

VARIOUS

HISTORY OF THE
PIRATES WHO INFESTED
THE CHINA SEA FROM
1807 TO 1810

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History of the Pirates Who Infested the China Sea From 1807 to 1810

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

Conquerors are deemed successful robbers, while robbers are unsuccessful conquerors. If the founder of the dynasty of the Ming had failed in his rebellion against the Moguls, history would have called him a robber; and if any one of the various robber-chiefs, who in the course of the two last centuries made war against the reigning Manchow, had overthrown the government of the foreigners, the official historiographers of the "*Middle empire*" would have called him *the far-famed, illustrious elder father* of the new dynasty.

Robbers or pirates are usually ignorant of the principles concerning human society. They are not aware that power is derived from the people for the general advantage, and that when it is abused to a certain extent, all means of redress resorted to are legitimate. But they feel most violently the abuse of power. The fruit of labour is too often taken out of their hands, justice sold for money, and nothing is safe from their rapacious and luxurious masters. People arise to oppose, and act according to the philosophical principles of human society, without having any clear idea about them. Robbers and pirates are, in fact, the opposition party in the despotical empires of the East; and their history is far more interesting than that of the reigning despot.¹ The sameness which is to be observed in the history of all Asiatic governments, presents a great difficulty to any historian who wishes to write a history of any nation in Asia for the general reader.

The history of the transactions between Europeans and the Chinese is intimately connected with that of the pirate chiefs who appeared from time to time in the Chinese Sea, or Southern Ocean. The Europeans themselves, at their first appearance in the *middle empire*, only became known as pirates. Simon de Andrada, the first Portuguese who (1521) tried to establish any regular trade with China, committed violence against the merchants, and bought young Chinese to use them as slaves; and it is known that it was the policy of the *civilized foreigners* from the "Great Western Ocean" (which is the Chinese name for Europe) to decry their competitors in trade as pirates and outlaws.

The footing which Europeans and Americans now enjoy in China, originated from the assistance given by the Portuguese to the Manchow against the Patriots, otherwise called pirates, who would not submit to the sway of foreigners. Macao, the only residence (or large prison) in which foreigners are shut up, is not considered by the Chinese Government as belonging exclusively to the Portuguese. The Dutch, on not being allowed to remain in Macao, complained to the Chinese Government, and the authorities of the middle empire commanded the Portuguese to grant houses to the newly arrived *Holan* or Hollander, "since Macao was to be considered as the abode of *all* foreigners trading with China." The edicts concerning this transaction are stated to be now in the archives of the Dutch factory at Macao.

¹ The Chinese have particular histories of the robbers and pirates who existed in the *middle empire* from the most ancient times; these histories form a portion of every provincial history. The three last books (the 58th, 59th, and 60th) of the *Memoirs concerning the South of the Meihling Mountains* (see the Catechism of the Shahmans, p. 44) are inscribed *Tsing fun* (10,987, 2,651), and contain the Robber history from the beginning of Woo wang, of the dynasty Chow. The Memoirs only give extracts of former works; the extracts to the three last books are taken from *the Great History of Yuě*, or Province of Kwang tang (*Yuě ta ke*), from *the Old Transactions of the Five Realms* (*Woo kwō koo sse*), *the Old Records of Yang ching*, a name of the ancient city of Kwang tung (*Yang ching koo chaou*), *the Official Robber History* (*Kwō she yih shin chuen*), &c.

It is one of the most interesting facts in the history of the Chinese empire, that the various barbarous tribes, who subdued either the whole or a part of this singular country, were themselves ultimately subdued by the peculiar civilization of their subjects. The Kitans, Moguls, and Manchow, became, in the course of time, Chinese people; like the Ostro, and Visigoths, and Longobards – Romans. But we may remark, that both the Chinese and the Roman civilization under the Emperors recommended itself to the conquerors, as connected with a despotism which particularly suited the views of the conquerors. Though this large division of the human race, which we are accustomed to call *Tatars*, never felt a spark of that liberty which everywhere animated the various German nations and tribes, and the Khakhans, in consequence of this, were not in need of any foreign policy to enslave their compatriots; yet it may be said, that neither Moguls nor Manchow were able to establish a despotic form of government which worked so well for a large nation as that of the Chinese.

