, if so soon. She belongs to Messrs. Brown and Ives of Providence, and in her I take passage, grateful for an opportunity to depart, when my business is finished.

Leaving Macao November 24th, we came down the coast of Cochin-China, between the Natunna and Anamba groups of islands, and passing in sight of Middle Island, St. Julien, St. Esprit, St. Barbe, &c., reached the Straits of Gaspar in ten days. Here we saw Banca, Pulo Lat, and other islands. A day or two more brought to view the beautiful heights of Sumatra, along which we coasted to the Straits of Sunda, surrounded by noble scenery. The mountains of Java and Sumatra, the fine peaks of Cockatoa and Prince’s Islands, the numerous minor islands, the quiet seas, and the glorious skies, make it one of the most interesting passages I know.

Leaving Java head December 7th, we took the petty monsoon,* and hauled close upon it, to lat. 16° south, where we reached the

* The petty monsoon is a remarkable intrusion on the south-east trade-wind. It exists six months in the year; viz. from November to May, between lat. 2° and 10° south, and extending from Madagascar to Java. It is sometimes broader. We had it as far as lat. 16°. It generally blows fresh, and often in squalls.

regular south-east trade, and rolled before it more than four thousand miles, in about a month. On the 17th of January, 1838, we came in sight of Africa, and sailed for two days close along the sublime outline of the mountains which form the "Cape of Storms." The winds here are almost always ahead for homeward vessels, which therefore hug the shore, for the benefit of the westerly current; but we were favored with a gentle fair wind all the way round to Table Bay.

No sooner had we dropped anchor off Cape Town, on the morning of the 19th, than I hastened ashore to make the best of the time the ship remained to fill up her water, and procure stores. Dr. Phillips, the well-known and venerable superintendent of the London Missionary Society's stations in South Africa, had not yet returned from his visit to England; but I found Mrs. P. abundantly able to supply his place. Her complete knowledge of the details of every station, and striking energy of character, charmed me exceedingly. Making me welcome to her home, she patiently suffered herself to be plied with questions, and, on my retiring for the night, furnished documents to read, calculated to be highly useful to me as a manager of missionary operations.

Rev. Mr. Locke, Mr. P.'s substitute, gave me his time when Mrs. P. could not, so that, whether walking or sitting, my pencil had no rest. Long practice has served to stereotype my questions, so that when I fall among such as can inform, the work of gathering facts, dates, and numbers, is plain, if not easy.

Few places can be more beautifully situated than Cape Town. I made a drawing from the ship; but the expense of this work is already so great as to forbid its being engraved. The city occupies a gentle acclivity, on the east side of the bay; scattered villas are sprinkled over the adjacent shores; and in the rear, upon moderate hills, are pleasant country seats, embosomed among vineyards and fruit-trees. Behind all, distant but a mile, is the steep wall-like front of Table Mountain, rising nearly four thousand feet, almost perpendicularly, without a tree, or scarcely a shrub, to hide the frowning rocks. In the placid bay about twenty vessels were lying at anchor, of which no less than eight were American. There is a small fort, and some other defences; but none which would be of any avail against an enemy, which might land elsewhere, and take these batteries in the rear.

The streets of the city are regularly laid out, and well built, but narrow. The population is about twenty-five thousand; the great majority of which are negroes and mulattoes. These swarm about the town; their wretched trousers and jackets

contrasting very disadvantageously with the graceful and snow-white drapery of servants in India.

It is the middle of January, (1838,) and here, the height of summer. The markets abound with grapes, peaches, apricots, apples, plums, figs, oranges, lemons, strawberries, mulberries, melons, &c., at very low rates. Our supply of oranges, from China, had just run out; so that such an opportunity of replacing our antiscorbutic luxuries was most welcome. The vineyards are not trellised like the Italian, or tied to stakes like the German, but suffered to grow alone, like currant bushes. This plan is probably necessary, on account of the fierce winds which often prevail, but, as it suffers many of the grapes to lie on the ground, is perhaps the cause of the earthy taste of the common Cape wines.

There are at Cape Town two Episcopal ministers, four Dutch, two Lutheran, one Scotch, two Independent, two Methodist, one supported by the South African Missionary Society, and four engaged wholly or partially in schools or secular business; making eighteen. The following list of charitable and religious institutions, though perhaps incomplete, will show that Christians here are not unmindful of the calls of enlightened philanthropy: Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; South African Missionary Society, instituted 1799; Auxiliary London Missionary Society; Auxiliary Wesleyan Missionary Society; Bible Union, instituted 1818; Infant School Society, with three schools; three schools on the British system; Ladies' Benevolent Society; Tract and Book Society; Orphan Asylum; Sick and Burial Society; Widows' and Old Women's Society; School of Industry for girls; and ten Sunday schools containing about fifteen hundred scholars.

Had the Dutch, who settled this colony nearly two hundred years ago, been as zealous for the conversion of the natives, as they were for the introduction of their language, there would, no doubt, have been a far different state of things among that part of the population. But though Dutch is now the vernacular of all the negroes in this part of the continent, Christianity is the religion of comparatively few; while more than nine thousand have adopted the faith of the false prophet. Indeed, it is affirmed, that they rather preferred that the Hottentots should become Mussulmans; being unwilling that their slaves should acquire such a ground of familiarity as would be produced by a common Christianity! Even now, a large number of blacks annually go over to Mahometanism.

On leaving the Cape of Good Hope, a delightful breeze from the south-east brought us at once into the regular trade-wind, so that we scarcely started tack or sheet, till off St. Helena, on the 31st of January. Squalls and calms, produced by the proximity of this lofty island, kept us near it for twenty-four hours; making us familiar with its gloomy outline, and allowing us leisure to philosophize on the fate of bloody men. Heavy clouds lowered on its summits, while dreariness and solitude seemed the only tenants of its worthless valleys. May ambitious rulers never forget the impressive lesson of St. Helena's exiled emperor! We left the island to the westward, and, catching "the trade" again, reached the equator in about twenty days. He who most dislikes the sea, must love it in the south-east trade-wind. Such skies, such air, such gentle waters, such quiet in the ship, such glorious nights, such security from all shoals and coasts, and such steady progress, make up the very poetry of life upon the sea.

The north-east trade met us south of the line, blowing with double the force of the other. Its haziness prevented my noticing at what latitude the Magellan clouds ceased to be visible. We however saw them till within two or three degrees of the equator. They appeared then about 15° above the horizon. Since leaving the Cape, the thermometer has ranged about 80° to 85° in the cabin.

For a number of days after crossing the line, we noticed fine yellowish sand, deposited on every part of the vessel and rigging. It could be wiped from the decks, like dust from a table. This, of course, was from the coast of Africa, above a thousand miles distant! I am told this phenomenon is not uncommon, but do not recollect to have seen it noticed in books.

In the latitude of the West Indies, a suspicious looking schooner came in sight, and leaving her course, boarded a vessel a few miles ahead. Soon after, she bore for another, changing her course again, came down upon us, and ranged alongside at musket-shot distance. She carried the flag of Donna Maria, was of the fastest model, too small to be engaged in commerce, and had other indications of being a pirate. It seemed evident, too, she had no particular course, for she had been boxing about since day-light. To be captured, and perhaps murdered, was now a reasonable expectation; and I began to think this book would never see the light. After sailing with us a while before the wind, keeping us in constant expectation of a shot, she sheared to, and an officer in half-uniform hailed us, saying, "With your

leave, we will come on board." Of course, it was of no use to resist, and our captain sulkily hauled up his courses. We were somewhat relieved by seeing her boat shove off with but a small crew. Our ladder and man-ropes were put over the side, and presently a ruffian-looking man, with side arms, stood upon our deck. We stood ready to learn our fate; but he seemed in no hurry to announce it. However, after looking about at every thing, and asking our cargo, destination, &c., he settled our surmises by saying that he wished merely to know his longitude!

The schooner was a slaver, recently captured off Jamaica, by a British cruiser; and this personage was prize-master. The slaves had been apprenticed on the island by government, as is the custom in such cases, and the vessel was on her way to Sierra Leone, to be condemned; having the late captain and one or two of the crew on board. Being destitute of a chronometer, he took this opportunity to ascertain his position, by comparing the reckoning of the vessels in sight. The vessel was about eighty tons' burden, (not so large as many of our river sloops,) and when taken, had on board three hundred and twenty-six slaves! Between her decks was but two feet four inches, so that the unhappy negroes could scarcely sit upright. They were stowed in a solid mass, in a sitting posture, amidst filth and stench so horrid, that the place was insupportable for days after they were removed. These vessels are generally fitted out at Havana, and, if they escape capture one voyage out of four, the profits are abundant. As the officers and crew are not punished, much less the merchant, there is no want of tools for this infernal business. As soon as the vessel is condemned at Sierra Leone, she is sold by auction, and, not being wanted there, the captain himself becomes the purchaser, and with all his irons, gratings, and other apparatus, already on board, passes down the coast, takes in another cargo, and tries his chance again.

Lord Brougham has affirmed, in a late speech in parliament, that one hundred and eighty-five slave vessels were fitted out from Havana in the year 1835; and that in 1836, the number of slaves imported into that single city, exceeded twenty-eight thousand! In the month of December, 1836, two vessels arrived at Rio Janeiro, one of which brought five hundred slaves, and the other seven hundred and eighty! The average import of slaves into Rio is about fifty-three thousand! In 1837, there were imported into *one city* of Brazil forty-five thousand slaves! It has been recently published, without contradiction, that nearly two hundred slave voyages are made from Cuba every year,

and that many of these are owned by Englishmen and Americans. It is to be feared that this awful business is now conducted almost as extensively as at any former period.

On the 25th of March, 1838, the shores of my native country once more received me, having made the voyage in a hundred and twenty days, without disaster. I have abstained from speaking of dangers, escapes, hardships, and inconveniences, except where they might make the reader better acquainted with the country or people through which I was passing; but an open acknowledgment is now due to the Father of mercies, and to my friends, whose prayers were not intermitted. In the East, opportunities of going from port to port are often not to be had for months; yet I was never hurried from any place till my work was done, nor in a single instance detained uselessly. During an absence from the United States of two years and a half, I made nineteen voyages by sea, (which consumed four hundred and sixty-four days,) fourteen voyages by rivers, and a land journey of five hundred miles, besides smaller trips by land and water. The whole distance travelled, including actual courses at sea, is somewhat more than fifty-three thousand miles. In all these wanderings, often in dangerous and ill-fitted vessels, and regions unhealthy, or infested with robbers, I was never hurt nor molested; nor was any person hurt or taken sick where I was. In one of these journeys, it will be recollected, I was supposed to be armed with a pair of horse pistols, for which I afterward found I had no bullets. On all other occasions, I went without the semblance of a weapon, except a cane.

The entire expense of my mission, including voyages out and home, presents to chiefs, purchase of curiosities for missionary rooms, and salary, amounts to about five thousand dollars—scarcely half of the sum I had supposed would be requisite. Part of this may be regarded as falling within the usual expenses of the Board, as on all occasions I acted the part of a missionary, by preaching through interpreters, conducting the services of native assistants, and distributing Christian books. I indulge a hope that the profits of these volumes received by the Society will repay, in part, the cost of the tour.

The wide field gone over in my weary way is now traced; and thousands of facts concerning it are fairly spread out. Much more remains unsaid; but nothing is kept back, which would materially alter the nature of the reader's impressions. Deeply

conscious of the imperfections which have attended the discharge of this engagement, I am, nevertheless, cheered by the fullest conviction that such an agency was essential to the welfare and vigor of the mission ; that no part of my life has so effectually promoted the blessed cause for which alone it is desirable to live ; and that the divine presence and aid were never more manifestly vouchsafed upon any of my endeavors.

It only remains for me to declare my deep and solemn conviction that the missionary enterprise is of God. All I have seen, read, and heard, has served to impress me more and more with the rectitude, practicability, and usefulness of the work. Our duty, as revealed in Scripture, is illustrated and urged in every part of the field. The missionaries, as a body, are holy and diligent men. I have satisfied myself that the translations are continually improving ; that the tracts are orthodox and scriptural ; and that a large part of them are intelligible to the natives. Evidences of the divine favor are visible ; and are numerated in a subsequent chapter, though not completely, yet so abundantly, as that unprejudiced Christians must deem them encouraging.

The personal examination of numerous missionary stations in the East, (some of them the seat of several distinct bodies of missionaries ;) a minute knowledge of many adjacent ones ; a personal acquaintance with nearly ninety ordained missionaries — Episcopalian, Lutheran, Scotch, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, Independent, Congregational, and Baptist, beside wives, assistants, and native helpers ; visits to schools and the houses of converts ; seeing many heathen in their native state ; witnessing much missionary labor ; attending committees, conferences, prayer-meetings, and catechisings ; and almost confining my reading to this subject for three years, — has satisfied me that the measure of missionary success is equal to just expectations. The particular grounds of this decision will be found briefly spread out in Chapter I. Part IV.

Opportunities of usefulness are more extended than ever before. There are not only more presses and more missionaries, but better tracts ; more of the Scriptures are translated ; more of our brethren understand the languages where they are ; the native assistants know more of the plan of salvation ; and the schools are better conducted.

Our incentives to increased action are very strong. Many young men of great promise, who have devoted themselves to missionary work, are deterred from presenting themselves to the societies, because of the uncertainty when they can be sent

out, if at all. This ought very seriously to engage the attention of the churches. Men are prepared and willing to go; and the church does not supply the means. In the mean time, promising fields remain unoccupied; a proper division of labor is not effected at existing stations; and at some points the whole labor and expense, and the entire services of some missionaries, are in danger of being lost, for want of men to take the place of those now engaged, in case of sickness or death. In some instances, there is for a whole nation but one missionary.

Our visible encouragements are greater than at any former period. The number of converts within the year 1837, connected with missions from the United States, exceeds the whole number of converts, during the first twenty years of the existence of missionary operations! In the same missions, religious truth is now being printed in nearly sixty languages, and at the rate of millions of pages per annum.

Reader, could you have stood with me over the graves of Swartz, Carey, Boardman, or Heber, or could you stand beside the departing ship, where weeping parents give up dear children to many hardships, and to be seen no more, how would your sacrifices appear in the comparison? What are you doing for the spread of Christianity which compares with these; or with the widow's mite, which was "all her living"? O, examine this matter. The blood of the heathen may be on your soul. Have you properly satisfied yourself that it is not your duty *to go to the heathen*? Are you sure you are not required to *give more* to this cause? If it be the duty of some to go abroad, and of others to give up their sons and daughters, what ought you to do? Must the whole body of Christians do their duty? or will the services of a part excuse the remainder? Either those who go on missions are egregiously misled, and might without guilt have remained at home, enjoying all the sweets of civilized society, religious privileges, and family intercourse; or you are fatally deluded in supposing that you acquit yourselves of all obligation by paying a paltry dollar or two, per annum or per month. What shall be said, then, of those who do not contribute towards spreading the knowledge of God and truth among the nations, so much as the price of a gewgaw, or a ribbon, in a whole year? O Lord, lay not this sin to thy people's charge! Let thy church arise and shine, that the Gentiles may come to her light, and kings to the brightness of her rising.

PART IV.

A PRACTICAL VIEW OF MODERN MISSIONS.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE MEASURE OF SUCCESS WHICH HAS ATTENDED MODERN MISSIONS.

Introduction. — I. The Number of Missionaries. — II. The Kind of Labor performed: Preparatory; Collateral; Additional; Erroneous. — III. Disadvantages of Modern Missionaries: Imperfect Knowledge of the Language; Poverty of the Languages themselves; Want of Familiarity with the Religion and People; Degraded State of the Natives; Inability to live as they live; Being Foreigners; The Structure of Society; The prevailing Philosophy; The Presence of nominal Christians; Popery. — IV. Efforts which do not reach the Field. — V. The Amount accomplished: A large Force in the Field; Impediments removed; Translations made; Languages reduced to Writing; General Literature imparted; Tracts written; Grammars, Dictionaries, and other Helps prepared; Immense Distribution of Bibles and Tracts; Mechanical Facilities created; Schools established, and Youth already educated; Blessings of Christian Morality diffused; Idolatry in some Places shaken; Effects on Europeans abroad; Actual Conversions. — VI. Effects on the Churches at Home — Remarks.

MANY of the best friends of missions avow feelings of disappointment, in regard to the measure of success which has attended the enterprise. Considering the great efforts which have been made, they are ready to infer either that there is some radical error in the mode of operation, or that "the set time" to bring in the heathen, has not yet come. At this we can scarcely wonder, when we consider the misstatements which are current, and the prevalent deficiency of information on this subject, even among religious persons, for want of reading missionary periodicals.

Those who stand aloof from the work, are still more disposed to regard it as a failure. Some are not backward to charge those who persist, with fanaticism and folly; and a few go so far as to brand them with chicanery and corruption, and to declare their belief that most of the funds contributed for missions, are retained by the hands through which they pass.

On the other hand, there are those who dwell always on animating prognostics and local successes. Reluctant to contemplate discouraging circumstances, they anxiously exclude such

SPECIMENS OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES

from printed tracts

generelle menschenkenntnis nach den vorlesungen des herrn prof. J. G. Meier

Bengallee.

উপায়ক আশীর্বাদ করিব, ও উপায় নাহি বিখ্যাত করিব, এব. তুমি

Burmese used also with a few additions & alterations for Karen & Peguan.

လူများ: တို့သည်မျှော်လင့်၍ ယောဟန်သည်ခရစ်တေ

Persian.

ع ضی نواب موعون گذرانید هو لکر بہادر پر سید

Arabic.

گیا سونگے پیدا ہونے کا کیا سبب ہی کچھ بھی فہم میں

Telugoo or Telingot.

నీతిని దమనున్న తెలియపరచేదై యున్నది

Tamil.

யம அவனுக்கு ஒருகுமா ரனபிறந துதிவனி தனி

Assamese in Roman letters.

Háwadhán huá, án mánuhor ágot húhonte

Siamese.

◎ คำปฤษาพหิมาเป็รียบความ ฯ

Burmese Pali.

ကရဝဏ္ဏါစဆဇျေညါဗုဒ္ဓဗုဒ္ဓဂဂတထဒ

Siamese Pali & Cambodian.

វវវហ តោសម្មាសម្មាសម្មា

Armenian.

Մի ու մէք չարի գլխը հաստպստիքք

Priva or Orissa.

ଅବିଶ୍ୱାସୀ ସବୁ ଠହୁବ ନରଠକ ଗମନ ॥

Buyts.

ନିଧି ନିଧି ନିଧି ନିଧି ନିଧି

Javaneese.

လိဂ္ဂလိဂ္ဂလိဂ္ဂလိဂ္ဂလိဂ္ဂလိဂ္ဂ

乖 醉 樂 而 忘 反 者 慮 耳 彼 葉 知 出
 * Chinese
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 * Japanese
 才 豆 夕 才 才 才 才 才 才 才 才

* to be read from top to bottom

details from what they say or publish, and at monthly concerts of prayer, or other public meetings, create an impression that the work is well nigh done, at least in some places. There is thus a danger of making contributions to missions the fruit rather of temporary emotion than habitual principle, and of graduating the measure of our duty more by the amount of success than the distinctness of injunction. And when, in a course of years, the expected results are not realized, there is a proneness to dejection and lassitude.

The writer cannot join with those whose tone is chiefly that of exultation. But he is persuaded that missions have succeeded, to a degree fully equal to the amount and kind of labor bestowed, and presents the following considerations to sustain this opinion.

Before proceeding to measure the absolute magnitude of what has been accomplished, it is necessary to consider the true amount of means employed, and the exact manner in which they have been applied.

I. *The number of missionaries, and the amount of time and energy they have had to bestow on their work.*

1. The English Baptist Missionary Society was formed in 1792; the London Missionary Society in 1795; the Scotch Missionary Society in 1796; the Church Missionary Society in 1800; the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810; the Baptist Board in 1814; the Episcopal and the Methodist Missionary Societies in 1820.

Of course, the first years in each of these societies produced very few missionaries. By a careful analysis of all the missionary statistics within reach, it appears that in 1810, the whole number of stations was twenty-nine; in 1820, fifty-seven; and at the present time, about four hundred. If we allow two missionaries to a station, it gives us, in 1810, fifty-eight; in 1820, a hundred and fourteen; and at the present time eight hundred. We thus perceive that we have proceeded but slowly to the present magnitude of our operations. One half of the present number of missionaries have gone out within so recent a period, as not yet to have acquired the languages of their people.

2. The lives of missionaries are shorter than those of ministers at home; not exceeding, probably, on an average, more than eight or nine years.

3. As the highest instances of longevity are found among those who gave themselves chiefly to translations and English preaching, the average life of such as were devoted to the immediate conversion of natives is still farther lessened.

4. All those who died before they had been in the field four years, are to be presumed not to have become efficient preachers.

5. Three or four years are to be deducted from the brief span of all missionaries, as time spent chiefly in study.

6. Most missions have been carried forward in regions where the missionaries were robbed of one fourth of their effective energy by climate. Combine all these considerations, and the absolute amount of direct efforts for the conversion of heathen is reduced to a very paltry sum.

Again : The calculations which have been made on the labors of the wives of missionaries, are for the most part, much too large. Speeches, essays, and sermons have described the public usefulness of females in glowing terms. It has even been declared that on this account, "almost all missionaries of the Protestant churches may count for two." The seclusion of women in certain countries, has principally given rise to this opinion, as they can find access to their own sex in a manner not practicable to their husbands. But it must be considered that only in a part of the field are females rigidly secluded, and then only the higher classes, with which few missions have much to do. Few missionaries' wives have acquired the language to such an extent as to enable them to be useful in this way. Their opportunities for learning are by no means so good as those of their husbands. Household duties demand some time ; their minds have been less trained to the acquisition of language ; and such as have children are greatly put back in their studies, and hindered from missionary work, if ever so familiar with the language. Among ourselves, we do not reckon ministers' wives as so many evangelists, when we compute the degree to which a state or county is supplied with the means of grace. Much less can we calculate upon the wives of missionaries. The helps and facilities enjoyed by a woman at home, who essays to do public good, are not found among the heathen. There, few nurses or servants can be trusted alone with children, even for an hour ; the elder ones are not safe away at school, but must be about the mother, and taught wholly by her — itself a great task, which few mothers in America could add to their other cares. In sickness, she is not aided by a circle of kind friends, but must nurse her husband, her child, or her scholar, day by day, alone ; destitute even of the aid which servants might render, could they fully understand her commands or customs. At home, a minister's wife does good chiefly through others, by setting in motion and keeping up plans which they can execute. But not so with the missionary's wife.

She has around her no circle of active and unencumbered sisters, to teach Sabbath schools, to form Bible classes, or to constitute societies for good objects. All she does must be carried on, from beginning to end, by her own individual unassisted energies. She must find her principal sphere of usefulness in keeping her husband whole-hearted and happy; in being a good housewife; sustaining all the domestic cares; training up her children well; furnishing her husband prudent counsel and affectionate support; and setting before the heathen the sweet and impressive example of a well-ordered Christian family, and the elevated and purifying character of conjugal life, as regulated by the New Testament. As time and opportunity offer, she should diligently and thoroughly study the language. Then let her take every opportunity of conversing with such as come to the house, form a circle of acquaintance among the native females, and faithfully visit among them as a Christian teacher.

Unmarried females, and such as have no children, may generally be regarded as missionaries in the fullest sense. Some of these have maintained for years a course of public usefulness not inferior to their masculine fellow-laborers.

II. *The kind of labor which has been performed.*

I. Up to the present period, the principal portion of missionary labor has been *preparatory*.

He who views the lofty column is apt to forget how great have been the labors of the architect beneath the surface of the earth, and how widely the hidden foundations spread round beneath his feet. So when we survey the results of missions; most of the labor, though indispensable, is not now seen. Nor can any inspection of their present condition disclose the extent and variety of past labors.

We need not here stop to inquire whether missionaries have devoted *too much* time to translations, authorship, schools, secular business, or preaching in English. It is sufficient for the present argument, that the major part of our efforts have been so expended. It is not possible to arrive at precision in regard to the exact proportion; but from careful inquiries, I am led to set down, as preparatory, *three fourths* of the work done in India, much more as to China and Western Asia, and somewhat less in most other missions.

2. No small portion of time and energy has been spent on objects which may be called *collateral*.

A pastor at home looks for these labors to his church, and to

benevolent societies. He has around him those who maintain Sunday schools, distribute Bibles and tracts, sustain pecuniary agencies, hold meetings in private houses, visit the sick, maintain discipline, and perform a multitude of other services, which in a foreign land devolve on the missionary alone. The fraction of effort, left after making the deductions of the last head, is therefore to be still farther abridged, if we mean to measure missionaries by ministers at home.

3. He has many duties *additional* to those of a pastor in a Christian land.

In addition to all his studies and labors of a strictly missionary and evangelical character, he must erect places of worship, dwellings, and school-houses; employ and oversee native assistants and catechists; and send out agents, with Bibles and tracts. In the absence of physicians, friends, nurses, and trained servants, he must be surgeon, midwife, and nurse, in his own family. In many cases, he must devote considerable time to the dispensing of medicine to the natives. He must be school-master for his own children, as well as Sunday school teacher, and perhaps superintend native schools.

Beside this list of duties, so large as almost to seem absurd, he must correspond with his friends at home, the Society, and fellow-missionaries; keep careful money accounts; and maintain a proper intercourse with Europeans around him.

4. Many missionaries have felt obliged to imitate the example of Carey, Marshman, and Ward, and of the Moravians generally, in devoting much time to raising pecuniary resources. While the public was but half awake to their duty, there was much reason for this. There are perhaps cases now where it is proper. I only name it as another deduction from our computation of the measure of means strictly spent in converting the heathen.

5. Much time and money have been expended *erroneously*, at least in several missions.

Shops, houses, mills, farms, machines, implements, fonts of type, and books, have been made unwisely, and relinquished; or made at too great a cost. The temporal affairs of the people have received too much attention. Periodical publications have entrenched on higher duties; translations have in some cases been made prematurely; and in others great labor has been bestowed in making revisions, which prove not to be improvements.

All this was to be expected. In labors not expressly patterned in the New Testament, we have no teacher but experience, whose instructions are always costly. No reasonable man could

expect this item to be less than it is. Happily the pressure of such expenses has passed away with the period of our inexperience.

III. We will now glance at *the disadvantages under which the best and purest missionary labor is exerted.*

The bigotry, superstition, and sensuality of the heathen, their want of early training in the proper theory of religion, the absence of a correct moral sense, and similar disadvantages of great magnitude, not felt by ministers in a Christian land, will not be insisted upon; because they equally impeded the apostles, who nevertheless had great success. I intend only to name those which are peculiar to modern missionaries.

1. An imperfect knowledge of the language of the people.

Scarcely one missionary in twenty has become able to preach with entire fluency, and probably never one had such a knowledge of the language as inspiration gave. A great amount of preaching has been done through interpreters, and these often unconverted heathen, who could not give full force to themes they did not comprehend. Few can acquire such mastery of a foreign tongue, as to express their thoughts with the glow and intensity of a native, even when the idiom and structure of the language is thoroughly understood.

An experienced missionary in Bengal assured me, that on an average, not one half of the sermons of missionaries who undertake to preach is understood. Dr. Carey, in a letter of August, 1809, states that after, by years of study, he thought he had fully mastered the Bengalee, and had then preached it two full years, he discovered that he was not understood! Yet Dr. C.'s teachers flattered him that he was understood perfectly. This is a very common deception of pundits and moonshees. In the opinion of one of the most experienced missionaries in the Madras presidency, not one missionary in ten, out of those who live the longest, ever gets the language so as to be generally understood, except when declaring the simplest truths. This is a difficulty not to be removed. Merchants and traders may easily acquire the vocabulary of traffic and social life, and so do missionaries. They may go further, and be able to read or understand literary and historical subjects. But to have the ready command of words, on abstract theological subjects, and all the nice shades of meaning requisite to discuss accurately mental and moral subjects, can only be the work of many years, of intense study and great practice.

2. There is a still greater difficulty in the poverty of the languages themselves.

For terms which are of primary importance in religious discourse, words must often be used which are either unmeaning, or foreign to the purpose, or inaccurate. It is not easy to exhibit this difficulty in its true magnitude, to such as have not mixed with heathen. A few examples may, however, make the argument intelligible. Words equivalent to God, Lord, &c., must, in various languages, be those which the heathen apply to their idols; for there are no others. In Tamul, the word *pâvum* (sin) signifies only "exposure to evil;" or simply "evil;" whether natural or moral; and may be applied to a beast as well as a man. The word *padesuttam* (holiness) means "clearness." *Regeneration* is understood by a Hindu or Boodhist to mean "another birth" in this world, or "transmigration." The *purposes of God* they understand to be "fate." The word used in Bengalee for *holy*, (*d'harma*) sometimes means "merit" acquired by acts of religious worship, and sometimes "that which is agreeable to rule or custom." When the compound word *Holy Ghost* is translated, it becomes "Spirit of rule," or some phrase not more intelligible. In the Episcopal Liturgy in Bengalee, it is rendered "Spirit of existence," (*sadatma*;) and Mr. Yates, in his new version of the Scriptures, uses the word *pabitru*, "clean." This last, while it avoids the hazard of conveying a wrong idea, and seems to be the best rendering, is yet evidently imperfect. In Siamese, the word most used for *sin* (*tôt*) means either "guilt," or the "punishment of guilt," or simply "exposure to punishment." The best word the missionaries can get for *holy*, is *boresut*, "purified," when people are spoken of; and *saks't*, "or Spirit having power because of sanctity," when the Holy Ghost is meant. There is no Siamese word equivalent to *repent*; and a phrase is used signifying "to establish the mind anew," or "make new resolves." In Burman, there is no term equivalent to our *heaven*, and a word meaning "sky," or more properly "space," is used; nor any word for *angel*, and the rendering of that term has to be "sky-messenger;" nor any word for *condemn*, except the circumlocution "decide according to demerit, or sin;" nor any word for *conscience*, *thank*, &c. &c. I might add scores of such cases, given me by missionaries. There is scarcely a theological term not subject to this difficulty.

For a multitude of our terms there is no word at all. Among these are not only theological terms, such as sanctification, gospel, evangelist, church, atonement, devil, &c., but the names of

implements, animals, customs, clothing, and many other things, of which ignorant and remote tribes have never heard, and for which entire new terms are obliged to be coined.

Let a man imagine how he would be embarrassed in reading a book, or hearing a discourse, in which he constantly met with Greek or Arabic terms, and words used in a sense differing more or less from that in which he understands them, and these often the principal terms in the sentence; and he may form some conception of this difficulty. Even the native assistant, preaching in his mother tongue, is not properly understood; for he must use these terms.

3. Want of familiarity with the system and sacred books to be encountered, and with national prejudices and modes of thinking.

For exposing with freedom, and attacking with power, a popular belief, these are eminent advantages. Hence, in part, the superior success of native preachers. The apostles were native preachers, almost wherever they went; and we see how largely they used their intimate knowledge of the national religion and habits of thinking, not only in disputations, but in formal discourses and epistles. Many years must elapse before a missionary can attain this power; and then only by the wearisome perusal of many volumes of disgusting legends, as well as contact with natives in many ways, and for a long period.

4. The rascality and ignorance of the people sought to be reclaimed.

Idolatry tends steadily downward; and eighteen centuries have served to degrade the heathen far below the latest and most corrupt Greeks and Romans. When mankind began to fall away from the living God, there remained some knowledge of the proper attributes of Deity, and a comparative nobleness and purity in the human mind. But the objects of worship, the rites enjoined, and the character of the people, steadily sunk lower and lower. Hence all nations refer to past ages, as having greater purity and happiness than the present. Iniquitous oracles, abused asylums, horrid bacchanalia, and human sacrifices, were known, even in Greece and Rome, only to later generations. With all these abominations, they possessed no contemptible amount of arts, sciences, literature, and poetry. Syria, Macedonia, Greece, Italy, and Northern Africa, forming the field of the first missions, were the centre of civilization and intelligence. The wide intercommunication maintained by travelling philosophers and marching armies, gave impulse to intellect, and dis-

seminated knowledge. The Roman, the Greek, the Jew, the Egyptian, was far less of a brute, than the savage or semi-civilized object of *our* philanthropy.

For a long period before the birth of Christ, a leaven of contempt for pagan rites had been diffused by Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and others. Every century brought forth some such writers, and increased the effect of the former works. Socrates, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, and others, had by their orations stirred up the stagnation of the public mind. Euclid, Zeno, Epicurus, Apollonius, Archimedes, and Eratosthenes, led the select few to a noble expansion and activity of the intellectual powers. Afterward came the satires and exposures of Horace, Lucian, and Juvenal, turning a strong tide of ridicule upon the prevailing mythology. To quote more names might seem pedantic; but there was then scarcely a department of learning without writers which, to this very day, maintain not only a place among our studies, but admiration and utility. Poetry, philosophy, history, eloquence, tragedy, mathematics, geography, botany, medicine, and morals, were all cultivated. Such was the state of mankind when Christ came; and while it would have allowed a new system of superstition or error little chance of prevalence, it made a happy preparation for Christianity. Not, indeed, that any of the philosophy agreed with it; or that any of the philosophers adopted it. "The wisdom of this world," then as now, deemed the cross "foolishness." But *the people were trained to think*, and both Jews and pagans were capable of examining, and disposed to understand, the nature of the new religion.

The nations among whom missions are now conducted, are in general the reverse of all this. With them the human intellect has for ages been at a stand. Improvements in any thing are not imagined. Without valuable books, without a knowledge of other countries, without foreign commerce, without distant conquest, without the strife of theology, without political freedom, without public spirit,—what is left for them, but listlessness, ignorance, and pride? Such of them as attempt study, learn only falsehood and folly; so that the more they learn, the less they know. Their history, chronology, geography, physics, astronomy, medicine, and theology, are so utterly wrong, that to fill the mind with them is worse than vacuity. This is true of the *most civilized* heathen of this day; and of many parts of the missionary field, a much stronger picture might be drawn. Such indurated ignorance is incomparably worse to deal with

than fine reasonings and false philosophy. What can argument do, if not understood? The edge of truth itself is turned by impenetrable dulness.

The depreciation of morals, is as great as that of intellect. We look in vain even for Spartan or Roman virtue. Except perhaps among the Cretans, it is hardly probable that the first preachers any where encountered such a spirit of falsehood and deceit as distinguish the heathen now. Truth is utterly wanting. Man has no confidence in man. The morality is not only defective, it is perverted. Killing a cow or an insect, is more shocking than the murder of an enemy: lying for a brahmin is a virtue; stealing for real want is no sin: a few ceremonies or offerings expiate all crimes. Transmigration abolishes identity; for, if perfectly unconscious in one state of existence, of all that transpired in previous ones, identity is virtually lost. Sin is reduced to a trifle, the conscience rendered invulnerable, generous sentiments extinguished, and the very presence and exhortations of the missionary engender a suspicion destructive to his success. His reasons for coming are not credited; and the fear of political treachery is added to a detestation of his creed. The best supposition they can make, is that he is seeking religious merit, according to his own system, and careful not so much for their conversion, as for his personal benefit in a future state.

5. Inability to live as the people live.

Except at a few points, the manners and customs are such that a missionary cannot adopt them without disadvantage. It has often been tried, to a greater or less degree; but always relinquished, for numerous good reasons which I cannot here stop to adduce. In some missions, the health and even the life of a missionary require him to live in a better house, and more expensively than the chiefs, or perhaps the king. The consequent evils may be partly conceived, by considering the effect with us of a minister's living in a style superior to that of his richest hearers, without having any dependence on them for support. It is not the question here whether this evil may not be palliated in some places. It has existed as a disadvantage in many instances, and in many must probably always so remain.

6. The world is not now under a single government. The apostles were every where fellow-subjects; for the stupendous power of Rome presided over the known world. But the missionary is now a foreigner, living in foreign modes, holding his connections with foreign powers, and endeavoring to introduce a foreign religion. In one part of the field, he is

either wondered at as a superior being, or feared as a political agent; and in the other, despised as coming from some barbarous island on the confines of creation. To be either a Roman or a Jew, secured to the first preachers a fraternity wherever they went. Our missionary finds none, till, by the blessing of God, he makes it. From some countries he is kept aloof by inexorable prohibitions; in some, his life is unsafe; in some, official obstructions are thrown in his way, so as almost to discourage effort; and in others, though protected by Christian rulers, he is almost precluded from usefulness by the influence of their example.

7. The structure of society.

At first, Christians could be tolerated even "in Cæsar's household," and retain offices, civil and military. The persecutions were not so much by the people as the government, and the converts could prosecute their callings, whether as tanners, tent-makers, fishermen, or centurions. Now, the adamant barrier of caste fences off into innumerable sections the two hundred millions of India; while all, from the highest to the lowest, unite against Christianity. The convert becomes an *outcast*, in such a sense of that word as Europeans cannot conceive. He is not only deprived of property, but torn from wife and children, and abandoned, without the means of subsistence. Unless the missionary devise a mode of subsistence for him, he must starve. In addition to other evils, this state of things tends to keep off all who have property to lose, and draw together mendicants, idlers, and criminals, to profess Christianity for temporal ends.

Among Mahometans, Boodhists, and other pagans, to become a Christian entails most of these trials, though in other forms. The convert is cast out as evil. His relations deny him, his business fails, his children are a by-word, his rulers are displeased, and his life endangered.

Among still ruder nations, the distinction of tribes cuts up the human family into small, insulated portions, denying to each other common kindnesses. After spending many years to acquire a language, there are but a few thousands to whom it can be the medium of truth. Wars, wanderings, extreme poverty, and desperate degradation, seem to preclude the very hope of success.

8. The apostles were not every where met by a system of natural philosophy which directly contradicted all their teachings.

Wherever Christianity now goes, a new system of geography

and astronomy must be adopted. It cannot be said that the missionary may pass by this topic, and only preach Christ crucified. His hearers will not let him pass it by. The country he professes to have left, cannot exist by their system. The Shaster and the Bedagat must fall, if his system be true. He will be attacked upon it. It will be regarded as a part of his religious belief, and he must clear away their cosmogony, before he can build his faith.

With the few who can be so far educated as to understand and receive the Copernican system, this difficulty is converted into a facility. Such are at least rendered unbelievers in their own religion. But the mass of the people will long remain in the old belief, and as Christianity cannot wait to be preceded by schools, missionaries must meet this difficulty in all its strength.

9. The presence of nominally Christian countrymen.

These are now found almost every where; and too many of them, by their ungodly lives, present to the undistinguishing heathen a continual ground of objection. Their lewdness, extortions, oppressions, riotous living, desecration of the Sabbath, neglect of sacred things, direct opposition, and secret obstructions, wring the soul of the missionary, fill his way with thorns, and tend to nullify his greatest exertions.