The extremes of both despotism and democracy acknowledge no intermediary power or rank. The sovereign is the vice-regent of heaven, and all in all; he is the only rule of right and wrong, and commands both what shall be done in this world and thought of concerning the next. It may be easily imagined, that the Jesuits, on their first arrival in China, were delighted with such a perfect specimen of government according to their political sentiments. They tried all that human power could command to succeed in the conversion of this worldly paradise. The fathers disguised themselves as astronomers, watchmakers, painters, musicians, and engineers.² They forged inscriptions³ and invented miracles, and almost went to the extent of canonizing Confucius. But this cunning deference to Chinese customs involved the Jesuits in a dispute with their more pious but less prudent competitors; and notwithstanding all the cleverness of the Jesuits, the Chinese saw at last, that in becoming Roman Catholic Christians they must cease to be Chinese, and obey a foreign sovereign in the *Great Western Ocean*. Toland affirms, that the Chinese and the Irish, in the time of their heathen monarch Laogirius, were the only nations in which religious persecutions never existed;⁴ this praise now refers exclusively to Ireland. Roman Catholicism is at this moment nearly extinguished in China. To become a Christian is considered high-treason, and the only Roman Catholic priest at Canton at the present time, is compelled to hide himself under the mask of shopkeeper. In their successful times, during the seventeenth century, the Roman Catholic Missionaries published in Europe, that no nation was more virtuous, nor any government more enlightened than that of the Chinese; these false eulogies were the source of that high opinion in which the Chinese were formerly held in Europe.

The merchants and adventurers who came to China "to make money" found both the government and people widely different from descriptions given by the Jesuits. They found that the Chinese officers of government, commonly called Mandarins, would think themselves defiled by the least intercourse with foreigners, particularly merchants; and that the laws are often interpreted quite differently before and after receiving bribes. The Europeans were proud of their civilization and

² We are chiefly indebted to the Jesuits that the Russians had not conquered part of China about the middle of the seventeenth century. See the passage of Muller in Burney's *Voyages of Discovery to the North-East Passage*, p. 55. The Manchow destroyed the Chinese patriots by the cannon cast by the Rev. Father Verbiest. – Le Comte, *Nouvelles Observations sur la Chine*.

³ We have a learned dissertation, pleading for the authenticity of the famous inscription of *Se ngan foo*, by a well-known Sinologue. May we not be favoured with another *Oratio pro domo* concerning the many crosses which had been found in Fuh k'een, and on the "Escrevices de Mer, qui estans encore en vie, lors mesme qu'elles estoient cuites?" See *Relation de la Chine par Michel Boym, de la Compagnie de Jesus, in Thévenot, et Relations de divers Voyage*, vol. ii, pp. 6 and 14.

⁴ *Toland*, *History of the Druids*, p. 51. — "This justice, therefore, I would do to Ireland, even if it had not been my country, viz. to maintain that this tolerating principle, this *impartial liberty* (of religion), ever since unexampled there as well as elsewhere, *China excepted*, is far greater honour to it," &c. Never was a man more calumniated than Confucius by the Jesuit Couplet. *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* was printed in the year 1687, shortly after Louis XIV. abolished the Edict of Nantes, and persecuted the most industrious part of his subjects. The Jesuit is bold enough to affirm, in his *Epistola Dedicatoria ad Ludovicum magnum*, that the Chinese philosopher would be exceedingly rejoiced in seeing the piety of the great king. "*Quibus te laudibus efferret, cum haeresin, hostem illam avitae fidei ac regni florentissimi teterrimam, proculcatam et attritam, edicta quibus vitam ducere videbatur, abrogata; disjecta templa, nomen ipsum sepultum, tot animarum millia pristinis ab erroribus ad veritatem, ab exitio ad salutem tam suaviter (!) tam fortiter (!), tam feliciter (!) traducta.*"

cleverness in mercantile transactions, and considered the inhabitants of all the other parts of the world as barbarians; but they found, to their astonishment and disappointment, the Chinese still more proud and cunning. We may easily presume that these deluded merchants became very irritated, and in their anger they reported to their countrymen in Europe that the Chinese were the most treacherous and abandoned people in the world,⁵ that "they were only a peculiar race of savages," and required to be chastised in one way or another; which would certainly be very easy. Commodore Anson, with a single weather-beaten sixty-gun ship, in fact, set the whole power of the Chinese Government at defiance.