Where Christian governments have borne rule, and where his own life has been most secure, he has found those very governments arrayed against his success. When Buchanan would have given forth information touching the abominations of Hinduism, not a journal in Calcutta dared publish his communications! When he made them from the pulpit, his friends were not allowed to publish the sermons. When he returned to England, and published these things, his statements were denied, and his character assailed. The East India Company long opposed the introduction of missionaries, or kept them under a surveillance which defeated their object. Had not the Danish settlement at Serampore afforded an asylum, till an experiment was made, evincive of the political harmlessness of evangelical labors among the natives, it is doubtful whether India would have been opened to this day. It is only necessary to refer to the periodical accounts, to the Calcutta newspapers, and to the occasional pamphlets of that time, to show how wilfully and effectively the messengers of mercy were hindered, for many years; and how large deductions ought to be made, on this account, from the fruits which might otherwise have been produced. Though the Indian government no longer exerts a

direct opposition to missionaries, it does many things, some of which have been named in a previous chapter, to sustain paganism and Mahometanism throughout its dominions.

The Dutch government has been even more inimical, and still maintains its hostility. When Mr. Bruckner, after many years' labor, had translated the New Testament into Javanese, he went to Serampore, and at great expense got types cast, and printed it. But he no sooner returned, (in 1832,) and gave away a few copies, than the government seized the whole edition, and placed it in the public stores, from whence it has never been restored. I could mention other facts of a similar character. Their own chaplains and other clergy are under such restraints, as tend to nullify or obstruct their labors to convert the natives.

The Spanish and Portuguese colonial governments in India have avowedly opposed us from the beginning, on the ground of our Protestantism.

At some of the Sandwich Islands, among various tribes of American Indians, and in many other places where no governmental opposition has been made, the influence and example of unprincipled men, both residents and visitors, have been most distressing.*

In the most favorable aspect in which the missionary meets a Christian government, in pagan lands, he finds it a government of financial rapacity and military force. The natives cannot forget that the presence and power of the white man, is the fruit and proof of their subjection and inferiority. Wherever he establishes his fort and his flag, it is to the subversion of their political and civil consequence. A distinguished British writer declares, that with the exception of the obstacles which the impolicy of Europeans themselves has created against the propagation of their religion, there exist no others. "In every country of the East,

* O that immoral Christians living among idolaters, and inimical rulers, would consider how much more reprehensible they are, than those who of old professed to be his people, yet caused his name to be polluted among the Gentiles! In the days of Ezekiel, "They were dispersed through the countries; and when they entered unto the heathen, whither they went, they profaned my holy name when they said, We are the people of the Lord, and are gone forth out of his land. The heathen shall know that I am the Lord, saith the Lord God, when I shall be sanctified in you, before their eyes." Ezek. xxxvi. 19—23. In the days of Paul, it was still their reproach, "Thou that makest thy boast of [possessing] the law, through breaking the law, dishonorest thou God? For the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you." Rom. ii. 23, 24.

Christianity has been introduced to the people along with the invariable and odious associates of unprincipled ambition and commercial rapacity.* Hence their expulsion from Japan, China, Tonquin, Cochin-China, and Camboja; and the precarious footing of missionaries in Siam, Burmah, and other places. "It must be confessed that if the beauty of Christianity has not convinced Orientals, it is principally by reason of the bad opinion which the avarice, treachery, invasions, and tyranny of the Portuguese, and some other Christians in the Indies, have implanted in them." †

10. The resistance made by Popery.

At a large proportion of the stations, there are Papal establishments. At these the priests always, and the people often, are active and implacable opposers. The missionary's character and labors are misrepresented; his Bibles and tracts are declared false and pernicious; and salvation, for him or his adherents, is pronounced impossible.

Worse than this is the contempt and aversion which they create toward the Christian name. Their proselytes are seldom less degraded and vicious than the heathen, and sometimes more so. That they have not procured the exclusion of all missionaries, as they have from China and Japan, is because they are not sufficiently powerful to excite the action of government. So far as they have ability, it is exerted to keep Protestantism from pagans.

IV. The effect of much of the efforts at home does not reach the field abroad.

Large sums have been spent in surveying the field, and sundry lives lost for want of a better acquaintance with the countries, climates, natives, ‡ &c.

* Crawford's Indian Archipelago, vol. ii. book 6, chap. 4.

† La Loubiere, Du Royaume de Siam, tom. i.

‡ Men of the world exclaim against this; but they spend money and life, upon matters of infinitely less moment. They encounter the same perils, in the same regions, in pursuit of wealth, science, or fame; or perhaps, prompted only by curiosity. Let but the effort to discover the sources and course of the Niger be specified. In this one enterprise have perished Ledyard, Houghton, Park, Anderson, Horneman, Nichols, Roentgen, Tucker, Tudor, Cranch, Galway, Smith, Peddie, Kummer, Campbell, Stockie, Toole, Denham, Clapperton, Morrison, Pearce, Laing, and I know not how many more, all men of distinction and worth. With these have perished several hundred soldiers, scientific attendants, servants, &c. All these lives spent to discover the course

Large expenses, of both time and money, are incurred for agencies, secretarships, travelling, clerk-hire, buildings, circulars, pamphlets, &c. Objections may lie against some of these cases, and certain details. But the main question of expediency and necessity remains clear. They yield no fruits in the foreign field, but without them a beginning could not be made. Christians were ignorant of the various subjects involved in the undertaking. They were both to be induced to move, and to be taught how; so that the whole energies of some have been absorbed in awakening the coöperation of others. For this there is no present remedy but in the continuance of these very expenses.* Even now, though thousands of pamphlets, reports, speeches, sermons, &c., have been distributed, thousands of addresses made, and thousands of committees and associations formed, there are multitudes who do not understand the movement. For want of more of this sort of expense and labor, thousands of sincere Christians have not been awakened to a proper consideration of the enterprise; and thousands, misjudging it, oppose.

In addition to these expenses, large sums are absorbed by the outfit, passages, and salaries, of missionaries who die before they acquire the language. Very costly libraries have to be furnished to stations where translations are in progress. Those who

of a river flowing through pestilent solitudes, and occupied by barbarous tribes! And for what purpose? To convey peace and eternal life to these benighted Africans? No. To add a few facts to science, and peradventure, to open a new market for European manufactures! The settlement of many colonies, the attempts to discover a north-west passage, and a score of other such enterprises, might be named, which have involved greater loss of life, than the whole missionary enterprise from the beginning.

* This item, though large, is apt to be overrated. At an early period of missionary operations, when the total receipts were small, and great personal efforts required to collect them, the proportion was greater than at present. The average income of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions is about \$260,000, and the average expenditures for agencies, salaries, travelling expenses of missionary candidates for examination, postages, rent, and other incidental expenses, about \$20,000, being a fraction less than 8 per cent. The expenditures of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions are about \$90,000, and the home expenses \$7000, which is also a fraction less than 8 per cent. The proportion in other societies is, probably, about the same. Contributors ought, certainly, to feel gratified to know that they can collect their missionaries, place their donations abroad, and convert their money into Bibles and tracts, at so small a charge as eight cents on a dollar. Were the income of missionary societies doubled, the home charges would not be materially increased, as the present organizations would suffice.

know the price of many necessary works in the learned languages, will feel the force of this consideration. This sort of expense, and all those connected with setting up a printing-office, must be renewed at every principal mission to be established.

The outlay for societies' houses, secretaries, treasurers, clerks, &c., will not increase in proportion to increased operations. Once properly organized, a set of officers can as well conduct a hundred missions as fifty. Experience will reduce many expenses, both abroad and at home. The houses, lands, presses, types, machinery, libraries, &c., now possessed, will remain as so much capital. Natives will soon learn to do printing, &c., and the cost of manipulations be reduced. The prices of passages will lessen, as facilities and improvements multiply. In short, every charge between the donor and his object may be expected to decrease. The churches will come to the work with more readiness; systematic contribution will succeed to desultory collections; few brethren will remain to be convinced and urged; and the apparatus of agencies will cease to be burdensome.

V. *Let us now look at the amount which has been accomplished.*

1. Numerous and formidable impediments have been removed.

Ignorance of the field, and of the nature of the work, have given way to knowledge and experience. An entrance and location among various strange nations, has been effected. The difficulties of many languages are overcome. Several missionaries have attained, not merely a trader's fluency in the native tongues, but that minute and critical knowledge which is necessary to become authors, and to preach with advantage. Prejudices against Christianity have been overcome, in many places. In some, the spirit of indifference has given way to a spirit of inquiry; and confidence in the missionary, and respect for the purity of his principles, have been created. Most missionaries who now go out, find brethren to welcome them, houses for their reception, and other facilities which do away no small amount of suffering, mistake, and delay. Had all our money effected only these preliminaries, it would not have been ill spent.

2. A great body of missionaries and native preachers are in actual service.

The reports of some societies do not distinguish between missionaries and assistants, printers, &c., so that it is not possible to state the precise number of each. It will not be far from the

truth to say that there are one thousand ordained missionaries, fifty printers, three hundred schoolmasters and assistants, and some hundred native preachers.

Of the ordained missionaries there are in Africa one hundred and twenty-eight; other regions adjacent to the Mediterranean, fifty-three; Farther India, one hundred and sixty-eight; Ceylon, twenty-eight; Indian Archipelago, Australia, &c., eighty-one; West Indies, two hundred and three; North American Indians, one hundred and eighteen. To send out one thousand missionaries, and three hundred and fifty printers, schoolmasters, &c., with their wives, at an average of three hundred dollars for passage, and two hundred dollars for outfit, has cost *one million three hundred thousand dollars*, to say nothing of the expense of their education and the cost of the native assistants. The labor of committees, correspondence, &c., in discovering, examining, preparing, and sending forth, this body of laborers, can only be appreciated by those who have been engaged in such services. A large proportion of these persons has been in the field long enough to develop their character, and prove their suitableness. Here is, then, another item sufficient of itself to reward all our exertions.

3. The Word of God, in whole or in part, has been translated by modern missionaries into nearly a hundred languages.

We ought to look steadily at this fact, till its difficulties, magnitude, and importance, are in some sort perceived. These translations, in many cases, have been made, from the original tongues, with vast pains in collating versions, and after extensive reading in the sacred writings of the natives, to gather suitable words, true idioms, and general propriety.

Some of these versions have been printed in successive editions, each revised with a labor equal to that of the first translation. In several cases, different and independent translations have been made into the same language; thus furnishing multiplied materials for ultimately forming a satisfactory and established version.

These versions embrace the languages of *more than half the human family*; and some of them are among the most difficult in the world.

4. A considerable number of languages have been reduced to writing.

Strange sounds have been caught, orthography settled, parts of speech separated, and modes of construction determined. In doing this, it has been necessary to go into wearisome and perplexing examinations of native utterance; to collect, without

helps, all the words of whole languages; and to study deeply the whole system of universal grammar, or structure of languages in general.

For some of these languages characters have been invented, in whole or in part. In most of them a considerable number of the people have been already taught to read, and an introduction is thus made to the increase of books, elevation of intellect, and extension of Christianity.

5. Missionaries have given to the heathen nearly all the useful literature they now enjoy.

With a few exceptions, they have been the introducers of the art of printing, into all the pagan nations where it now exists. Even in Hindustan, there had never been a book printed, in any of her numerous languages, (except a Bengalee grammar, and one or two other works by the late Dr. Wilkins,) till the Baptist missionaries gave them the boon.

It is not necessary to give specifications, to elucidate or amplify this argument. Every literary man, and every reader of missionary intelligence, will at once think of various countries, where the facts exist, on which it is founded; and will perceive that this fruit of missions, though not directly evangelical, is highly important.*

6. Tracts, and practical works, have been produced in considerable variety.

In the Bengalee alone, there are *seventy-five* tracts, beside Doddridge's Rise and Progress, Baxter's Call, Pilgrim's Progress, Janeway's Token, Evidences of Christianity, Commentaries on Mark and Romans, Young Henry, and some others. The Calcutta Tract Society has printed more than 6525 pages of tracts; equal to *twenty-two volumes* of 300 pages each. At Madras have been printed, in the Tamul language, *seventy-one* tracts, beside broad-sheets; at Jaffna *eighty* tracts, and at Travancore *fifty*, making in all over 200 publications in Tamul. About *fifty* tracts have been printed in the Malay; in the Chinese, about *a hundred*, comprising 5863 pages, or twice the amount of pages in Morrison's Bible. In Burman, there are *twenty-eight* tracts, making about 900 octavo pages; beside portions of Scripture in tract form. It would be tedious to make further specifications.

* Our own biblical literature owes much to the researches of missionaries; not only for important illustrations from manners, customs, natural history, &c., but for criticism. See, on the last point, a paper in the Quarterly Observer for January, 1836, on "The obligations of philology to modern missionary efforts."

Among these publications are hymn-books, in several languages. Every one may conceive the difficulty of writing poetry in a foreign tongue, even if the metre and mode of versification resemble our own; the reverse of which is true of Oriental languages. At most missions, the variety of hymns is now sufficient for public and private worship, and some advance has been made in teaching converts to sing. I could not explain, without too many words, the labor and difficulty of this work in both its departments.

All these works are to be enjoyed by future converts, to their more speedy and effectual growth in grace; and by future missionaries, in extending the knowledge and the arguments by which Christianity is to prevail.

The amount printed, forms but a fraction of what has been made. Part of the rejected or postponed matter may yet be serviceable; but a large number of manuscripts, made by beginners, though useful in their place as studies, will never be printed. The amount of life and labor expended in producing the reading matter now extant, is not easily conceived. It is a labor from which fruit can only now begin to be realized. The same noiseless, and for the time, ineffective labors, must be performed in all new missions, and continued to a great extent in the old ones; but so far as idiomatic, intelligible, and adapted works have been prepared, it is work done forever.

7. In nearly every mission there have been prepared a grammar, vocabulary, and dictionary.

Rude and imperfect as some of these necessarily are, because, in their first stages of preparation, they furnish most desirable aid to beginners, saving not only months of labor, and much health and strength, to new missionaries, but forming the rudiments which future students will improve to completeness. Not a few of these helps have already advanced, under successive missionaries, to a good degree of perfection, and are among the noblest literary works of the day.

8. An amount literally incalculable of Bibles and tracts has been put into circulation.

Making the fullest deduction for such of these as may have been destroyed, millions doubtless remain, to prove, as we may trust, seed sown in good ground.

I am not among those who seem to think that if Christian publications are scattered abroad, good *must* follow. But the records of Bible and tract efforts most amply show that God smiles

on this species of benevolence. Every annual report of these societies gives fresh facts, so that volumes might be filled with these alone. I give the following illustration, not because more striking than others which constantly occur, but because recent and unpublished. A young man came to the Baptist brethren in Cuttack, stating that in his own country, about six years before, he had received from some stranger, who wore a hat, a religious tract; which, almost without looking at, he placed in the bottom of his chest. Lately, a gentleman had come through the place, making a survey of the country. The *hat* this person wore, reminded the youth that once a person with a hat gave him a tract. He brought it forth from his chest, and for the first time read it over. It proved the means of his awakening; and he persisted in his inquiries. Having unreservedly become a disciple of Christ, he had now made a long journey to join himself to his people. He was baptized, and returned, and is now a useful laborer in the missionary service.

9. Great mechanical facilities have been created.

Beside the presses employed on foreign languages, by the Bible and tract societies of Europe and America, there are now in full operation in heathen lands, more than forty printing-offices, belonging to missionary societies. Some of these have from five to ten presses, generally of the best construction. The fonts of type are numerous, and in many different characters. Each of these fonts has cost thousands of dollars, because, in addition to the usual expenses, there have to be incurred, in each case, the cutting of punches, sinking of matrices, and apparatus for casting. The alphabets, too, consist not of twenty-six letters, like ours, but often of a thousand or more, including symbols and compounds. In addition to all these facilities, we may enumerate school-houses, chapels, dwellings, libraries, apparatus, tools, globes, orreries, &c., at the different stations, and procured at an outlay of hundreds of thousands of dollars. All of the printing-offices have binderies, supplied with tools sufficient to do the work of the respective establishments.

Many natives, at the cost of much labor and time, have been trained to all the branches of mechanics connected with these offices. In bringing matters to their present position, the missionaries have not only been obliged to devise, teach, and oversee, but in many cases, to perform every part of the manual labor. These services and expenses are not again to be performed in the same places. The costly scaffolding is up, for

large portions of the growing edifice; and future labor and money, on those sections, may go directly to the increase of the building.

Beside the property invested in these facilities, and forming a large available capital, we are to consider the savings which will be made hereafter, by the improvements which have been effected. This point may be made plain by a single specification. In 1805, the cost of printing a manuscript Chinese version of the New Testament, then existing in the British Museum, it was ascertained, would be two guineas (ten dollars) per copy.* In 1832, Mr. Hughes, of Malacca, wrote to the British and Foreign Bible Society,† that the cost of a hundred copies of the whole Bible, from the blocks, would be one hundred and four dollars—a difference of about three thousand per cent.! Whenever punches and matrices have been made, the casting of type may hereafter be done at a comparatively cheap rate.

10. Schools of various grades are established, and a multitude of youth have received a Christian education.

To appreciate, in any proper degree, the magnitude of this result, it is necessary to consider the difficulties which have been overcome. In almost every case, the first offers of gratuitous instruction are spurned. When, at length, a few pupils are obtained, priestly influence has often driven them away. When even this is overcome, the children are frequently too wayward and idle to continue at school. Our victory, therefore, over the prejudices and jealousy of parents, the influence of priests, and the frivolity of the children, is a great achievement. Now, in many places, applicants are far more numerous than can be received, and nothing but want of funds precludes an almost unlimited extension of the system. Even brahmins send their sons without hesitation.

I need not expatiate on all the probable effect of these schools, many of whose pupils are adults, and many more, who, though youth when at school, are adults now. They have diminished priestly influence by raising up an intelligent body of persons, who, though ever so humble, can and do argue triumphantly with the men who had before held the sway of great veneration. They have diffused a right knowledge of Christians and Christianity, overthrown erroneous systems of philosophy and nature, arrested floods of vice, prepared intelligent hearers of the gospel,

* Owen's First Ten Years of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

† Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1833.

proved the superiority of the missionary, and, in many cases, have been the means of genuine conversion.

Some of these are boarding-schools, where the pupils are wholly withdrawn from heathen influence. Some of them are for the children of native Christians, who receive at home impressions favorable to the permanency of those they receive at school. Some of them teach the higher branches, such as form a collegiate course with us. Some are taught in languages never before committed to writing; so that the pupils are the first of their tribes who have ever learned to read. Some of them are for females, in countries where the sex has ever been left in almost total ignorance.

The whole number of pupils who have received education, or are now in the schools, cannot be ascertained. From the statistics furnished on this head by some societies, and the imperfect returns of others, I set down the pupils now in missionary schools, throughout the world, at nearly three hundred thousand.

11. The blessings of Christian morality have been widely diffused.

Some whole nations have adopted Christianity. In Greenland,* in Labrador, and in more than thirty islands of the Southern Seas, paganism has ceased to be the national faith! These have become, in the customary sense, *Christian countries*. Instead of poverty, wars, and plunderings, are found plenty, peace, and security. Instead of murdered infants, neglected children, degraded wives, and burning widows, are seen domestic peace and social endearments. Instead of idleness, are the comforts of intelligent industry. Intellectual cultivation has supplanted brutal insensibility. Rulers and kings, laying aside ferocity and selfishness, are seen governing their people by Bible laws, and anxious for the general good. Wherever even nominal Christianity takes root, through Protestant efforts, it produces more energy of character, milder manners, and purer morals, than has ever been shown under any form of Pagan or Mahometan influence. I confidently refer for proof to the Philippine Islands, to Amboyna, Bengal, and Ceylon.

There are, also, in the midst of heathen lands, Christian villages and districts, shining as lights in dark places; such, for instance, as at Serampore, Luckantiapore, Tanjore, Tenevelly, Ceylou, Mata, and scores beside.

* In Greenland there remained, in 1834, only one hundred and fifty heathen!

“Dialects unheard
At Babel, or at Jewish Pentecost,
Now first articulate divinest sounds,
And swell the universal anthem.”

There are also single stations, where nominal Christians are reckoned by thousands. It is true, the *degree* to which the fruits of Christianity are produced, is not the same as in Christendom, where its influences are corroborated in a thousand ways, and matured upon successive generations. The conduct of these nominal ones is often a discouragement, and sometimes a disgrace. But the benefits preponderate. Children grow up among beneficial influences, and enlightened to know good from evil. Instead of a false, filthy, and damning mythology, commingling with their first and most lasting impressions, they are instructed and restrained by pure and blessed truth. The Sabbath is observed, and the same people assembling from week to week, afford an opportunity of impressing line upon line, precept upon precept; converts are not embarrassed for daily bread, nor scorned, abused, and abandoned by relations. Many formidable hinderances to conversion are thus removed. I need not expand this proposition. The reader will see, that among such a people, the missionary labors with many advantages similar to those of a pastor in our own land.

12. In some places, the entire fabric of idolatry is shaken.

The knowledge of the one true God, and of salvation through his Son, has, in several regions, become general. Hundreds of the best-informed persons openly ridicule and denounce the prevailing superstition; and thousands have their confidence in it weakened, if not destroyed. Conviction of the truth is established in the minds of multitudes who dare not openly confess it. Not a few of the converts have been from among the distinguished members of society, and even from the priesthood. Some of these have been so celebrated for sanctity, and so extensively known, as to have excited, by their conversion, a thrill of inquiry and alarm in all their vicinity. Education has emancipated thousands from the terrors of paganism, who yet do not accept Christianity, nor consort with missionaries. Indeed, no man can be conversant with the heathen world, without perceiving that several large portions of the kingdom of darkness are on the eve of a religious and moral revolution.

This topic of encouragement is no doubt extravagantly enlarged upon by some. It has been assumed of countries where

it is not true ; and where it is true, the degree has been overrated. Still, it is one of the achievements of missions which the most scrupulous must admit. That it is found any where, and to any extent, is great encouragement ; it is not only a blessing on past efforts, and the promise of a still greater, but a most animating facility and preparation for future exertion.

13. The effect of missions on the European population abroad.

Before this enterprise, there was, among those who resided in foreign lands, whether in public or private life, an almost universal enmity to religion. Carey said that when he arrived in Calcutta, he could hear of only *three* pious persons in India ; excepting the four or five missionaries ! Now, a considerable number, even among the highest ranks, in many parts of the East, openly serve God. Hundreds of soldiers, and many officers, have been converted under missionary labor. Places of worship are built, and the Sabbath observed, where Christians had long resided without giving any visible sign of their faith. Missions now have the countenance of a large number of gentlemen who make no profession of religion. Apologies for paganism, and opposition to Christianity, are nearly silenced. In various places, handsome contributions toward the schools, &c., are obtained from the officers and gentry on the spot.

On no theme do pious "old Indians" dwell with more fervor than this change in the religious character of Europeans, since their arrival in the country. I might rehearse numerous facts given me by such, but space does not permit. It is sufficient to say that much obstruction is thus removed at certain points, and an encouraging amount of coöperation secured, which is annually increasing. Considering how large a part of the missionary field is under the dominion of Europeans, this single result of our past efforts is evidently of great consequence.

14. Lastly, and chiefly — souls have been converted to God.

Here is the great point. On this there can be no variety of sentiment, as to the value or the fruit, nor dispute as to the reality of its existence.

"Behold the midnight glory ; worlds on worlds.
 Amazing pomp ! Redouble this amaze.
 Ten thousand add. Add twice ten thousand more.
 Then weigh the soul ! One soul outweighs them all,
 And calls the astonishing magnificence
 Of unintelligent creation, poor.".....YOUNG.

Converted heathen are already numbered by *tens of thousands*. I might fill many pages with proof of the sincerity of their conversion, from the sacrifices they make, and the lives they live. I examined diligently into this matter every where; and have copious details in my possession. But, adhering to the studied brevity of the other parts of this work, two or three specimens only will be given. Few Christians are aware of the extent to which such facts may be adduced. The various histories of missions are full of them.

In the last report of the London Missionary Society, it is stated that Narapot Singh, a native preacher, had by his attachment to Christianity, sacrificed, for a period of twenty-four years, an estate of eight thousand rupees per annum, making in the whole *one hundred thousand dollars*. And this is "all his living." For the entire period, he has endured continual poverty and toil. Many of the Burman and Karen disciples have literally "suffered the loss of all things;" and it is believed that some have died in consequence of their sufferings. At the village of Mawbee, near Rangoon, a large number of Karens became Christians, through the preaching of a native assistant, and endured persecutions, which only fell short of taking life, for many months; having never seen a white missionary. I saw various individuals in Bengal and the Carnatic, who were then suffering banishment from all their relations, and many of the hardships of poverty, in consequence of serving God. In Madagascar, Christianity was for a while countenanced by Radama, the king, and the missionaries had many seals to their ministry. At his death, the queen, who had always opposed her husband in this thing, no sooner found herself in possession of supreme authority than she began to exercise it for the destruction of Christians. The missionaries were expelled. One after another, the prominent disciples have been put to death. One of these, Rassalama, was sentenced to death, and, for several successive days, was cruelly flogged before the fatal day arrived. But her faith never staggered, and she met death with a martyr's intrepidity. Her companions were sold into perpetual slavery, and their property confiscated; but not one recanted. Rafaravavy, another distinguished woman, was for a long time kept in irons, and then sold as a slave.

After this, the remaining Christians began to assemble in the night, at the house of Rafaralahy, where they read the Scripture, conversed together on spiritual things, and united in prayer and praise. They were soon betrayed to the government, and Rifa-

ralahy, after being kept in irons two or three days, was taken to the place of execution. On his way, he spoke to the executioners of Jesus Christ, and how happy he felt at the thought of seeing, in a few minutes, him who loved him and died for him. At the place of execution, a few moments being granted him, at his request, he offered up a fervent prayer for his persecuted brethren, and commended his soul to Jesus. He then, with perfect composure, laid himself down, and was immediately put to death. He was twenty-five years of age, and of a respectable family. After this, the persecution was pressed with rigor. The government determined, if possible, to secure all the companions of Rafaraiah. Several of them were seized, and afterwards made their escape. Many incidents, showing the distress to which the Christians were reduced, are related. A large number conceal themselves in the houses of friends, or in the forests, numbers are sold to slavery, and some are in irons. The queen proposed to put every Christian to death; but some of her officers advised her against this, saying, "It is the nature of the religion of the whites; the more you kill, the more the people will receive it."

Such are the facts, which might be multiplied to an indefinite extent. They leave no room to question the reality of the reported conversions. Defections, indeed, often occur, to pain the hearts of the missionaries; but, though many have fallen through strong drink, love of gain, and other temptations, I never heard of *one* who was driven from Christianity by violence.

It is impossible to know the number of regenerated heathen, as the returns are not furnished from some missions. Two thousand have been baptized by missionaries connected with Serampore, of whom six hundred are now alive and in good standing. In the West Indies, connected with the Baptist and Methodist missions, there are 69,000 communicants. The number connected with the London Missionary Society is 5,439; with the Church Missionary Society, 1,514; with the English Wesleyan Missionary Society, 48,795, exclusive of members in British America; with the English Baptist Missionary Society, 18,720; with the American Board of C. F. M. 2,600;* with the American Baptist Board, 1,900; with the Moravian missions, 47,000. Some missions, for instance the

* An extraordinary number of persons in the Sandwich Islands have recently become religious. The particular accounts have not yet reached this country; but it is supposed the number is not far from 5000!

Moravian, do not require actual conversion to God as the term of church membership; so that we cannot calculate exactly from their returns in this argument.

From the best data we can obtain, we may safely estimate the present number of converts, after deducting such as may be supposed to have been received on an outward profession merely, at more than a *hundred thousand*.

In many cases, these are formed into churches, with pastors and deacons. The native preachers and catechists amount to more than a thousand. Many of these have received a good education in mission schools. Some (and the class is increasing) have become authors, and produced books, tracts, and hymns, of great value. Let the reader pause and consider the facts contained in these last four sentences; for though they are barely named, they are of great importance.

In some places, these churches have become so established that if missionaries should retire, the cause would probably go on. The Rev. M. Baker, of Madagascar, declared in an address at Cape Town, several years ago, that there were "not less than five hundred natives, who had maintained a constant profession of religion amidst persecution and danger." We have just seen how, with equal constancy, they could die for the truth.

Some of these churches have already begun to contribute, even in pecuniary ways, to the furtherance of the great work. It is thus at the Sandwich Islands, in Burmah, and many other stations. Even the poor Africans at Griqua town, contributed in 1836, to the funds of the Society, a hundred and thirty dollars, and at Bethelsdorf, in the same year, four hundred and forty dollars.

In addition to these thousands of converts, now shining as lights in dark places, we must not forget the thousands who have died in the faith. In the case of Serampore, out of two thousand baptized, only six hundred survive. We ought, therefore, probably to add *another hundred thousand* for converts deceased.

It would be easy and delightful to rehearse the distinct narratives of many who have crowned a life of evident piety by a becoming death. To speak of hundreds or thousands of converted heathen, sounds cold, when we think of the hundreds of millions yet left to perish. But in tracing the history and religious experience of an individual, our impressions become distinct; and to number even units seems an ample reward for all we have done or given. Such as would taste this feast will find

it largely spread out before them in the Moravian and Baptist periodical accounts, the histories of missions, and the reports of societies. Separate volumes are also published, containing the memoirs of many of these. He who knows the worth of his own soul, could not rise from the life of Krishnu, Petumber, Abdool Meseeh, Asaad Shidiak, Africaneer, Peng, Catharine Brown, Karaimokee, &c., and retain enmity to the system of means which, under God, saved them from eternal death.

These glorious fruits are now safe in the garner of God. Schwartz, Brainard, David, Schmidt, Carey, and a great company of missionaries, have their converts with them before the throne. No apostasy, no temptations, no weakness, can overtake them now. There they are, where we would go. Some are there, to whose salvation we ourselves have ministered. Soon we shall embrace them, not only in the blessedness of a joint salvation, but in the delicious consciousness of having been the instruments of their deliverance.

If, after such thoughts, we could come down again to mathematical calculation, we might consider that the total number of conversions, divided by the number of missionaries who fully acquired the vernacular tongues, would give from three hundred to four hundred converts to each! Can the ministry at home reckon thus? Truly the measure of missionary success needs only to be closely scanned to become a theme of wonder, rather than of discouragement.

VI. This discussion cannot properly close, without adverting to the *effects of the missionary spirit on the churches at home.*

I have held a telescope to direct the reader's attention to circumstances, in various parts of the heathen world, which, without this aid, he might not notice. This task is resigned, not because I have shown *every thing*, but because any one may now go into further details at his leisure. A glance at the effect of missions in our own country, will conclude my endeavors; and as they lie open to the perceptions of every man, I will do little more than mention the subject.

The formation of a missionary spirit, to the extent which now prevails, is reward enough for all the labors and expense which have been incurred. To a very important extent, ignorance, prejudice, covetousness, and indifference have been overcome. Experience is gained. Friends and supporters are organized. Thousands have awakened to the duty of spreading the gospel, and will never give over. They will inculcate it upon their

children, convince their friends, and disarm objectors. The friendly host will continually multiply. Contributions are not now drawn forth by novel and affecting statements of heathen cruelties, but in many cases come up spontaneously, from sources lying among the deepest springs of Christian action.

Objectors make this item no part of their estimate when they declare that missions have failed. Had David done nothing toward the temple, when he had formed the plan and secured the means? Was nothing done toward bringing civilization and Christianity to these shores, when as yet the May-flower lay in an English dock, and the resolved colony was commending its embryo enterprise to God? Was nothing done toward our independence, when the spirit of resistance had been spread through the country, and the people resolved to be free? The thing is too plain to need words. A great work has unquestionably been done, in bringing the church to its present state of feeling. The spirit of missions has grown to adolescence, and is daily acquiring strength: its implements and opportunities are ready, and its training becoming daily more complete.

It is particularly to be considered that this spirit is not a mere sudden impetus or direction, such as is sometimes transiently given to public sentiment. For *forty years* it has been growing, slowly and soundly, amidst opposition, ridicule, reproach, and manifold disadvantages. Never was there a revolution in human sentiment more obvious and positive.

Formerly, the thought of sending the gospel to the heathen scarcely entered into the minds of God's people. Many prayed, "Thy kingdom come," but none felt called upon for personal action. When Carey, Sutcliffe, and Fuller, kindled the flame at the Northamptonshire Baptist Association, it became a measure supported by the zeal of a few. It grew and extended, by the zeal of many. Now it is the settled point of solemn duty with the great body of believers. It is found to have the same claims as any other duty, specified or implied, in the whole word of God. Arguments to prove that a Christian ought to aid in sending out God's light and truth, are beginning to be obsolete. Instead of these, the question now is, how much, and in what manner, each individual is to aid. In these respects we are still deficient, but in a state of progress. A few years ago, the whole United States had no foreign missionary; and when Judson, Newell, and others at Andover proposed to go as such, it seemed so doubtful whether the whole church could sustain them, that measures were taken to see if they could not be sup-

ported from England. Now, the United States has in the foreign field, in the various departments of missionary service, more than seven hundred and forty-six persons! They have forty-three printing-presses, and are already issuing Scriptures or tracts in fifty-six different languages!

No symptom of revulsion, or of a waning enthusiasm, is discernible in any quarter. The humblest advocate assumes the attitude of a man who feels that his cause will finally prevail. Discomfiture in some cases, and small success in others, have produced no check. Defeat only sends the bands of the benevolent "to inquire of the Lord." It leads them to doubt their measures, but not their object. It makes them sensible of weakness, but teaches them where their strength lies. It silences their boasting, but awakens their prayers.

The development of the missionary spirit, in the single matter of home missions, is full of grandeur and promise. Eleven hundred and three missionaries are now in the service of the American Home Missionary Society, and the American Baptist Home Missionary Society, to say nothing of those from similar institutions, in these and other denominations. These are scattered among feeble churches, strengthening good beginnings, sustaining Bible classes and benevolent societies, diffusing Bibles and tracts, and, above all, gathering a multitude of souls. The number who have made credible profession of religion, in connection with the two societies above named, one of which has been in operation eleven years, and the other but half that time, is about *seventy-five thousand!* In Ireland it has produced effects of the most animating kind. It is now extending into the continent of Europe, and is nobly calling forth the most blessed actings of Christian zeal.

It would require a disproportionate space were I but to *enumerate* the societies and movements which have grown up as the fruit of a missionary spirit. Such an enumeration would comprise results of even greater magnitude than can be shown in the foreign field. To this spirit may be ascribed all the improvements of the church for the last forty years. For proof, contrast the state of religion in missionary and anti-missionary churches. It is the spirit which forms the essential difference between active and inactive Christians, and comprises nearly all the characteristics which make them "the salt of the earth." It has altered the character of colleges, academies, asylums, school-books, and, in fine, placed Christianity itself, so far as it has prevailed, in the attitude it maintained under apostolic influence.

CONCLUDING REMARKS. Were more time and labor than I am able to give, bestowed upon the preceding investigations, this chapter might be made more copious. But to give it completeness is impossible. Thousands of facts lie scattered about, in unpublished journals and letters; and many more are known only to Him from whom no secrets are hidden. But the facts which I have adduced, do not lose their force for want of more, and can only be answered by the production of counter facts. But what facts can countervail such as have been here adduced? The last paragraph alone, weighs more than mountains of objection.

That captains or merchants visiting the East often say, "We read animating missionary accounts in the papers, but see no such things on the spot," is not surprising. How should they? What means do they take to get information? Have they gone to the native chapels; or accompanied the missionary in his daily rounds; or visited the converts' homes, or the schools; or seen Bibles and tracts given away? Have they so much as visited the missionary himself, except at meal-times, or other intervals of labor? What would a gentleman know of the state of religion in London or New York, who had merely walked about the streets, or conversed with those who make no pretensions to piety; or with such as are hostile? Without taking pains, even residents at a station may remain almost perfectly ignorant of a missionary's operations.

Instead of naked assertions that nothing has been done, we have a right to expect objectors to come forward with the religious statistics, past and present, of specified places. They should fairly show that the work said to be done is not done, or that the effects said to have followed have not followed. If they merely point to things left undone, we concur in lamentation: and only ask larger means, and further time, to show greater results.

There is reason to suspect, that those who most loudly assert the failure of missions, are those who would have it so. There are, in foreign countries, many who would shelter their vices in the gloom of surrounding paganism, and are impatient of the restraints of missionary influence. And there are many at home, who, being inimical to Christianity, impugn its benevolent operations, for want of talent or learning, to attack its fundamentals. And there are many, who, without being unfriendly to religion, are glad of a cloak for covetousness, and, in declining to contribute on the score of conscience, can save their money,

and at the same time claim superior piety, or keener insight into abuses.

It is quite certain, that the great body of those who complain are not persons who have most right to do so. They are not those who have given their money, their children, or themselves to the work; and who, if there be fraud or folly, are of all others the most interested to make the discovery. They are not those who have seen most of the field, or who have most diligently read the reports of the societies. They are not those who have had the most extensive and intimate acquaintance with the men who have gone forth, and who might infer what is done from a knowledge of the agents. They are not the men best acquainted with the managers and management of the different boards. All these classes of persons are friendly.

Such considerations should restrain the uninformed from impugning our motives or disparaging this great work. They should hear the voice of reason, addressed to some in a former age, who opposed what they did not understand. "Let these men alone; for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God."

CHAPTER II.

ON THE MODE OF CONDUCTING MODERN MISSIONS.

Schools—Translations and Tracts—Preaching in English—Periodicals—Use of the Roman Alphabet—Missionary Physicians—Unnecessary Display and Expense—Direct Preaching to Natives—Formation of Regular Churches—Qualifications of Native Assistants—Instruction in the English Language—Intermission of Operations—Division of Labor—Concentration—Choice of Fields—Remarks.

MORE than forty years' experience in modern missions, ought to furnish data for an intelligent revision of the system; and the anxious inquiries which are heard on this point, not only among friends and supporters at home, but among missionaries themselves, seem to demand some remarks on the subject, in a work like the present.

The question is, whether the whole system is so erroneous that it should be abandoned for another; or is correct in the main, with curable imperfections. The first of these opinions finds many affirmative respondents, some of whom propose definite substitutes.* The writer embraces the other opinion, and ventures, though with sincere diffidence, to contribute his mite toward a discussion which he hopes will call forth abler pens, and result in a happy approximation to a perfect arrangement. For the sake of brevity, whatever is approvable will be passed over, and only such matters touched, as seem to call for change.

1. The proportion of time and money, bestowed on schools, should be much less.

Schools are extravagantly extolled, and hopes are built upon them which could only be warranted by a New Testament declaration that they are the Lord's chosen and primary means for spreading Christianity. It has been declared, that "our only

* Edward Irving proposes that each missionary go forth singly, looking to God for supplies, even as he does for success. The author of the *Natural History of Euthasianism* insists that our present system must be dissolved, and recomposed upon a new model; the principal feature of which is, that all existing missionary societies be absorbed into one great society, under the English Episcopacy, and using the English liturgy.

hope of success lies in the school system ;” that “the evidences of Christianity must be understood before it can be embraced ;” that “man must be civilized before he can be Christianized ;” and that “the schoolmaster must precede the missionary.”