The Translator of the History of the Pirates ventures to affirm, that the Chinese system of government is by far the best that ever existed in Asia; not excepting any of the different monarchies founded by the followers of Alexander, the government of the Roman Prætors and of Byzantine Dukes, or that of Christian Kings and Barons who reigned in various parts of the East during the middle ages. The principles of Chinese government are those of virtue and justice; but they are greatly corrupted by the passions and vices of men. The greater part of their laws are good and just, though the practice is often bad; but unfortunately this is generally not known to the "Son of Heaven." It is the interest of the Emperor to deal out justice to the lowest of his subjects; but, supposing it were possible that one man could manage the government of such an immense empire, who either could or would dare to denounce every vicious or unjust act of the officers employed by government? The Chinese themselves are a clever shrewd sort of people; deceit and falsehood are, perhaps, more generally found in the "flowery empire" than any where else; but take them all in all, they rank high in the scale of nations, and the generality of the people seem to be quite satisfied with their government; they may wish for a change of masters, but certainly not for an entire change of the system of government.

There has existed for a long period, and still exists, a powerful party in the Chinese Empire, which is against the dominion of the Manchow; the different mountainous tribes maintain, even now, in the interior of China, a certain independence of the Tay tsing dynasty. The Meao tsze, who were in Canton some years ago, stated, with a proud feeling, that they were *Ming jin*, people of Ming; the title of the native sovereigns of China before the conquest of the Manchow. It is said, that the whole disaffected party is united in a society – generally called the *Triade-Union*– and that they aimed at the overthrow of the Tatars, particularly under the weak government of the late Emperor; but the rebels totally failed in their object both by sea and land.

It has been falsely reported in Europe, that it is not allowed by the laws of China to publish the transactions of the reigning dynasty. It is true that the history written by the official or imperial historians is not published; but there is no statute which prohibits other persons from writing the occurrences of their times. It may be easily imagined that such authors will take especial care not to state any thing which may be offensive to persons in power. There is, however, no official court in China to regulate the course of the human understanding, there is nothing like that tribunal which in the greater part of the Continent of Europe is called the *Censorship*. Fear alone is quite sufficient to check the rising spirits of the liberals in the middle empire. The reader, therefore, should not expect that either the author of the "History of the Rebellions in the Interior of China," or the writer of the "Pacification of the Pirates," would presume to state that persons whom government is pleased to style robbers and pirates, are in reality enemies of the present dynasty; neither would they state that government, not being able to quell these rebellions, are compelled to give large recompenses to the different chiefs who submit. These facts are scarcely hinted at in the Chinese histories. The government officers are usually delineated as the most excellent men in the world. When they run away, they know before-hand that fighting will avail nothing; and when they pardon, they are not said to be compelled by necessity, but it is described as an act of heavenly virtue! From what we learn by the statements of a Chinese executioner, we should be led to form a bad opinion of the

⁵ Toreen's Voyage behind Osbeck, II. 239, English translation.

veracity of these historians, and the heavenly virtue of their government; for it is said, that one Chinese executioner beheaded a thousand pirates in one year.⁶

The author of the following work is a certain *Yung lun yuen*, called *Jang sĕen*,⁷ a native of the city or market town *Shun tih*, eighty le southerly from Canton. The great number of proper names, of persons and places, to be found in the "*History of the Pacification of the Pirates*," together with the nicknames and thieves' slang employed by the followers of Ching yĭh, presented peculiar difficulties in the translation of *Yuen's* publication. The work was published in November 1830 at Canton; and it is to be regretted, for the fame of the author in the *Great Western Ocean*, that he used provincial and abbreviated characters. I will not complain that by so doing he caused many difficulties to his translator, for a native of *Shun tih* would not trouble himself on that point; but I have reason to believe that the head schoolmaster of Kwang tung will think it an abomination that Yung lun yuen should dare take such liberties in a historical composition. Schoolmasters have a greater sway in China than any where else, and they like not to be trifled with. These are particularly the men, who, above all others, oppose any innovation or reform; scholars, who presume to know every thing between heaven and earth: and they may certainly satisfy every man, who will rest satisfied by mere words. These learned gentlemen are too much occupied with their own philosophical and literary disquisitions, to have any time, or to think it worth their notice, to pay attention to surrounding empires or nations. If we consider the scanty and foolish notices which are found in recent Chinese publications regarding those nations with which the Chinese should be well acquainted, we cannot but form a very low estimate of the present state of Chinese literature. How far otherwise are the accounts of foreign nations, which are to be found in the great work of Matuanlin! It will, perhaps, be interesting to the European reader to learn, what the Chinese know and report concerning the nations of *Ta se yang*, or the *Great Western Ocean*. I therefore take an opportunity here to give some extracts from a Chinese publication relative to European nations, printed last year at Canton.