Thus a religion which God designed to convert and save even ignorant savages, is made to wait the operation of a tardy process of intellectual culture ; and man is to be made wise unto salvation through the wisdom of this world. By this system, whole generations of adults must be left to perish, while the youth are being instructed ; and instead of boldly advancing to dislodge “the strong man armed,” we are to seek priority of occupation in the human heart. Alas ! by such a course, we are not only in danger of losing our labors, but of awakening the jealousy of Him who “will not give his glory to another.”

The extent to which schools have been established, by modern missionaries, is very great. There cannot be fewer than two hundred and fifty thousand youth now receiving instruction in missionary schools. As the school system has been actively maintained from an early period, and a full course may be presumed to include only five years, this number must be doubled to make the true total of educated pupils. And, as the great majority of scholars remain but a year or two, the number must be again doubled, making an aggregate of a million of pupils, who have been, for a succession of months, subject to missionary influence.

The proportion of conversions, among this mighty host, is certainly very small. It was stated by the late Rev. Mr. Reichardt of Calcutta, who labored long in the service of the Church Missionary Society, that, of the many thousand boys instructed by that society, only five or six had been converted. At Vepery, a suburb of Madras, where, for a hundred years, this species of labor has been largely bestowed by the Christian Knowledge Society, the results are scarcely more encouraging ; nor at Tranquebar, where schools have been maintained for a hundred and thirty years. In all Madras, where several thousands have constantly been taught in missionary schools, there are not known to be half-a-dozen converted natives. At the Anglo-Chinese college at Malacca, which has existed for twenty years, only a few have been converted, though some twenty or thirty have been brought over to Christianity. In Ceylon, where schools have been conducted for twenty-six years, and generally with more attention to religion than is common in India, few conversions occurred previous to 1830 ; and those since that time have been rather the fruit of protracted meetings, and

special pastoral efforts, than of the school system. Out of the Scotch General Assembly's School in Calcutta, which for six years has had an average of four hundred scholars, and the entire and constant attention of two missionaries, there have been but five or six conversions. The Baptist schools in Bengal, numbering thousands of scholars, for more than thirty years past have produced very few conversions. That at Chittagong, taught by a missionary in person, every day for sixteen years, with an average of two hundred pupils, has witnessed but two of the scholars brought to a knowledge of the truth. In Arracan, no conversion has yet occurred in the schools. Among all the Burmans, I know of no Christian who is regarded as the fruit of schools. Among the Karens, many scholars have been converted; but the primary and daily object of those schools has ever seemed to be the conversion, rather than the education, of the scholar.

Let the primary and immediate object of gathering youth into a school, be their conversion, and the schoolmaster may do great good. But to rely chiefly on him and his work, for results which Jehovah has appointed to be done by other men and other means, is only calculated to mislead us, and insure disappointment. Our expectations from schools are in most cases wholly different from the expectations of the teacher himself, nine tenths of them being unconverted heathen.

In places where schools have most abounded, and for the longest time, a considerable number of pupils have rejected idolatry, without embracing Christianity; and are now conceited infidels, worse to deal with than pagans. Many of these, by means of their education, have obtained offices under government, or in large commercial houses, and exert considerable power and influence against religion. In some cases, nearly all the pupils are children of country-born Catholics, whose education only serves to make Popery more respectable; in others, a great majority of scholars are from the poorest of the people, whose knowledge of reading, writing, and ciphering, does not serve to elevate their situation, and who, having no use for these acquirements, after leaving school, forget them to a great extent.

Few are so far advanced as to comprehend those evidences of Christianity, which have been made such an argument in favor of schools. Even in our own country, this is a study for the last years at college, and not for school-boys. But our school-boys are better prepared to comprehend these evidences,

than most of the students in Oriental "colleges," even of an advanced standing.

It should be considered how far the diffusion of the ability to read is desirable among a people in whose language little or nothing of a valuable nature is yet prepared, or likely soon to be. The readers in Bengalee, taught by missionaries, have been furnished, by unprincipled natives, with a multitude of silly and pernicious books, which, at the old average of readers, would probably never have been printed. The *Friend of India*, of 1825, contains a list of all the books issued from the native press in Bengal up to that period. They amount to thirty-one; and are all, with two exceptions, pestilent or preposterous! The issues of subsequent years have been, no doubt, of the same character; but I am not able to find a list.

When the happiest effect flows from schools, viz. the conversion of scholars, the influence diffused on the population is less than from conversions which follow preaching. The triumph of Christ is scarcely perceptible. The heathen see that the children have been regularly *trained* to the new faith. They know that if our children were trained in the same manner by *their* priesthood, they would as easily become pagans. They attribute the change, therefore, not to the superiority of our system, but to the natural effect of early education.

I am far from wishing the school system to be abandoned, especially in Hindustan. A school has many advantages in enabling a missionary to bring divine truth before his pupils; and a man whose heart glows with zeal, will find it an animating field. The error seems to be, not in having schools, but in expending upon them a disproportionate measure of our means; in expecting too much from them; in not making them sufficiently religious; in establishing more than can be properly superintended; in the indiscriminate reception of scholars; in employing heathen teachers; and in trusting to science for the overturn of idolatry.

Schools furnish an advantageous opportunity for the partial employment of fresh missionaries, whose knowledge of the language is insufficient for more direct efforts. But this very deficiency in the language, must almost preclude religious influence. The plan now often pursued, is for a missionary or his wife to superintend five, ten, or even twenty schools, taught by hired pagans. These are visited once every few days, in the cool of the morning; giving ten or fifteen minutes to each.

In some cases, they are visited once a month. The master merely teaches reading and writing; and that, too, in his own inexpert, or perhaps ferocious manner. He is naturally supposed by the scholars to understand our religion, and his not receiving it has a pernicious influence. Qualified teachers are so few, that persons have sometimes been employed who openly opposed Christianity. Secret counteracting influences, by the master, are still more common. In schools patronized by the British government, though taught by a missionary, it is required that instruction in religion shall not be formally introduced.

The question seems not to have received sufficient attention, whether we should multiply schools, and teach mere rudiments, to a great number, or restrict the number, and carry the education to a high point. I am in favor of the latter course. No nation has become literary by universal instruction in reading and writing. These confer no knowledge; they are only means for acquiring and diffusing it. In a country where the absence of books, periodicals, and political freedom, preclude advancement in after life, beyond the rudiments learned at school, these acquirements will not be generally retained; or if retained, are of little use. With us, common schools bring our youth to the *starting-point*, and give to genius, where it exists, a chance for advancement and honor. But where these leave a heathen pupil, there, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, he stops; and soon begins to recede, for want of use for his knowledge. Beside, the most extended system of such schools, which we can hope to establish in the heathen world, can embrace, after all, but a very inconsiderable portion of the youth; so that even the argument for universality will not apply.

It seems to me, therefore, that the highest advantages of schools are to be gained by gathering select children of pagans into boarding-schools, and all the children of native converts into day-schools, (which at most stations may be united,) and carrying the education of these to a high point. Such pupils will be exempt from the dreadful pollutions of a heathen home, and the innumerable associations which tend to nullify every good influence. They become subject to continuous and systematic efforts, which are impossible where the scholars are often changing. Some of them are likely to become authors in their own language, for which they will have qualifications which foreigners can scarcely hope to attain.

Such schools give the missionary a paternal relationship to

the child, and a probability of securing his confidence and attachment. They furnish precious opportunities for the daily inculcation of sacred truth. They form at once permanent congregations and attached households; opening access, at the same time, to many parents. New missionaries could usefully assist, two or three hours a day; and rather gain than lose time, in learning the language. Scholars long trained in this manner, could not but have a salutary influence on their parents, and be the means of diffusing many important truths. The systematic control of their minds, and constant example of true family order, would counteract the danger, which exists in other schools, of creating a contempt for parental knowledge and government, without furnishing an adequate substitute, to prevent the effects of filial disobedience. In every such school, one missionary at least, competent in the language, should devote his whole time, and hold the salvation of the pupils as his prominent aim.

In educating *converts*, particularly the younger ones, there can scarcely be too much effort. If knowledge is power, let us give it to the truly good. Let us not compass sea and land to make a proselyte, and then leave him to grope his way in ignorance, perplexity, and error. Let us form his tastes, habits, studies, and pursuits, upon the noblest principles of divine revelation. Let us do all in our power to create an impressive superiority on the part of such as bear the Christian name, and to aid them in diffusing light and peace.

2. At some stations, at least, less time might be devoted to translations and tracts.

It is eminently desirable to perfect every tract and translation; but where an intelligible and tolerably correct one exists, the perfecting of it may thenceforth be made a by-business. There will be diversities of taste, if no more, which will prevent any production from suiting every scholar. But it is not found that the last is always the best. There have been printed seven versions and revisions of the Malay Bible; and a distinguished missionary among that people assured me that the first, published at Serampore, remains the best.

It is not desirable that missionaries should in their first years devote themselves to translation and authorship, even if there be no Christian books in the language. To write and translate, as exercises for themselves, is important; but they should put nothing to press till they have been years at their post, and have revised their work many times. It would be well if every

missionary, qualified, by his early studies, to translate the Scriptures, were to take some select portion, and occupy himself upon it, at leisure moments, for eight or ten years; or even his lifetime. He might sketch two or three tracts, and keep them by him in the same way. This, however, would not prevent the necessity for some individuals to make translations and authorship their prominent employment.

The anxiety for an immediate production of books has caused the publication of Scriptures and tracts so imperfect, as to be almost, if not quite useless, and in particular passages quite erroneous. To prove this, and at the same time show the sort of errors to which I allude, I will give a few instances which were mentioned to me, taken from distant and different versions. John i. 1, "In the beginning was the word, and the word was with the Lord God Boodh, and the word was the Lord God Boodh." Exod. iii. 2, "The Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire in the knot of a tree." Acts i. 8, "Ye shall receive the power of life and death." Matt. v. 3, "Blessed are the destitute of life." 1. Cor. v. 6, "A little crocodile crocodileth the whole lump!"

When there are none of these mistranslations, there may be such a want of idiomatic propriety, such an infusion of new words, or such general obscurity, as to discourage, if not bewilder, the heathen reader. Such, it appears from Mr. Medhurst,* is the case with Morrison's Chinese version, of which the convert Lew Tse-chuen, as quoted by him, says, "I perceive there is no unwillingness to accept the books, but, failing to comprehend their meaning, they frequently throw the work aside." To the same effect is his quotation from Choo Tih-lang, a Chinese translator now in England. "Having perused the present translation of the Scriptures into Chinese, I find it exceedingly verbose, — containing much foreign phraseology, so contrary to the usual style of our books, that the Chinese cannot thoroughly understand the meaning, and frequently refuse to look into it." Marshman's version is greatly liable to the same objections.

It is a serious subject, and deserving the early attention of the managers at home, as well as Biblical critics, how far our versions should conform to the pompous and unchristian phraseology of Eastern languages. The language of a superior to an inferior is wholly different from that of an inferior to a superior. Shall this diversity be followed in translations? It is so in many of them, and not so in others. In one Tamul version, the Virgin Mary is

* China, its State and Prospects, p. 443.

always addressed as "worshipful." And instead of "said," &c. in Gen. i. 3, it is "opening his divine mouth, he said, Let light appear." In one version, "apostle" is rendered "royal messenger." These idioms give a haughty aspect to the language of apostles and prophets, and a servility to those who address them. It will be a question also whether we shall make two versions in some languages, one high and literary, and one common and plain. Henry Martyn's Persian Testament is of the former kind, and though intelligible and acceptable to all the upper classes, is wholly incomprehensible to vulgar readers. Rhenius's version of the Tamul is intermediate, and has by some been objected to as suitable for no class of society.

Yet with all their imperfections, most translations have been sufficiently good to convey a large amount of genuine truth; so that the expense has by no means been utterly wasted. Thank God, the most important texts in the Bible are easily translated. It would probably be difficult to err in rendering "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved;" "It is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners;" "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God."

The value even of a good version of Scripture, is wholly overrated by such as suppose it to be as intelligible to heathen as our Bible is to the unconverted. The case is far otherwise. The most intelligent pagan finds not only words, but facts, reasonings, and allusions, which he can no better understand than the Ethiopian eunuch did the predictions concerning Christ. He has not so much preparation for understanding the Bible, as is acquired by our children in the nursery. Beside, this want of preparation is the littleness and debility of a heathen's mind, which is alluded to, page 364. Things must be explained to him, as to an infant. Let the language be never so plain and idiomatic, he will rarely understand the subject, unless it be some simple parable or narrative. Hence the king of Siam, after hearing a Christian book read, threw it aside, saying, "Let the teachers go on giving these books; no man in my kingdom can understand them."

As to tracts translated from the English, very few of them can be of any service, except to some of the more advanced converts. They all are constructed on the supposition that the reader knows certain doctrines, or facts, which heathen do not know, and take for granted, what a heathen does not grant. They all involve some knowledge of Christianity, while the heathen

reader may never have so much as heard of it before. Tracts for the heathen must be written for them; and that by men who not only know their modes of thinking, their system of religion, their habits, temptations, &c., but by such as have so far learned the language as to *think* in it, and write it with idiomatic accuracy.

The number of heathen who can read intelligibly, on subjects not connected with trade and common things, is very small. This point seems not to have excited sufficient attention; and a few efforts, lately made, lead to startling conclusions. Mr. North, of the mission to Singapore, has made the most efficient investigation on this subject that I know of. He examined, personally, the crews of many vessels trading to Singapore, from the other ports of the peninsula, and the numerous islands of the China Sea. Out of two thousand persons thus examined, he informed me that he found but one could read with ease, and four others who could spell out the sense with difficulty. The rest, though in general able to read the characters, scarcely knew the sense of a single word. These persons are not an inferior class, like European sailors, but are for the most part traders on their own account, and may be taken as a fair sample of the inhabitants of their respective countries. The Malay population of Singapore has scarcely a reader, except a mere handful, who had been taught in the mission schools.* I have already spoken of the fewness of readers even in China. The Burmans, though a reading people, as to the ability to pronounce the characters, are not generally able to read with understanding. In a late discussion of another subject in the *Friend of India*, it is declared by the editor that not more than one million, out of the thirty millions of Bengalees, can read. And this estimate is twice as high as is made by some others. Mr. Trevelyan, admitting that there may be a million, asks, "And what sort of readers are this one million? How many of them understand what they read? How many can even pronounce fluently the mere words on a page they never saw before? Even Pundits and Munshees, and much more the common people, read with difficulty, stopping to spell words, and repeating over and over the last two or three words, while they are studying out the next. *There are probably not five hundred persons*

* In calling these a mere handful, I do not impeach the missionaries who have for many years labored largely in this department. The truth is, it has been found impossible to persuade many of the scholars to remain long enough to acquire the art of reading.

in all India not educated by Europeans, who could take up a translation, in their own character, of any work in philosophy, morals, or religion, and read it extempore with understanding."

Our expectations from the diffusion of Bibles and tracts appear extravagant, if we reason upon them in the abstract. No school teacher could hope to fulfil his duty by shutting himself up in a study, and sending out among his pupils elementary treatises and cogent appeals. Cases of the benefit of Bible and tract distribution have occurred in sufficient numbers to warrant our diligent continuance in this department of effort, but not enough to warrant our making it so prominent in our general system of means. It is to be considered how few it has converted, compared with the prodigious amount done in this way. Among the Malays, for instance, who have had the whole Bible, and more than forty tracts, distributed among them by thousands, for many years, I could not hear of a decided Christian on the Peninsula. The avidity with which our books are received, is not to be ascribed to a general and intense desire to know the truth. The paper, the printing, the shape, and the color of the book, make it as great a curiosity as a palm-leaf manuscript is to us. A heathen missionary might give away any quantity of such manuscripts in the streets of our cities, and the rush for them would continue till they ceased to be curiosities.

We certainly do well to prosecute a lavish distribution in countries like China and Japan, where missionaries are not admitted; or like Burmah and Madagascar, where their tenure is frail. But the utility in such cases consists chiefly in preparing the way for personal effort; and without its being thus followed up, permanent and general benefit can hardly be expected.

3. There should be less preaching in English.

At a great proportion of our stations there are some who speak our language; and these, though but half a dozen, will desire the ministrations of the Sabbath. But the missionary is sent forth to heathen; and he violates his engagement, if these receive not the great bulk of his attentions. Many missionaries are almost lost to the heathen in this way. These Europeans or Americans know the system of salvation, and deliberately put it away! To irreligious men of cultivated minds, common preaching has no charms. It must either be so eloquent, as to make them consent to hear unwelcome truths, for the pleasure of the oratory; or so neutral, as not to disturb their consciences. A young man, who has practised little or none in his own country, will find regular weekly services consume too much time

and strength. If he deal in undigested crudities, his little audience will fall off, or no fruit ensue. Constant and close preaching to a very small auditory, unless managed as few have skill to do, will give personal offence, and inflict on the missionary both mental suffering and official embarrassment. Beside, it is seldom desirable for a missionary to appear closely connected with other foreign residents. In general, the persons with whom he becomes thus identified in the eyes of the people, live in open violation of the Sabbath, and other scandalous vices; and the natives are likely to take their conduct as the fruits of Christianity. It has ever been a difficulty with missionaries to make the heathen understand that these people are Christians only in name.

This is not the place to multiply arguments on any subject. It will suffice to remark, that while a missionary should readily render his spiritual services to nominal Christians when sickness, death, or other occasions call for them; and welcome to his family worship and expositions such as may be willing to attend, his proper business is to go after the lost ones, who have never known the way of peace. To these he is sent by those who furnish his support. Where it is proper to maintain an English service, there should be sent a person adapted to the work, who should make this his chief business, and whose health should not be worn down, or his mind distracted, by studying the vernacular. His support should be expected in great part from his auditory, and only such sums voted by the Missionary Board, as may be contributed for this purpose.

4. Less effort should be spent, for the present at least, on periodicals.

Nearly every principal station, such as Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Malacca, Canton, Greece, &c., has one or more periodicals, published or edited by missionaries. It must be evident, that the getting up of these is attended with far more labor, than similar works in our own country, both from manifold inconveniences and the fewness of writers. A serious amount of missionary energy is therefore expended in this way, even on the supposition that subscribers, other than missionaries, are sufficiently numerous to cover the mechanical expense. But if these periodicals do not support themselves, much less pay the salaries of editors, or if most of the subscribers are missionaries, they cost the church, as a whole, too much, both in money and men.

With one or two exceptions, these periodicals are in the Eng-

lish language, and are intended to affect English and Americans. They contain theological and missionary controversies, general literature, philology, news, translations of pagan authors, and other matter, which, to a great extent, might with advantage be inserted in existing periodicals at home, or in some one or two established for this separate purpose. They might thus be even more extensively distributed among missionaries than they are now; for it is in general easier to send parcels from home to each station, than to send them from any one station to all the others.

If this amount of labor and expense be continued, it should be by the expressed will of the churches, just as contributions are now designated for education, for the distribution of Bibles and tracts, for the support of children, or for general missionary purposes. Funds to support editors and writers for periodicals, might be made a distinct account. If the amount of contributions for this object will sustain these periodicals, and brethren arise who deem it their province to go abroad and edit them, no one can object. The department of service is both useful and honorable; and *some* of the present works might probably be continued with advantage. But we must not, with our present small force, bestow *disproportionate* time and money upon it, nor allow the friends of missions in this country to be expecting conversions in proportion to the number of laborers, without understanding how those laborers are employed.

5. In reducing languages to writing, the Roman letters only should be used.

The curse of Babel has been greatly increased by the variety of characters mankind have employed in expressing articulate sounds. Some of these are more philosophical and convenient than others, but none are comparable to ours. I cannot so extend this head as to argue the whole case, but will barely name a few reasons which go to show why our alphabet should be preferred.

Oriental alphabets are written with great difficulty. Many missionaries never become able to write their new language; and many, with all their pains, are so awkward and slow at it, as to prefer to employ a native hand on all occasions, during their life.

They are written at best very slowly. It may safely be affirmed, that it requires five hours for a missionary to write in the native character what he would write in one in his own. Thus four years out of five, of time spent in writing, is lost! The most expert native Bengalee writers have been found, by

experiment, to require three times as long to write a page in their own character, as it does to write the same on the Roman system. Any man can see how this would operate on the progress of arts, sciences, literature, manufactures, and religion, in lands where all are to be begun. Should we, who are to raise up readers and writers for half the world, entail upon them, and all their posterity, miserable alphabets of a thousand different kinds, when, with the same labor, we can give them our own?

Oriental alphabets proceed from line to line, without any prominent mode (often without *any* mode) of marking emphatic words, proper names, quotations, pauses, accents, or even of separating words from one another. How would an English reader be puzzled in reading a page thus put together, and how likely to be led wholly astray! This argument alone should weigh against many objections, when it is considered how important it is to avoid every possible mode of misapprehension, for natives reading books on a subject so new and strange, and which inevitably contain many words they have never seen before.

In writing these characters there is often no standard. There being no other established form of the letters, than as printed, and this form, in general, being so difficult and slow, each man alters to suit himself, when writing in haste. Hence the writing of one, is often scarcely legible to another, or even to himself, after the lapse of a few months. In our language, the written and printed characters are so alike, that all who read one, can read the other; yet the former requires but one fifth of the time consumed by the latter.

That our alphabet is *competent* to the expression of any language, is proved by the number and diversity of those already so written; viz. English, Welsh, Irish, German, Danish, Dutch, Swedish, French, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, Basque, Catalonian, Malay, Bengalee, Hindustanee, Malagasse, Asamese, Mahratta, New Zealand, several languages of Africa, the South Sea Islands, the South American dialects, and probably others. Except the Cherokee, for which a native invented letters, all the translations and tracts which have been printed for the American aborigines, are in the Roman character, and generally, if not always, without diacritical marks; and certainly words more difficult to spell and pronounce are not found on earth. The inference is perfectly safe, that if these languages, in every part of the earth, and with every variety of articulation, can be expressed in our alphabet, so may all others. The Roman Catholic

missionaries employ them even for the Chinese, Japanese, Siamese, and Burman.

The difficulties, inconsistencies, and often absurdities, of our *orthography* form no objection to the use of our *letters*. So far as modern missionaries are concerned, these anomalies are avoided. English words are spelled after the fashion of the different languages from whence they are derived; but in constructing an orthography for an entire language at once, a perfectly uniform system can be always adopted.

Another great objection to these alphabets is the expense they involve, in furnishing the nations with the word of God. A good font of our type, of the size of this, embracing both upper and lower case letter, and all the variety of points, &c., costs about four hundred dollars. There are three sizes of Burman letter, and each font cost, including the support of a missionary to superintend the work, at least two thousand dollars. The proportion is not very different in most other Eastern tongues.

There are probably four thousand languages yet to be furnished with the Scriptures. If, in doing this, we resolve all into two thousand various alphabets, which, perhaps, is hardly possible, and give three sizes of type to each alphabet, it will cost *twelve millions of dollars!* Our type, of three different sizes for the same languages, would cost but two million four hundred thousand dollars. When done, many of them, such as Persian, Nagari, Arabic, &c., are so formed that the types are necessarily and constantly breaking; making a still greater difference in the cost of books. The small strokes above and below (see specimen page, Persian and Arabic characters) are not sustained by the body of the type, but run out, and can scarcely bear the force of the press.

But the first cost of an Oriental font is as nothing compared to the subsequent expenses it entails; chiefly on account of its large size. It requires from three to six times the expense of press work, and the same for paper, binding, transportation, &c. Judson's Bible is in four large octavos; and yet the type is scarcely half the size in which Burmans commonly write. I am satisfied, every thing considered, that the use of Roman letter would be a saving of *seven tenths* of all the money to be spent in missionary printing.

The question, then, is not only philological. Grant all that the warmest advocates of Oriental letters could affirm; nay, admit for them a great superiority over ours; it comes back to a question of dollars and cents. The whole number of lan-

guages which contain the word of God is less than a hundred, and about a hundred more have portions of it. The people of some of those languages have not yet been supplied in the proportion of one family in a thousand. Here, then, are thousands of fonts of type to procure, thousands of translations to make, and myriads of Bibles to print; besides rousing up nominal Christendom to supply itself. While the means for accomplishing all this are so inadequate in the best modes, how can we honestly pursue a system which so vastly augments the difficulty? Indeed, except we use the Roman alphabet, the supply of the Scriptures to mankind is indefinitely postponed, and perhaps rendered impracticable.

Whenever, in giving letters to a tribe that never had any, we adopt those of some adjacent nation, rather than our own, we incalculably abridge the benefit to the people, as well as inflict on the church an intolerable and useless expense. When a nation, like the Chinese, Hindus, or Burmans, have a written language, and books, and schools, of their own, we must adopt their characters for *some* of our books. But it has been found expedient in Hindustan to teach Bengalee, Hindee, &c., in the Roman character. Dictionaries and translations have been so published; and it is not certain but that, even in such a country, the use of the native alphabets may be wholly superseded.

Against all the reasons for preferring the Roman alphabet, I know of no respectable objection. In all the world, the mass of readers are to be raised up by efforts yet to be made; and they may as easily be taught in one character as another; nay, far more easily in the Roman than any other. There is no valuable literature in any pagan language to be displaced by a new character. On the contrary, the rendering obsolete of the mass of impurity, error, and absurdity now existing, is a powerful argument in favor of the Romanizing system. By teaching through the medium of our alphabet, we shut out from the pupil, and gradually render obsolete, the mass of abominations now constituting the literature of such nations. We would thus avoid several of those evils which now attend upon our schools, and which have been mentioned under that head. To get rid, by any process, of the stupendous obstruction now presented by pagan literature, would be a magnificent achievement.

6. The recent plan of sending missionary physicians, should be very sparingly prosecuted.

It may be that a sense of failure in regard to direct evangelical labors, or a love of novelty, renders popular the sending out of

physicians. Many are already in the field ; and from various directions the call is made, "Send us out accomplished physicians." For some fields, it is avowed, that no others are wanted at first.

Or the hope may be, to gain respect and confidence, and thus open a door for Christianity. But Christianity needs no such usher. We are pointed to the miracles of Christ and the apostles. But these were for conviction and proof, not for attractiveness or insinuation. Hence they were not all of healing. Some of them inflicted death, others blindness. They withered fig-trees, destroyed swine, or struck down enemies. To assert that we need a substitute for miracles will not comport with the received doctrine that miracles have answered their end, and passed away. If those of the first age are still sufficient proof, why seek a substitute? If the immediate effects of miracles are now necessary, we must "ask, and we shall receive" power to work them.

It is not clear that a physician, practising gratuitously among the heathen, opens a door for his missionary brother. It may even tend to throw him into the shade, and prejudice his usefulness. One may be admired and patronized, while the other is regarded as a mere supernumerary. He may acquire *personal* esteem and confidence ; but how this is transferred to his preaching and proselyting brother, to Christianity as a system, or to successors, is not plain. The cause and effect do not seem to correspond.

The religion of the heathen is every where a religion of merit and demerit. Of disinterested benevolence he knows nothing, till he is made to understand it by the cross of Christ. All the labors of a missionary, which appear meritorious, are regarded as efforts to improve his own condition, now or hereafter. If the physician, by intimacy with his missionary brethren, by giving of tracts, &c., give cause to suspect that his real object is to introduce Christianity, he incurs as much jealousy as his brethren, whose primary business is to make direct evangelical efforts. "In vain is the net spread in sight of any bird." If he shows no desire to introduce and recommend Christianity, how can he be paving the way for his evangelical brethren?

Extended and gratuitous medical services may have the injurious effect of conferring upon the mission the appearance of opulence. The supply of medicines obviously involves great expense. The heathen sees them given away profusely, every day, to scores of utter strangers, from whom no remuneration or service is accepted. It is natural that he should infer that the

individual and private charity of the physician, is not competent to such expenditure. He may suspect the hand of a foreign government, preparing for future encroachments. He will certainly suspect *something*, though his fear be no more rational than that which has prevailed very extensively in Burmah, that when a certain number of disciples are obtained, we mean to take them home and *eat* them!

It should not be forgotten that the history of missionary physicians, from Felix Carey till now, contains many discouraging facts. It shows the danger of being drawn away to posts of pagan honor; or making shipwreck of Christian character; or becoming *mere* physicians.

It appears to me that an affectionate and judicious missionary, male or female, with a few well-known medicines, good books written for family use, and some experience, will be able to do all that ought to be done in this line, *in most places*. Mrs. Wade and Mrs. Hancock have practised extensively, and with great success. Such a mode is as well calculated to impress natives with the benevolence of Christians, though it may not so astonish them with the superiority of Europeans.

7. Every unnecessary expense in the mode of living should be studiously avoided.

The *unavoidable* difference between the missionary and the natives, in most cases, is very great. Native assistants seldom receive more than a tenth or fifteenth of the salary of a missionary. Rulers and princes, at some stations, are unable to live as the missionaries do, even where considerable sacrifices are made, and where a style of living is adopted, which many of the contributors at home would regard as involving positive and serious hardships.

The difficulty is aggravated, where the missionary aims at the style of genteel Europeans around him. It is altogether undesirable to see carved mahogany sofas, covered with crimson silk, mahogany book-cases, engravings, cut-glass, silver forks, &c., in the house of a missionary; the house itself resembling our handsome country-seats. Such a mode of living unavoidably imposes great restraint on the approach of natives. However accessible the missionary may hold himself, the poor inquirer will scarcely venture into such premises; or, if he do, will not be able to overcome an oppressive sense of inferiority, and perhaps intrusion. Even in Burmah, where no missionary so much as approaches this style of living, I have seen inquirers listen eagerly for a few

moments, and then become absorbed in admiration of the fluted leg of a table, or the joints of a chair.

Several missionaries have confessed to me that, on their first arrival in the East, they were shocked at the style in which they found their brethren living. Yet they had been carried away by the current. And so, generally, will be their successors. A man does not like, on his first arrival, to set up for a reformer. He feels as though he should have more experience, and knowledge of the country. But when, after a few years' residence, he is convinced that another mode is preferable and practicable, he discovers that to attempt a change will not only involve him in difficulties with his brethren, but will require changes in his own modes, which neither he nor his wife may have strength of mind to accomplish.

It is not necessary to adopt the costume, or all the customs of the natives; nor is it in general *possible* for the missionary to live so cheaply. To do either, would abridge usefulness, and hazard health. Many things are absolute necessities to one, which to the other seem highly luxurious. But this difference should not be increased by the use of superfluities deemed genteel and suitable at home. Cheap fabrics make raiments as truly comfortable as costly ones; and ornaments and embroideries certainly add no comfort. Plain furniture, made by the natives or himself, should be preferred to that which is elegant, even if the latter could be had for nothing. And in erecting a house, no object should be regarded but health and convenience.

The example of a missionary should tend to elevate the people in temporal things, and spread a love of neatness and order. But expensiveness defeats this result. If the materials of our refinements and conveniences are too costly, the natives cannot have them. I know certain missionaries who have their sofas and bedsteads made of bamboo, at an expense not exceeding ten cents each. Their people are thus taught cleanliness and comfort, and cease to repose on the floor. The same individuals dress in the cheapest fabrics, and have brought their people to possess suitable changes of raiment, instead of wearing one filthy garment till it could be worn no more.

A great superiority of living, on the part of the missionary, will almost certainly excite envy — a feeling tending more than any other to obstruct usefulness. “Who can stand before envy?” A minister in our own country could scarcely hope for success if there existed a proportionate disparity between

him and his people. In places where there are many Europeans, the evil will not be so much felt, if the missionary live in far less style than they. In these places only, have I seen such modes of living as have been just named. And if these very houses are compared, not with those of the natives, but those of Europeans, they will generally appear to be as much humbler than those, as ministers' houses, in this country, are humbler than their wealthy parishioners. In the remote stations, a missionary should take a still humbler mode. The natives cannot know what luxuries are enjoyed with us, even by the poor. They just compare the missionaries with themselves, and can scarcely associate the idea of self-denial with a mode of living which so greatly transcends their own.

The effect on the missionary himself is injurious. His anticipations had comprised great and unavoidable self-denial in regard to house, food, climate, and other bodily comforts. He is, therefore, in danger of habitually endeavoring to make this self-denial as small as possible. Those who have preceded him will adduce arguments or excuses with regard to health, respectability, &c. Their example, the wish to preserve peace, and his early habits, will all tend to carry him on to the very position, which, on first seeing occupied by others, had shocked his feelings. He is then no longer the man he was, and intended to be. His conscience is either smothered or troubled; his success is hindered; and there is great danger that his early devotedness and hope of usefulness may subside into formality and quiescence.

The blessed Master is the great pattern of a missionary. But he did not endeavor to live in a condition resembling, as near as possible, that which he had left. Nor should the missionary, sojourning amid degraded heathen, seek to retain as far as possible the refinements and gratifications of his own land. Let him renounce them, in fact, as, on his knees, when he gave himself to this work, he renounced them in anticipation.

Beside the effect of an appearance of luxury on the natives, every useless expense should be avoided on the ground of its raising a barrier against the universality of our operations. Though money will probably be raised in greater amount, and with greater facility, yet it must be remembered how small a body the Protestants of Europe and America are, compared with the entire human race, and how great is the work to be done. Presuming that, in every country, native pastors should be raised up in sufficient numbers to perform the entire labor of evangelists, we still need thousands of missionaries to make begin-

nings in every tribe, to prepare these native pastors, to make books and translations, establish schools, &c.

As our societies grow old, widows and children multiply; and soon very serious sums will be required for these. As an exemplar, we may advert to the Moravians, who have longest maintained modern missions. Nearly all the contributions from their own body are absorbed on matters which refer to the past; and their present missionary work is sustained by the contributions of other Christians. By the last annual report I can obtain, it appears that their receipts, from all sources, are about £11,000; about half of which is from their own community.

Total expenses for all stations.....	£6100	0	0
Paid also within the year —			
to 20 retired and disabled } missionaries..... }	£616	16	10
to 36 widows.....	334	16	7
education of 95 missionary } children..... }	1422	0	0
20 boys and 11 girls apprenticed....	1629	0	0
Contingencies.....	898	0	0
		4900	13 5
		<hr/>	
		£11000	13 5
		<hr/>	

It might give rise to unwarrantable surmises, if, in a work so crowded with facts, directly and indirectly connected with missions, nothing should be said of the salaries received by missionaries; especially while speaking of their modes of living. Nor am I concerned to avoid that subject. But the reader will bear in mind several considerations — 1. That, in preceding chapters, I have borne full testimony to the purity and zeal of missionaries as a body. 2. By far the larger part of them endure serious privations as to modes of living, and all of them endure, in other respects, what few Christians are willing to encounter. 3. Though their income may far transcend the poor semi-civilized or perhaps barbarous tribes around them, it falls far short of what Europeans of similar education and talents command, in the same places, and their mode of living is proportionally humble. 4. Those of them whose style of living has just been mentioned, as in my opinion unsuitable, do but copy numerous ministers, and still more numerous private Christians, in our own country, who live in costly houses, and see no harm in using just such articles as have been named. 5. It is certainly too

much to expect that an appointment as a missionary should, as by a charm, at once raise a man to a fervor of piety, contempt of earth, courage in dissenting from custom, and readiness to endure privations which none of his church at home have attained, and for which he has had neither training nor example. The difficulty can only be met by the adoption of stricter systems of expenditure by all Christians at home and abroad. Missionaries will carry abroad just that sort and degree of piety they have been trained to at home. 6. The chaplains of the East India Company receive 775 rupees per month, and rank as majors, with full retiring pension at the end of the term of service, which, I believe, is twenty-two years. There are ninety chaplains, whose salaries and places of worship cost the Company annually 438,000 dollars. This last statement is made to constitute a standard of comparison by which the salaries of the missionaries may be measured.

The English Baptist Missionary Society pay, in Hindustan, about 200 rupees per month, for a family, without allowances. In large towns, a very humble house costs from fifty to eighty rupees per month. One of these brethren stated to me that his annual expenses for medicine and medical attendance averaged 250 rupees. The missionaries of the Scotch General Assembly receive, in Calcutta, 400 rupees per month, to cover every thing. Missionaries from the London Missionary Society, at the Cape of Good Hope, receive £100 per annum for a family, without allowances, except to such as reside in Cape Town. In large cities of India, this society pays sometimes double this amount. In the South Sea Islands, the allowance for a family is but £75. The English General Baptist Missionary Society pay their missionaries at Orissa about 1200 rupees per annum, for a family, without allowances. A missionary from the Caspian and Black Seas informed me, that the salaries there were £80 for a married couple and family. A self-supported unmarried missionary from Patna, in Bengal, informed me that his expenses at that place were £70 per annum.

Whether the English Wesleyan Society pay fixed salaries, I have no means of knowing; but from the only report of that society I have at hand, (1835,) it appears that, in the Madras district, five missionaries, four native assistants, the passages home of two missionaries, and grants to schools, cost £2116. In Ceylon, nine missionaries, twelve native assistants, grants to schools, and the return passage of a family, cost £6032. In Sierra Leone, three missionaries cost £286; and in New South Wales,

a station with three missionaries cost £701. The Am. Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions have not fully adopted the system of fixed salaries, having generally allowed each family to expend what is requisite. In Southern India, they pay a married couple £150 per annum, with allowances for children and house rent. Missionaries in the East from the American Baptist Board, have 100 Company rupees per month for a married couple, and allowance for children, house rent, medical expenses, and travelling.

8. There should be more direct preaching of the word, publicly and from house to house.

Of all parts of his work, direct preaching looks most attractive to the missionary on leaving home, and becomes in general most repulsive in the field. One of the best missionaries now alive remarked that there was nothing so difficult for him to resist as a repugnance against coming in contact with the natives! This is the grand object of those who design to devote themselves to foreign service. To sit beneath some friendly shade, imparting to heathen the words of eternal life, is their *beau ideal*, their enrapturing anticipation, their expected reward, for leaving friends and home. But when they approach the reality, they find the romance of this hope turned into the substantial material for disgust, weariness, and despair.

Sophisms, absurdities, false reasonings, extreme ignorance, malicious opposition, unworthy suspicions, and inveterate prejudices, must be perpetually encountered. These are rendered still more formidable, for the first few years, for want of a proficiency in the language, and a knowledge of the national religion and literature. To teach school, to study, to translate, to survey new fields, &c., have none of these disagreeable concomitants, and are not so totally at variance with previous habits and feelings. They have the charm, too, of promising evident and immediate fruit; and of seeming to prepare the way for successors.

Thus the highest self-denial required of a missionary is in that very part of his work where he thought he should want none. He is unprepared for the demand, and in too many cases is turned aside to collateral pursuits.

This is an age in which the proper ministry of the word is in danger of being undervalued. It is an age of invention and activity, in religious as well as common matters, and the mechanism of Christianity is in danger of transcending the simplicity of the Scripture model, or at least of attracting superabundant

attention. One eminent minister calls *infant-schools* "the railroad to the millennium." Some declare preaching to be "the smallest part of a minister's duty." Others affirm that conversions among the heathen are not to be expected, till they are enabled to understand the evidences of divine revelation, and, therefore, that "*schools* are the grand means of converting the heathen." The same sentiments are rung in the ears of a missionary by his countrymen abroad. He has their countenance in schools, translations, &c.; but if he "preach the gospel" in high-ways and by-ways, he often incurs the imputation of fanaticism and folly. Every temptation is thus offered to slight the proper ministry of the word, and give weak faith a resting-place on human schemes.