The *fifty-seventh* book of the *Memoirs concerning the South of the Mei ling Mountains*, contains a history of all the Southern barbarians (or foreigners); and here are mentioned – with the *Tanka* people and other barbarous tribes of Kwang tung and Kwang se – the *Siamese*, the *Mahometans*, the *French*, *Dutch*, *English*, *Portuguese*, *Austrians*, *Prussians*, and *Americans*. The work was published by the command of Yuen, the ex-Governor-General of Canton, who is considered one of the principal living literary characters of China, and it consists chiefly of extracts from the voluminous history of the province Kwang tung, published by his Excellency: —

The Religion of the Hwŷ hwŷ, or Mahometans

"This religion is professed by various sorts of barbarians who live southerly beyond *Chen ching* (Tsĕamba, or Zeampa), to the *Se yu*. Their doctrines originated in the kingdom of *Me tih no* (Medina). They say that heaven is the origin of all things; they do not use any images. Their country is close to Tĕen choo (India); their customs are quite different from those of the Buddhists; they kill living creatures, but they do not eat indiscriminately all that is killed; they eat not hog's flesh, and this is the essence of the doctrine of Hwŷ hwŷ. They have now a foreign pagoda (*fan tǎ*), near the temple of the compassionate saint (in Canton), which exists since

⁶ The Canton Register, 1829, No. 20.

⁷ *Jang sĕen* is his Tsze, or title. The numbers which are to be found on the margin of the translation, refer to the pages of the Chinese printed text.

the time of the Tang. It is of a spiral form, and 163 cubits high.⁸ They go every day therein to say prayers."

By the kindness of Dr. Morrison, the translator had the pleasure to converse with a member of the Mahometan clergy at Canton. He stated, that in the Mosque at Canton is a tablet, whereon it is written, that the religion of the Prophet of Mecca was brought to China, *Tang ching yuen san nën*, that is, in the third year of the period called *Ching yuen*, under the Tang dynasty, *i. e.* 787 of our era.⁹ The compilers of the *Memoirs*, &c. have taken their extract from the historical work of *Ho* (4051, M.); they seem not to have any knowledge of Matuanlin, where the Arabs are spoken of under the name of *Ta she*. See the notes to my translation of the Chronicle of Vahram, p. 76. During the time the translator was at Canton, there arrived a pilgrim from Peking on his way to Mecca.

The Fa lan se, Francs and Frenchmen

"The *Fa lan se* are also called *Fo lang se*, and now *Fo lang ke*. In the beginning they adopted the religion of Buddha, but afterwards they received the religion of the *Lord of Heaven*. They are assembled together and stay in *Leu song* (Spain?); they strive now very hard with the *Hung maou* or *red-haired people* (the *Dutch*), and the *Ying keih le* (*English*); but the *Fa lan se* have rather the worst of it. These foreigners, or barbarians (*e jin*) wear white caps and black woollen hats; they salute one another by taking off the hat. Regarding their garments and eating and drinking, they have the same customs as the people of Great *Leu song* and Small *Leu song* (*Spain* and *Manilla*)."

This extract is taken from the *Hwang tsing chih kung too*, or the *Register of the Tribute as recorded under the present dynasty* (*Memoirs*, l. c. p. 10 v., p. 11 r.). I am not sure if *Ke tsew* (10,869) *keu* (6,063) *Leu song*, can really be translated by the words —*they are assembled together and stay in Leu song*. The use of *tsew* in the place of *tseu* (10,826) is confirmed by the authorities in Kang he; but does *Leu song* really mean Spain? The Philippines are called *Leu song* (*Luzon*), from the island whereon *Manilla* is, and in opposition to Spain (*Ta Leu song*, *the great L. s.*), *Seao Leu song*, *the small Leu song*. It may be doubted whether *Leu song* without *Ta*, *great*, can be taken for Spain. The Chinese have moreover learned from *Matthæus Ricci* the proper name of Spain, and write it *She pan ya*. The *Dutch*, the *English*, and the *Germans*, are, from a reddish colour of their hair, called *Hung maou*. This peculiar colour of the hair found among people of German origin, is often spoken of by the ancient Roman authors; as for instance in *Tacitus*, *Germania*, c. 4. *Juvenal* says, *Sat. XIII. v. 164*,