It is often remarked that the apostles did not resort to schools, Bibles, and tracts, because the art of printing was not then invented; that learning was more diffused; &c. But it must be sacredly remembered, that the Lord gave his apostles a system of means not founded on the then state of society in that part of Asia, but for all possible conditions of society, in all the world, to the end of time. It is a system founded on the nature of religion and the nature of man; and no changes of outward condition will warrant us to invent another.

All modes of doing good should undoubtedly have a place in our system of means; but let us have a care, lest we disparage, or make subordinate, that which is of our Lord's own appointment, and which, above all others, should engage our energies. "By the foolishness of preaching," it pleases God to save men. It has always been the grand instrument of conversion. We must *always* rely upon it as such. Other services demand a portion of time, and in a proper division of labor, where there are several missionaries, some one brother may take one of these as his department. But, as a general rule, the first object and business of each, is strictly ministerial service. President Wayland, in his address to missionaries leaving Boston in July, 1834 insists on this point. "Nor is it enough that you be laborious; your labor must be exclusive; it must be devoted in singleness of heart to the conversion of souls to Christ. This work is surely of itself extensive enough to occupy all your time, and all your talents; and manifestly no other can vie with it in importance. You go not abroad to be linguists, nor lexicographers, nor botanists, nor philosophers, nor statesmen, nor politicians, but ambassadors of Christ. Remember, we always expect an ambassador to keep entirely aloof from all entanglements with the affairs

of the parties to which he is sent, and devote himself exclusively to the interest of the party by which he is commissioned. I do not say that these inquiries are not important; I only say that they are not *your* duty. Like Nehemiah, you are doing a great work, and you cannot come down."

Of the same opinion was Swartz, who reckoned that he had been the means of converting two thousand persons; and of Brainerd, who also gathered many souls. The following remarks by a distinguished Baptist minister, now living in Edinburgh, seem full of piety and good sense:—

"Much have we heard, indeed, in modern times, of the noble invention of printing, and much respecting the power of education; and I do not imagine that any candid reader, who has proceeded thus far, can suppose that the writer is indisposed to give to each its own appropriate place. At the same time, he conceives that they may not only be perverted, but prevented from doing that good which they otherwise might accomplish. For example, if they be permitted to occupy that place in our esteem and expectation, which belongs to a *divine and sovereign appointment*, then they may not only become as chaff when compared to the wheat, but awaken the jealousy of HIM who will not give his glory to another. Our employment of education only, and with all the energy which the art of printing has given to it, may turn out to be nothing more than giving activity to the powers of the mind, without directing and controlling their movements.

"Education will humanize and improve, in most instances; but to save from ultimate destruction, properly speaking, never was within its province, and never will be. Yet since the time in which many have been roused to see its necessity, there has been a phraseology often used respecting it by no means warrantable. Education, but above all, scriptural education, will do much. There will always be an undescribable distance between a people so favored, and any other left without such means. But if we expect more from it than it has ever produced, and above all, if we apply to it the language furnished to us in the Scripture, and which is there *exclusively* employed with reference to an institution of God's own sovereign appointment, we may be left to witness the impotence of education, instead of its power. Hence we have read of the system of some one of these educational societies, being adapted for the *regeneration* of Ireland; and the terms employed in Scripture to the laborers in the vineyard of God, have been unsparingly employed by religious people to the exertions of schoolmasters,

or those who superintend them. This is not merely incorrect, but it is unwise and unwarrantable. Every one knows, that, in all such cases of agency, every thing depends upon the expectations and intentions of the agent; but the language referred to is teaching us to expect from him, what, in a thousand instances, the agent neither intends or expects himself. The schoolmaster may have gone abroad, and, if a man of principle, will do great good; but to apply to him or his efforts the language of Sacred Writ, which regards another order of men and another exercise, is calculated to injure the work of his hands, as well as blind our own minds with respect to another and a higher duty.*

While I am indulging in quotation, I will add the following, from a distinguished missionary — Melvill Horne, who puts the following words into the mouth of an objector, in the shape of an apostrophe to the “Lord of the harvest.” “If thou wilt force us to cultivate this unpromising field, do not think of sending us out immediately, but let schoolmasters go to receive the first fire, and teach the little children reading and writing, and then will we go and enter into their labors; for the experience of ages has taught us, that where preaching of the gospel makes one Christian, education makes ten. Hence, instead of preaching first to the parents, and then establishing schools for the education of the children, as the apostles did, (who knew that the sword of the spirit was of heavenly temper, an instrument into which the God of glory had wrought all his attributes, we, having lost the art of using it, and that arm which gives it the demonstration of the Spirit and of power,) we go to work another way, by educating children first; and many are of opinion that the best way of enlightening, is by putting the moon in the sun’s sphere, and having children to instruct their parents, rather than parents to teach their children!”

Preachers must not be reluctant to itinerate. It will not be necessary, except among a few tribes, to dispense with a settled home, and to wander with a wandering flock. Still, few missionaries should confine themselves at home. There are jungles, small islands, and pestilent districts, accessible to foreigners only for a few months in the year, which can only be reached by itinerants. There are advantages too, in all places,

* Anderson’s “Ireland without the Ministry of the Word in her native Language.” “The Domestic Constitution,” so largely quoted from by James, in his Family Monitor, and republished in this country under the title of “Book for Parents,” is by this author.

peculiar to such itineracies. There is upon the missionary so employed, a benign and impressive aspect of disinterested benevolence, not easily misconstrued. His privations, inconveniences, dangers, and exertions convince even the heathen of his love of souls. He honors them by the condescension and confidence with which he eats the food they prepare, and sleeps on the mat they spread for him. He becomes acquainted with native character, where it has not been modified by foreign influence, and is thus assisted both to preach and to prepare tracts. He has opportunities for calm and repeated conversations with individuals at their own home. He escapes the pestilent presence of ungodly nominal Christians. The circumstances of his own superior living, are not present to do injury.

Not for a moment would I countenance that gadding and discursive spirit which entices men to leave their sphere; nor that romance which loves to visit distant and celebrated places; nor that love of fame which is gratified by being able to send racy journals to the magazines. It can be of little use to scatter far and near, seed which neither we nor others can water. The itineracy should for the most part be performed within a given limit, visiting the same places again and again, as the apostles did.

Preaching must be maintained in contradistinction to conversation and disputing. I know that it cannot always be *such* preaching as we have at home. Questions must be permitted, objections occasionally answered, explanations made, and much of our own formality dispensed with. But it must be legitimate *preaching*. The heathen are very glad to *dispute*; and do it in a very wearisome, provoking, and often subtle manner. When we enter into their sophistries, and recondite arguments, we make Christianity contend with the intellect, instead of the conscience, and our great advantage is lost. Paul's disputings in the school of Tyrannus are quoted. But it should be remembered that *διαλογουμενος*, (*dialogomenos*,) here rendered "disputing," is the very word used of other occasions where pros and cons were not thought of; such as "Paul was long *preaching*," Acts xx. 9; "He *reasoned* in the synagogue every Sabbath-day," Acts xviii. 4; "He *preached* unto them, ready to depart on the morrow," Acts xx. 7; "He *reasoned* of righteousness," &c., Acts xxiv. 9. Missionaries will sometimes be obliged to dispute; and so were the apostles. But they are destitute of many advantages enjoyed by the latter. Those disputes were with men who believed in the Old Testament, or who held great principles in common

with themselves. They were to prove, to persons who expected a Messiah, that Jesus was that Christ; or were based upon premises which the antagonists, or their own poets, fully admitted. So did our Savior sometimes dispute; but we have numerous cases where he dexterously avoided foolish questions or philosophical subtleties. He parried where he might have triumphed, and chose the more immediate, if not the only avenue, to conviction.

What has been gained by the repeated triumphs of speculative theology over science, politics, and heresy? Over and over the battle has been fought, consuming whole lives, and filling up whole libraries. Over and over have infidels, heretics, Papists, and Jews, been defeated. But new champions rise. The old ground is taken, or some novelty advanced; and in every age, the war continues. At this very day our press teems with works on the evidences of Christianity, and in opposition to errors already a thousand times refuted. In countries where Christianity has so triumphed, as to make worldly and political men confess it, and weave it into the very texture of social and civil society, what do we see but a dead orthodoxy, an unconverted priesthood, simony, secularity, and pride? Christianity has made its greatest triumphs where it has stood despised, hated, and cast out, by the learning, the philosophy, and the power of the world. Why should missionaries repeat that struggle which has a thousand times ended in a bootless triumph? It is not a man's learning, philosophy, or superstition, that precludes his conversion, but the opposition of his carnal heart. To overcome this, God forbid that we should confide in aught else than the doctrine of "Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Gentiles foolishness." Let us never, never forget that "God hath chosen the foolishness of this world to confound the wise, and low things, and things that are despised, and things which are not, to bring to naught the things that are, that no flesh should glory in his presence."

9. Regular churches, with pastors and deacons, should be formed at the earliest possible period, in every place.

It is of great consequence to put our work on a footing which may secure stability and increase, without the presence of a missionary. Ordained native ministers are very few.* Church order and discipline are not sufficiently understood by the disciples. The missionary is all in all; and at his departure or

* In all the Burman and Karen churches I found but one; in some missions, none; and no where, any adequate supply.

death, every trace of his work may disappear. It is true, such churches at first would seldom be able to stand alone. But if they ever do, they must first have this feeble beginning. There were great and important reasons why Christ instituted churches. Even higher advantages result from them, in heathen lands, than among ourselves. Without the mutual brotherly watchfulness which they secure, feeble members cannot receive adequate assistance. It is true, few are as qualified as is desirable for the imposition of hands. But the apostles, in resolving to ordain elders in every church, must have met the same difficulty. If no encouraging degree of fitness be found in any member, we may take a brother from some other church. To these should be committed, for obvious reasons, most of the preaching, discipline, and administration of ordinances. They should be honored in the presence of the people. Their support should, as far as possible, be derived from the converts. They should be sedulously watched over and aided. They should have associations, and ministers' meetings. They should meet the missionary at stated periods, and be aided, as far as possible, in acquiring a knowledge of Scripture history and doctrine. In many cases, they should be changed, on the plan of Methodist circuits. Some might attend half the year at a proper seminary. Younger ones should be placed at such an institution for several years. But of this more under the next head.

A similar appointment and training should be had for deacons, exhorters, and church clerks. The guiding influence of the missionary should be exerted as unseen as possible. Every effort should be made, to bring out the capacity and activity of the members, so that the death or removal of the missionary, should be injurious in the least possible degree.

10. The qualifications of native assistants should receive more attention.

The importance of this class of auxiliaries can scarcely be too highly estimated. Without risk of health, and with little expense or inconvenience, they can carry the tidings of salvation where a missionary cannot go, or may not be sent, for an age. They can travel, eat, sit, and lodge, as the natives do. Between those and themselves, there is not that awful distance which can scarcely be overcome by a missionary. Their knowledge of the language is complete, which can seldom be said of a foreigner. They know, from experience, the exact temptations, doubts, difficulties, and prejudices of their hearers. They can talk with an inquirer, often and long, without drawing opposition

upon him, before he has become enlightened and firm enough to endure it. To be seen conversing a few times with a missionary, or to go repeatedly to his house, or chapel, excites almost as great opposition, as a profession of Christianity. Thus a man's mind must be made up to encounter exceeding difficulties, before he has become sufficiently acquainted with the missionary's arguments, to know whether he will endure sufferings for the new religion or not; that is to say, he must submit to be persecuted, before he knows whether the system is worth being persecuted for.

Various reasons of this sort, some adapted to the condition of one country, and some to that of another, show the duty of fostering this branch of our force. Unordained natives have indeed been employed, and in some places to a great extent. And to their labors are traceable very numerous conversions. But it seems necessary to bestow upon them a much greater measure of mental cultivation and religious knowledge. Had half the pains been thus bestowed, which have been expended on common schools, how great would have been the gain!

Without some additional mental cultivation, doctrinal knowledge, and practical graces, native assistants are not able to avail themselves of their peculiar advantages; some of which have just been named. It is well known that scarcely one of them is able to act alone; and that, though so useful, when sustained and guided by a good missionary, they have run into manifold evils, when left to themselves. Why is this? They possess piety, zeal, and talents. It must be owing to the superior intelligence and acquired advantages of the missionary. Let us, then, lead them into that knowledge of the word of God, and that measure of devotion, which at present they have no means of obtaining.

Slender would be the qualifications of a minister with us, whose opportunities had been no greater than those of native preachers. Abstract from him all that his mother and father taught him, all he learned at infant or Sunday school, from the moral maxims of his horn-books, his copy-slips, his general reading, and the restraints of Christian society; put in the place of this, every degrading, polluting, and erroneous thing, learned by a heathen child, at home, at school, and abroad; take away the intellectual benefits of an academic or collegiate course; abolish all his knowledge of the evidences of Christianity, history, chronology, geography, prophecy, miracles, and the state of the world; all he ever gained by intercourse with eminent saints,

or a perusal of their biographies; all the helps he has had from commentators, critics, sermons, anniversaries, associations, religious periodicals, and intercourse with enlightened fellow-ministers; in fine, leave him nothing but some portions of God's word, and a few evangelical tracts; and add to him a plenitude of errors and malpractices acquired in a life of Gentile abominations, — and you will have the present qualifications of a native assistant.

Some regular institution seems wanting, in every mission, for the express purpose of instructing those who give evidences of a call to this work. Advantages, similar in kind, if not in extent, to those enjoyed by young ministers at home, should be placed within their reach. A supply of assistants, thus educated, would leave leisure to the missionary for necessary translations and revisions; for exercising a general pastoral care over a large district; for exploring new fields; for corresponding with the societies at home; and for other duties, which can now only be done at a great sacrifice of pastoral pursuits.

By no other course does it now appear that we can send the gospel into all the earth. We cannot *hope* to send forth from ourselves the hundredth part of an adequate supply of ministers for six hundred millions of pagans, at an annual expense of from five hundred to one thousand dollars for each family. Nor could we consent to lay the foundations of Christianity, over so large a portion of the earth, by native preachers so ignorant of the system as those we now have. Without raising these qualifications, they will soon be despised by the very youth, whom, by hundreds and thousands are now being educated in missionary and government schools.

11. A considerable number of the most promising converts and younger preachers should be taught the English language.

It is dismaying to compute the period which must elapse before the heathen can be supplied, in their own languages, with the word of God. Who, then, can predict the time when those languages shall contain a supply of works in ecclesiastical history, biblical criticism, theology, and practical piety? Who is to give them books of science and art? If, now, we would impart to our missionary pupils the benefits of such studies, we are restricted to wearisome oral instructions, demanding, on the whole, an amount of time *equal to what would be necessary to teach them English*. Beside, instructions unsustained by reading are less perfectly acquired, and the amount obtained is in danger of being

forgotten. At best, when the pupil leaves the institution, his progress is terminated; and terminated too, as all school-studies are, at the threshold of the subjects.

By giving our young convert the English language, we set before him the whole temple of knowledge, and present him with the key. Subjects which would otherwise have remained forever sealed will be fully open to his inspection. He has but to use his own powers, and he may pursue an indefinite progress. With an enriched mind, trained habits of thinking, and a cultivated heart, he goes forth among his people "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed." Let but the reader ask himself what benefit he has gained, merely, by a dozen books, such as the *Saint's Rest*, *Law's Serious Call*, *Watts on the Mind*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, the works of Brooks, Mather, Flavel, Charnock, &c., and decide whether, even for this, he would not have done well to master a language? Did he ever gain so much from his Latin, Greek, French, Italian, or German, or all together, as a heathen convert would gain from a knowledge of English? Our language is now becoming the religious language of mankind, and perhaps the scientific also. It is to be to the East, what Greek was to Rome, or Latin was, a century or two ago, to Europe. Already does it abound with works of imagination, specimens of eloquence, stores of history, speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, law, commerce, scientific researches, and mechanical inventions, immensely more valuable than was ever extant in all the ancient languages. As to religion, it probably contains more valuable books than all other languages put together.

Add, therefore, to the important advantages already enjoyed by the native preacher, merely those which the ability to read English would confer, and he would be more valuable than almost any foreign missionary can be, and at the same time cost the church incomparably less.

From natives able to read English, we might hope soon to see many valuable translations. Men translate into their own language far more successfully than into a foreign one. They would do more than this—they would write original works. Few translations, except of the Scriptures, will ever be very useful. Books, being written for our state of society, and degree of knowledge, do not answer for heathen. They must be written by natives, not only in native idiom, but in native modes of thinking, and adapted to the degree of knowledge possessed by the reader. Our books, on every page, take for granted

certain measures of previous mental culture, which heathen readers do not possess, and for want of which, the whole effort of the author is likely to fail.

The difficulty of learning to read and write a language, especially our own, is much less than learning to speak it; and in this case, only the former is required. Indeed, the learning so much of a language as to gather the meaning of an author, is by no means an arduous undertaking. To pronounce correctly, and to command words fluently for conversation, is much the largest part of the task. This is not only unnecessary to our brethren, but in some cases undesirable, lest they be corrupted by evil intercourse, or tempted to seek secular situations of greater profit.

A native assistant has now no books to read, but the tracts and translations, to which his hearers have access. How can he hold a proper intellectual and religious superiority over them? He ought to be versed in the true meaning of difficult passages, the rules of interpretation, the geography, chronology, and natural history of the Bible, the manners and customs of Jews, and other kindred studies. He should know something of ecclesiastical history, church government, and biblical theology. But in all these he has no helps in his own language, and in hundreds of languages there never will be any. Missionary money can never make translations of all these; and many years must elapse before there will be a religious public, creating such a demand for them, that they will be printed as matters of trade.

In our own country, what students actually learn at college, is not so important as the knowledge they obtain of the sources of information. The wide and long vista of truth is opened before them; they see what is to be learned, obtain mental training, get a knowledge of books, and leave the institution prepared to be successful students. Not so with native preachers. They set out with a modicum of biblical knowledge, precariously retained in their memories, and with scarcely the advantages of a Sunday scholar. They meet antagonists, learned in the prevailing system, and must contend with them, without so much as a proper knowledge of their own.

12. There must be greater care taken that a station, once begun, should be uninterruptedly maintained.

That this has not been the case, has seldom been the fault of missionaries. It is not easy to convey the importance of this idea to churches and directors at home; and their arrangements

have been such as to spread over as large a surface as possible, leaving many stations in the hands of a solitary individual.

What would be the effect on any district of fifty, or sixty, or perhaps five hundred square miles, which should be left for one, two, or three years, without a minister, or a prayer-meeting, or a Sunday school, or, in fine, any of the means of grace? But with us, even in such a case, there would be a thousand good influences, public and private. Not so among the heathen. The death or departure of a missionary stops every thing, except a church have been gathered, and native pastors trained. Even then, all activity is suspended, and passive virtues will not abound. The converts will fall into errors and apostasies, if not into sufferings and want.

A heathen or Mussulman, on becoming a Christian, is generally discarded by his friends; and where caste exists, always. In very many cases, if the missionary do not provide him work, he must starve. If not so poor, yet without the missionary, how shall he contend with the difficulties of his situation, and the evils of his former habits? He is left without daily instruction, without pious intercourse, without a shield from tyranny. The little band, gathered by years of toil, is in a few months scattered; the enemy triumphs; confidence in the continuance of the station is destroyed; and the next missionary is often led to affirm, as several have done to me, that it would have been better if no predecessor had ever labored there.

Many contingencies may cause a station to be suspended where a missionary is alone. There can be no security against it, except by placing two brethren at every station; and at some, still more. They need not always be in the same compound, or even in the same village; but should not be so far apart as to prevent one from taking an effective temporary charge of the department of the other, in case of death, sickness, or absence.