*Cærulea quis stupuit Germani lumina? flavam
Cæsariem, et madido torquentem cornua cirro?*

It would carry us too far at present to translate the statements of the Chinese concerning the Portuguese and Dutch. Under the head of *Se yang*, or Portugal, may be read an extract of the account of Europe (*Gow lo pa*) the Chinese received by *Paulus Matthæus Ricci* (*Le ma paou*). The Chinese know that the European Universities are divided into four faculties; and his Excellency Yuen is aware of the great similarity between the ceremonies of the Buddhists and those of the Roman Catholic church (l. c. 17 v). The present Translator of the "History of the Pirates" intends to translate the whole

⁸ The cubit at Canton is 14 inches 625 dec. Morrison, under the word *Weights*, in his Dictionary, English and Chinese.

⁹ We see by this statement that Couplet is wrong in saying (*Confucius Sinarum philosophus. Proemialis declaratio*, p. 60): "Mahometani, qui una cum suis erroribus ante annos fere *septingentos* (Couplet wrote 1683) magno numero et licentia ingressi in Chinam."

of the 57th book of the often-quoted Memoirs, and to subjoin copious extracts of other works,[Pg xxviii] particularly from the *Hae kwō hēen kēen lāh*, or "Memoirs concerning the Empires surrounded by the Ocean." This very interesting small work is divided into two books; one containing the text, and the other the maps. The text consists of eight chapters, including a description of the sea-coast of China, with a map, constructed on a large scale, of the nations to the east, the south-east, and the south; then follows a topography of Portugal and Europe generally. Concerning England we find: —

The Kingdom of the Ying keih le, or English

"The kingdom of the *Ying keih le* is a dependent or tributary state¹⁰ to *Ho lan* (Holland). Their garments and manners in eating and drinking are the same. This kingdom is rather rich. The males use much cloth and like to drink wine. The females, before marriage, bind the waist, being desirous to look slender; their hair hangs in curls over the neck; they use a short garment and petticoats, but dress in a larger cloth when they go out. They take snuff out of boxes made from gold and threads."

This extract is taken from the "*Register of the Tribute as recorded under the present dynasty.*"

"*Ying keih le* is a kingdom composed of three islands: it is in the middle of four kingdoms, called *Lin yin*:¹¹ *Hwang ke*, the *yellow flag* (Denmark), *Ho lan*, and *Fo lang se*. The *Great Western Ocean* (Europe) worships the Lord of Heaven; and there are, firstly, *She pan ya* (Spain), *Poo keāh ya* (Portugal), the *yellow flag*, &c.; but there are too many kingdoms to nominate them one by one. *Ying keih le* is a kingdom which produces silver, woollen cloths,¹² camlets, *peih ke*, or English cloth, called long ells,¹³ glass, and other things of this kind."

This extract is taken from the *Hae kwō hēen kēen lāh*, book i. p. 34 v. 35 r; and I am sorry to see that in the "Memoirs" it is abbreviated in such a manner that the sense is materially changed.

"*Ying keih le*," says the author of the *Hae kwo hēen kēen lāh* (l. c.), "is a realm composed out of three islands. To the west and the north of the four kingdoms of *Lin yin*, the *Yellow flag*, *Holan*, and *Fo lang se*, is the ocean. From *Lin yin* the ocean takes its direction to the east, and surrounds *Go lo sse* (Russia); and from *Go lo sse*, yet more to the east, *Se me le* (Siberia?). Through the northern sea you cannot sail; the sea is frozen, and does not thaw, and for this reason it is called the *Frozen Ocean*. From *Lin yin*, to the south, are the various empires of the *Woo* and *Kwei* (*Crows* and *Demons*), and they all belong to the *red-haired people* of the *Great Western Ocean*. On the west and on the north there are different barbarians under various names;

¹⁰ This statement is so extraordinary, that the Translator thought it necessary to compare many passages where the character *shāh* (8384 M.) occurs. *Shāh* originally means, according to the *Shwō wān*, *near, joining*; and *Shāh kwō*, are, according to Dr. Morrison, "small states attached to and dependent on a larger one: tributary states." The character *shāh* is often used in the same signification in the 57th book of our work. The description of the Peninsula of Malacca begins (Mem. b. 57, p. 15 r.) with the following words: "*Mwan lā kea* (Malacca) is in the southern sea, and was originally a tributary state (*shāh kwō*) of *Sēen lo*, or Siam; but the officer who there had the command revolted and founded a distinct kingdom." In the war which the Siamese some years back carried on against the Sultan of Guedah, they always affirmed that the King of Siam is, by his own right, the legitimate sovereign of the whole peninsula of Malacca, and that the Sultan must only be considered as a rebel against his liege. The statement of the Chinese author, therefore, corroborates the assertions of the Siamese.