It seems to have been one of the most fatal errors of modern missions to disregard, so generally, the New Testament example in this particular. Our Lord sent both the seventy and the twelve, two by two. When he had ascended, the apostles continued the same plan. They either proceeded forth in pairs, or took a younger evangelist as a "partner and fellow-helper." The Holy Ghost gave sanction to this mode, when he called for the separation of Barnabas and Saul to a particular field. How touching and instructive are Paul's feelings, when separated from his official companion, though in the midst of distinguished

successes! "When I came to Troas to preach, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord, I had no rest in my spirit, *because I found not Titus*; so, taking my leave, I went into Macedonia." When Titus rejoined him, he was in the midst of disappointment and difficulty; but his heart was immediately made whole. He then said, "I am filled, I am exceeding joyful, in all our tribulation; for though, when we came into Macedonia, our flesh had no rest, and we were troubled on every side, (without were fightings, and within were fears,) yet God comforted us by the coming of Titus." 2 Corinthians ii. 12, 13, and vii. 4-6.

It is believed by some judicious brethren abroad, that some missionaries have died in consequence of lonesomeness, distraction, care, and excessive exertion.

13. It is important to establish a greater division of labor.

Hitherto the same missionary has been compelled to be pastor, itinerant, Sunday school teacher, schoolmaster, translator, author, tract-distributor, proof-reader, physician, nurse, housekeeper, and perhaps printer and bookbinder. Sometimes, in addition to these, he must oversee catechists and preachers, be agent for inland stations, and preach occasionally in English! The thing amounts to a perfect absurdity. Some men may endure such wear and tear for a while; but the results of their labors are nullified by desultoriness. Regularity and efficiency are impossible. Nothing can be prosecuted with sufficient vigor, either to obtain skill in it, or secure the best results.

It is truly surprising that the few missionaries scattered over the world, should have accomplished what we now see. It proves that, in general, they must have been extraordinary men. And it is very well to practise on the doctrine, that it is better to wear out than rust out. But such a system as is now pursued, only makes men *tear* out.

Schools might be maintained by the wives of missionaries, or by brethren who shall call themselves schoolmasters. Where preaching in English is deemed necessary, let a brother separate himself to that work; or let it be done by one whose age, experience, and mental cultivation, will enable him to do it with extemporaneous ability. Theological or boarding schools should enjoy the whole services of a select individual. Translations and authorship, with some avocation requiring bodily activity, are work enough for one man at each principal station. Further specifications must depend on each particular case.

Beside the advantages on the spot of such a distribution of

duties it would have a happy effect at home in showing the churches the actual state and operations of their phalanx abroad. They would see what branches of the work most needed reënforcement. They would better understand what result should be expected in each particular department. They would particularly see what proportion of labor is made to bear on the immediate conversion of souls, and the whole operation of the missionary enterprise would stand transparent and self-explained.

14. There should be more concentration of effort.

In every mission there should be one point where operations should be conducted with great vigor and by many hands.

By placing at this point the translator, the printing-office, the school for native assistants, and two or three evangelists, beside those brethren whose proper field is pestilent or inaccessible except during a portion of the year, there would be secured many advantages. Numerous questions from minor stations, which must now wait the tedious process of a reference to the Board, might be safely left to the decision of such a body of brethren on the spot. Vacancies at various points might be immediately supplied—a matter, as has been shown, of great consequence. Thus a farmer, penetrating into the forest, makes first an effective clearing where he establishes himself, and from whence he may extend his openings at pleasure. Thus an army always has its “head quarters.” Thus the primitive church retained at Jerusalem a body of principal apostles and elders, to whom disputed questions were referred, from whence the brethren went forth to their spheres, and to whom they returned, reporting successes and refreshing themselves with genial society.

The majority of employments which were just named as absurdly falling on the same individual, may be divided and prosecuted at such central station with effect. Thus the brethren who go forth, two by two, to lonelier stations, will have fewer duties, and may divide these with a prospect of mutual success. The establishment of such a body of brethren would constitute a safe band of counsellors both to one another and to their society at home; it would inspire confidence in the natives that the undertaking was permanent; it could supply for a time any outstation vacated by the retirement or death of a missionary; and it would be a favorable location for new missionaries to study for a year or two, and acquire a knowledge of their field.

There should be more concentration as to the portions of the world which we attempt to evangelize. Those regions which have received the largest supply of missionaries have been the

most encouraging. Labrador and Greenland, with a population of but eight or nine thousand, have fifty-one missionaries and assistants. The West Indies have more than two hundred missionaries; and each of these may be counted equal to two in the East Indies, if we consider that they have not been obliged to learn a language, or make dictionaries, translations, &c. Jamaica, with a population of four hundred thousand, has more than sixty European missionaries. The Sandwich Islands, with a population of one hundred and eight thousand, has eighty-seven missionaries and assistants. The portion of Karens which have received the services of Boardman, Wade, and Mason, and which has been blessed in actual conversions more than almost any other, amounts to less than six thousand.

On the other hand, there are single cities containing populations of hundreds of thousands, with but one, two, or three missionaries; and in these we hear of small success. It is to be feared that the church has, in its anxiety to spread wide the tidings of salvation, been beguiled into too great diffusiveness of labor. It seems hard to keep sending men to countries already entered, while whole kingdoms and tribes are left to perish. But it had better be thus. Only thus can the work be done. Only thus will the church be able to see clearly and impressively how much land remains to be possessed, and feel the inadequacy of her present operations.

15. A larger proportion of effort should be directed to the more enlightened nations, and to the higher classes in all nations.

Our efforts have hitherto been expended chiefly on Esquimaux, Laplanders, Greenlanders, Tartars, American Indians, Sandwich Islanders, Hottentots, Bushmen, Nicobarians, Malays, Negroes, and Slaves. Converts have indeed been made, and immortal souls saved. But the results terminate on the spot. Such people have no such influence on adjacent nations as had the citizens of Jerusalem, Damascus, Alexandria, Rome, Corinth, or Ephesus. They have no commerce to spread abroad the holy leaven, and few pecuniary resources to enable them to join in the work of giving Bibles and ministers to the rest of the world.

Among tribes so degraded, the missionary contends with brutal ignorance, strong temptations to hypocrisy, deep poverty, petty wars, and frequent changes in congregation; together with the inconveniences of unsuitable food and habitation, and the most violent change in all his previous habits and associations. Had we begun by spreading the gospel among our more immediate

neighbors and the greater kingdoms, missionaries, and missionary influences in a thousand forms, would have multiplied spontaneously. Converted Arabs, Chinese, Hindus, or Burmans could have spread out among ruder tribes, without those violent transitions which curtail the lives of our brethren, or those excessive expenses which keep down the extent of our efforts.

It may be thought the Hindus should not be named in this collection, so much having been done for them. But the extent of this country should be remembered, and the number of missionaries, which, with all the late augmentations, have been sent to occupy it. From Bombay to Bankok, and from Ceylon to Delhi, the number of missionaries is stated by a late writer in the Calcutta Christian Observer to be one hundred and thirty. This estimate comprehends at least 200,000,000 inhabitants—one missionary to 1,538,461 souls. The region described, it will be perceived, includes Burmah, as well as Hindustan, and is emphatically that part of the field to which the attention of the church has been of late years particularly drawn.

In scarcely any mission have the higher classes received their full share of attention. They have not been so freely visited at their houses; and when visited, it has rather been the act of respect, or to secure advantages. The visit is seldom for the express purpose of winning their souls, as is the case when the poor are sought. The oftener such visits are paid without the disclosure of a deep anxiety for the conversion of his soul, the more does the chief, or rich man, grow satisfied to remain as he is, and to suppose that his toleration or friendship is all that is expected. We should abhor the spirit which gathers ministers round great men, to share their gifts, to bask in their favor, to secure political enactments in favor of religion, or to gain popularity and distinction among the common people. But we should leave no efforts unattempted to save their souls. The prophecies which cheer us in our work, specify such persons as among the fruit, and declare that they shall be nursing fathers and mothers to the church. Cæsar's court contained disciples. Some of the "mighty," and of "honorable ones, not a few," appear among the converts to apostolic zeal.

CONCLUDING REMARKS. Many suggestions to the churches at home offer themselves. I will venture only two or three.

I. The number of missionaries should be greatly increased. Numerous stations, occupied now by a single individual, should

be reënforced by one, two, and in some cases five or six brethren. No post has been taken, which seems untenable or useless; none from which the occupant wishes to retreat. Each describes openings for usefulness which he cannot embrace. If we mean merely to keep our present position, there is need of a fresh laborer in every station and department, who may be coming forward in his qualifications, and be ready to take up the task at any moment, in case of the death of the present incumbent.

There must be a wrong in concentrating preachers among a portion of mankind, to the extent seen in England and America, while whole nations lie unblest with the truth. Such as have not known or considered the proportion of ministers in England and America, should ponder the following facts.

The following table takes up some of the counties in England alphabetically, so as to furnish a fair sample of the whole.

County.	Area.		Churches.			Population.	Average Number of Souls to a Minister.
	Square Miles.	Established	Voluntary.	Total.			
Bedfordshire,	463	127	72	199	95,000	477	
Berkshire,	752	160	83	243	145,000	597	
Buckinghamshire,	738	214	89	303	146,000	482	
Cambridgeshire, .	857	174	87	261	143,000	548	
Cheshire,	1052	142	162	304	334,000	1099	
Cornwall,	1330	221	328	549	302,000	550	
Cumberland,	1523	145	90	235	169,000	719	
Derbyshire,	1028	177	189	365	237,000	649	

In New England, taken at large, the proportion of ministers is not much short of the above average. In Massachusetts are 1252 ministers; population, 650,000; average souls to each minister, 519. In New Hampshire are 412 ministers; population, 269,633; average number of souls to each minister, 654. In Connecticut are 482 ministers; population, 298,000; average number of souls to each, 620.* The great cities of the United States are shown, by Rev. Messrs. Reed and Mattheson, to have a *larger* proportion of ministers, than those of England and Scotland.

The contrast between one missionary, and he a foreigner, imperfect in the language, and unsustained by surrounding Christians, attempting to bless a million of souls, and a pastor in Great Britain or America to every four or five hundred souls,

* These numbers are taken from the Registers of the respective States. In the other Northern States the proportion is about the same.

and aided by a hundred Christian influences, is both painful and humiliating.

2. Numerous lay brethren are immediately wanted.

A glance at the employments enumerated a little while ago, shows how few of them fall exclusively within the province of a minister. Except preaching, administering ordinances, and presiding over church discipline, they may as well be done by laymen. Perhaps one reason why so little is said of some of these departments, in the New Testament, is, that that history gives professedly the life of *Christ*, and the acts of *apostles*. We certainly see that some branches of missionary duty were consigned to laymen, such, for instance, as the secular concerns, the care of the poor, and the settlement of disputes. There are many brethren not inferior to the best ministers in piety. A knowledge of business and accounts, and habits of order, despatch, and economy, give some of these superior qualifications for some parts of the work. Such services as are rendered by lay brethren in our own country, are greatly wanted.

It is neither necessary nor desirable that all laymen, who for Christ's sake go to the heathen, should put themselves under the patronage of a society, or give their whole time to religious services. The brethren scattered from Jerusalem by persecution, no doubt pursued their secular callings, in the cities whither they fled. Yet through them the holy influence was spread.

If persecution were now to break out in England, or the United States, thousands of church members would pass to other parts of the world, and, we may presume, would labor to establish pure religion wherever they might find a home. May we not fear that if we remain supine, some such necessity for dispersion may be permitted to occur? By going without the impulse of persecution, the sacrifices involved in emigration are immensely lessened. The ties of friendship, kindred, and business, may be preserved, and property retained. In fact, the evils incurred by voluntary expatriation are submitted to by multitudes, for no higher end than the possible improvement of outward circumstances.

Finally. A vastly higher state of piety at home must be realized.

On this copious and most important theme, I must now confine myself to a few sentences. But I pass it by with the more content, because it is a subject on which others can write as well as one who has travelled, and which is often calling forth able works. I think it has been proved that the measure of mission-

ary success is equal to the amount and kind of effort employed. But all must agree, that had the whole movement been more apostolic, there would be seen much more fruit. Want of piety makes missionaries less successful, just as it does other ministers. Were they absorbingly interested in their work, and highly qualified for it, by large measures of the spirit of Christ, they would seldomer fall into the subordinate and less self-denying departments of labor, and would prosecute their proper work, not only with more commensurate zeal and skill, but with a greater blessing.

How shall such missionaries be expected from a religious community pervaded by love of ease, elegance, and gain? They come forth from the mass, and resemble the mass. Streams rise no higher than their sources. In vain we harangue departing missionaries upon the necessity of a holy weanedness from the world, and contempt of ease, if we have no more ourselves. These are not the fruits of mere volition, or sudden effort. They are the result of circumstances and self-training, through the steady agency of the Spirit. None but extraordinary persons rise above the level of their times; and we cannot expect every missionary, and missionary's wife, and printer, and school teacher, to be an extraordinary person, wholly in advance of the churches. They are, moreover, sent out too young to have made very great Christian attainments, even if they are extraordinary persons. The ordinary state of the church must be made right, and then ordinary persons will have right views, aims, and qualities; and missionaries will possess proper qualifications, and bear abroad a proper spirit.

Every professed Christian, therefore, may aid the cause of missions by promoting a return to apostolic simplicity and singleness of heart among all Christians. This would not only furnish the right *kind* of missionaries, but the right *number*, and the proper *support*. When every believer shall habitually pray not only for a blessing on the work at large, but for a clear perception of his own duty in the matter, and shall cherish the spirit of entire self-dedication, we shall have abundant means and proper men.

OPINION OF REV. ADONIRAM JUDSON.

From a letter addressed to Rev. Howard Malcom, dated Maulmain, Feb. 25, 1845.

"You ask my opinion of the manner in which you discharged the duties of your agency. I answer, as well as it was possible for you to do, I regard your journal as one of the best, indeed the very best book on missions extant. There is more correct information in that book on subjects connected with modern missions than can be found in any other publication."

OPINION OF REV. FRANCIS WAYLAND, D. D.,

President of Brown University, Providence, R. I.

FROM THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW, FOR MARCH 1839.

"We are decidedly of the opinion, that this volume will hold a permanent, and a high rank, among the books of modern travel. Mr. Malcom possesses, in the character of his mind, many of the most valuable requisites for a tourist. To great perseverance, unusual presence of mind, acute observation, and uncommon colloquial ability, he unites business habits of the first order, strong common sense, and much natural shrewdness. All these he has put forth in the present work. Nor is this all. He has not been satisfied with making a merely entertaining and readable book. His aim has been higher. He has endeavored to render his labor permanently useful to the cause of missions and of literature. We are happy to say, that, in our opinion, he has succeeded. Unless we greatly err, this volume will become a stock book of travels, and will remain as a book of reference and entertainment, after many of its contemporary journals have been forgotten. We do not know of any other similar work in the English language, from which a reader will derive so much accurate and definite information respecting the manners, customs, trade, productions and manufactures of Southern Asia. The labor in preparing them must have been great, but we believe that it will prove to have been successfully expended. Mr. Malcom has shed new light upon a large portion of the globe, with which we have been heretofore but slightly acquainted, and will, we doubt not, receive the thanks of the literary, as well as the religious public. The style of the work is unpretending, direct, and calm; sometimes rising to eloquence, and frequently enlivened with graphic sketches, and original suggestions. It is also rendered uncommonly valuable, by a great number of engravings, taken from drawings made on the spot, and happily illustrative of the manners and customs of the East. We hail the work as a valuable addition to our knowledge of the East; and, specially, as throwing much and valuable light upon the missionary field. We trust its success will equal its deserts."

FROM THE "ECLECTIC REVIEW," ENGLAND.

The writer describes Hindustan as "the land where we passed some of our earliest and most buoyant years."

"The missionary press has, within a few years past, presented to the reading public many volumes of a very interesting character, containing the observations of Ellis, Stewart, Williams, Medhurst, Gutzlaff, and others, on several portions of the world hitherto little known; but we venture to say, that never has it produced a work of more interest or utility, than the present. To all our readers, wishing to have a general knowledge of our Indian empire, and especially to those who have an interest in the progress of our holy religion in that country, we heartily and strongly recommend this volume as intrinsically valuable, and as embodying a mass of intelligence on India, which, so far as our information extends, will be sought in vain in an equal number of pages of any volume of English literature."

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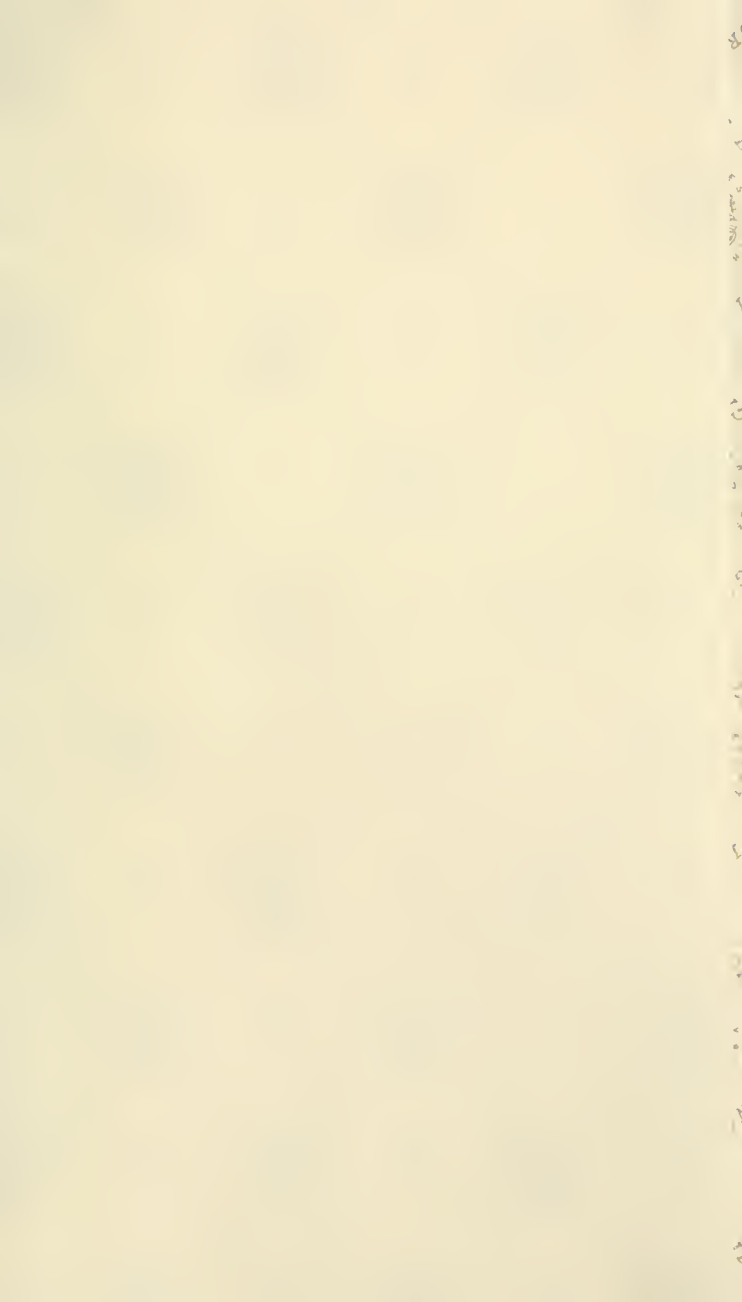
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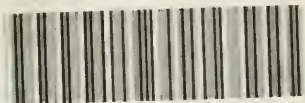
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