¹¹ On the *General Map of the Western Sea* (*Se hae tsung too*) *Lin yin* takes the place of Sweden. I cannot conceive what can be the cause of that denomination. *Lin yin*, perhaps, may mean the island *Rugen*?

¹² The common word for cloth, *to lo ne*, seems to be of Indian origin; it is certainly not Chinese. The proper Chinese name is *jung*.

¹³ *Peih ke* is written with various characters. See Morrison's Dictionary, under the word *Peih*, 8509.

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but they are, in one word, similar to the Go lo sse (Russians), who stay in the metropolis (Pekin). It is said that the *Kaou chun peih mow* (?) are similar to the inhabitants of the *Middle Empire*; they are of a vigorous body and an ingenious mind. All that they produce is fine and strong; their attention is directed to making fire-arms. They make researches in astronomy and geography, and generally they do not marry. Every kingdom has a particular language, and they greet one another by taking off the hat. They worship," &c. (The same as p. xxx.)

My copy of the *Hae kwǒ hēen kēen lǎh* was printed in the province *Che keang*, in the year 1794.

"In the narrative regarding foreign countries, and forming part of the history of the Ming, the English are called *Yen go le*; in the *Hae kwǒ hēen kēen lǎh*, Ying ke le (5272, 6950); but in the maps the name is now always written *Ying keih le* (5018, 6947). In expressing the sound of words we sometimes use different characters. This kingdom lies to the west of *Gow lo pa* (Europa), and was originally a tributary state to Ho lan (Holland); but in the course of time it became richer and more powerful than *Ho lan*, and revolted. These[Pg xxxiii] kingdoms are, therefore, enemies. It is not known at what time the Ying keih le grasped the country of North *O mǒ le kea* (America), which is called *Kea no* (Canada). Great *Ying keih le* is a kingdom of *Gow lo pa* (Europe.)¹⁴ In the twelfth year of *Yung ching* (1735), they came the first time to Canton for trade. Their country produces wheat, with which they trade to all the neighboring countries. They are generally called *Keang heǒ* (that is, English ships from India, or country ships), and there arrive many vessels."

This extract is taken from the *Tan chay hēen kēen lǎh*, and it is all that we find regarding England in the Memoirs concerning the south of the Mei ling Mountains (p. 18 r. v.). In the latter extract, the author appears to confound the country trade of India and China with that of the mother country. England is again mentioned in the notice regarding Me le keih (America), taken out of Yuen's History of Canton. It is there said, that the Me le keih passed, in the 52d year of Kēen lung (1788), the Bocca Tigris, and that they then separated from the Ying keih le (p. 19 r.) At the end of the extract concerning the Americans (p. 190) we read the following words:

"The characters which are used in the writings of these realms are, according to the statements of *Ma lo ko*, twenty-six; all sounds can be sufficiently expressed by these characters. Every realm has large and small characters; they are called *La ting* characters, and *La te na* (Latin) characters."

It is pleasing to observe that his Excellency Yuen had some knowledge of Dr. Morrison's Dictionary. In the third part of his Dictionary, Dr. Morrison has given, in Chinese, a short and clear notice concerning the European alphabet. Yuen seems to have taken his statements from this notice, and to have written the name of the author, by a mistake, *Ma lo ko*, for *Ma le so*, as Dr. Morrison is generally called by the Chinese.

¹⁴ The syllable *lo* is not in the Chinese text, as it is supposed, by a mistake of the printer.

The Man ying, the Double Eagle, or Austrians

"The *Man ying* passed the Bocca Tigris the first time in the 45th year of Këen lung (1781), and are called *Ta chen* (*Teutschen*). They have accepted the religion of the Lord of Heaven. In customs and manners they are similar to the Se yang, or Portuguese; they are the brethren of the Tan ying, or *Single eagle kingdom* (Prussia); in difficulties and distress they help one another. Their ships which came to Canton had a white flag, on which an eagle was painted with two heads."

This extract is taken from the History of *Yuen*. I take the liberty to observe, that the Chinese scholar must be careful not to take the *Sui chen*, or *Chen kwö* (the Swedes), for the *Ta chen* (the *Teutschen*). In the *Memoirs*, l. c. p. 19 v., we read the following notice on the *Chen kwö* (the Swedes):

"The *Chen* realm is also called *Tan* (Denmark) realm, and now the *yellow flag*. This country is opposite to that of the *Ho lan*, and a little farther off from the sea. There are two realms called *Sui chen*, and they border both on the *Go lo sse*, or Russia. They passed the Bocca Tigris the first year of Këen lung (1765)."

The Tan ying, the Single Eagle or Prussians

"The Tan ying passed the Bocca Tigris the 52d year of Këen lung (1788.) They live to the west and north of the Man ying (Austrians). In customs and manners they are similar to them. On their ships flies a white flag, on which an eagle is painted."

This last extract is also taken from [Pg xxxvii] the History of Canton, published by his Excellency Yuen.

If we consider how easily the Chinese could procure information regarding foreign countries during the course of the two last centuries, and then see how shamefully they let pass all such opportunities to inform and improve themselves, we can only look upon these proud slaves of hereditary customs with the utmost disgust and contempt. The ancient Britons and Germans had no books; yet what perfect descriptions of those barbarian nations have been handed down to us by the immortal genius of Tacitus! Montesquieu says, that "in Cæsar and Tacitus we read the code of barbarian laws; and in the code we read Cæsar and Tacitus." In the statement of the modern Chinese regarding foreign nations, we see, on the contrary, both the want of enquiry, and the childish [Pg xxxviii] remarks of unenlightened and uncultivated minds.¹⁵

¹⁵ It may be remarked, that Cosmas, about the middle of the sixth century, had a better idea concerning the Chinese empire, or the country of *Tsin*, than the Chinese have even now of Europe. Such an advantage was it to be born a Greek and not a Chinese. Cosmas seems very well informed concerning the articles of trade which the Chinese generally bring to Serendib, or Serendwîpa (Ceylon). He remarks, that farther than China there exists no other country; that on the east it is surrounded by the ocean; and that Ceylon is nearly as far from the Persian gulf as from Tziniza or China. See the description of Taprobane, taken from the Christian Topography, and printed in Thévenot, "Relations de divers Voyages," vol. i. pp. 2, 3, and 5. The Chinese about Canton have a custom of ending every phrase with a long *a* (*a* is pronounced like *a* in Italian) which is merely euphonic, like *yay* (11980) in the Mandarin dialect. If a Chinese should be asked about his country, he would answer according to the different dynasties, Tsin-a, Han-a, Tang-a, Ming-a, &c. *Tsin-a* is probably the origin of *Tziniza*. It is a little strange that Rennel takes no notice of the statements of Cosmas. (See the Geographical System of Herodotus I. 223, Second Edition, London, 1830.) Is it not very remarkable, that this merchant and monk seems to have also had very correct information concerning the north-west frontier of China, and of the conquest which the Huns (in Sanscrit Hūna) have made in the north-west part of Hindostan? He reckons from China, through Tartary and Bactria to Persia, 150 stations, or days' journies. About the time of Cosmas, an intercourse commenced between China and Persia.

YING HING SOO'S PREFACE

In the summer of the year *Ke sze* (1809),¹⁶ I returned from the capital, and having passed the chain of mountains,¹⁷ I learned the extraordinary disturbances caused by the *Pirates*. When I came home I saw with mine own eyes all the calamities; four villages were totally destroyed; the inhabitants collected together and made preparations for resistance. Fighting at last ceased on seas and rivers: families and villages rejoiced, and peace was every where restored. Hearing of our naval transactions, every man desired to have them written down in a history; but people have, until this day, looked in vain for such a work.

Meeting once, at a public inn in Whampo,¹⁸ with one *Yuen tsze*, we conversed together, when he took a volume in his hand, and asked me to read it. On opening the work, I saw that it contained a *History of the Pirates*; and reading it to the end, I found that the occurrences of those times were therein recorded from day to day, and that our naval transactions are there faithfully reported. Yuen tsze supplied the defect I stated before, and anticipated what had occupied my mind for a long time. The affairs concerning the robber *Lin* are described by the non-official historian *Lan e*, in his *Tsing yih ke*, viz. in the *History of the Pacification of the Robbers*.¹⁹ Respectfully looking to the commands of heaven, *Lan e* made known, for all future times, the faithful and devoted servants of government. Yuen tsze's work is a supplement to the History of the Pacification of the Robbers, and you may rely on whatever therein is reported, whether it be of great or little consequence. Yuen tsze has overlooked nothing; and I dare to say, that all people will rejoice at the publication. Having written these introductory lines to the said work, I returned it to Yuen tsze.²⁰

Written at the time of the fifth summer moon, the tenth year of Tao kwang, called Kǎng yin (September 1830).

A respectful Preface of *Ying hing Soo*, from *Peih keang*.

¹⁶ In prefaces and rhetorical exercises, the Chinese commonly call the years by the names employed in the well-known cycle of sixty years. The first cycle is supposed to have begun with the year 2697 before Christ. In the year 1804, the ninth year of Kĕa king, was the beginning of the thirty-sixth cycle. – *Histoire générale de la Chine*, XII. p. 3 and 4.

¹⁷ The *Mei ling* mountains, which divide the province Kwang tung from the province Kĕang se. See Note in the beginning of the History of the Pirates.

¹⁸ The place where European ships lie at anchor in the river of Canton, and one of the few spots which foreigners are allowed to visit.

¹⁹ I translate the Chinese words *Wae she*, by *non-official historian*, in opposition to the *Kwŏ she*, or *She kwan*, the official historiographers of the empire. Both *Yuen tsze*, author of the following History of the Pirates, and *Lan e*, author of the work which is referred to in the preface, are such *Public historians*, who write – like most of the historians of Europe – the history of their own times, without being appointed to or paid for by government. *Lan e* gives the history of the civil commotions under Kĕa king, which continued from the year 1814 to 1817, in six books; the work is printed in two small volumes, in the first year of Tao kwang (1820), and the following contains the greater part of the preface: "In the spring of the year *Kea su* (1814), I went with other people to Peking; reaching the left side of the (Mei ling) mountains we met with fellow travellers, who joined the army, and with many military preparations. In the capital I learned that the robber *Lin* caused many disturbances; I took great care to ascertain what was said by the people of the court, and by the officers of government, and I wrote down what I heard. But being apprehensive that I might publish truth and falsehood mixed together, I went in the year *Ting chow* (1817) again to the metropolis, and read attentively the imperial account of the *Pacification of the Robber-bands*, planned the occurrences according to the time in which they happened, joined to it what I heard from other sources, and composed out of these various matters a work in six books, on the truth of which you may rely." *Lan e* begins his work with the history of those rebels called *Tĕen le keaou* (*the Doctrine of Nature*). They were divided into eight divisions, according to the eight Kwās, and placed under three captains, or chiefs, of whom the first was called *Lin tsing* – the same *Lin* who is mentioned in the preface of *Soo*. These followers of the doctrine of Nature believed implicitly in an absurd book written by a robber, in which it was stated, that the Buddha who should come after Shakia (in Chinese called *Me lih*, in Sanscrit *Maĕtreya*) is in possession of three seas, the *blue*, the *red*, and the *white*. These seas are the three Kalpas; we now live in the *white* Kalpa. These robbers, therefore, carried *white* banners. *Tsing yih ke*, B. i., p. i.

²⁰ The Translator thinks it his duty to observe, that this preface, being printed in characters written in the current hand, he tried in vain to make out some abbreviations; he is, therefore, not quite certain if the last phrase beginning with the words: "*Yuen tsze has overlooked nothing*," &c. be correctly translated.

KING CHUNG HO'S PREFACE. ²¹

My house being near the sea, we were, during the year *Ke sze* of Këa king (1809), disturbed by the Pirates. The whole coast adjoining to our town was in confusion, and the inhabitants dispersed; this lasting for a long time, every man felt annoyed at it. In the year *Käng yin* (1830) I met with *Yuen tsze yung lun* at a public inn within the walls of the provincial metropolis (Canton). He showed me his *History of the Pacification of the Pirates*, and asked me to write a Preface to the work; having been a schoolfellow of his in my tender age, I could not refuse his request. Opening and reading the volume, I was moved with recollections of occurrences in former days, and I was pleased with the diligence and industry of *Yuen keun*²² The author was so careful to combine what he had seen and heard, that I venture to say it is an historical work on which you may rely.

We have the collections of former historians, who in a fine style described things as they happened, that by such faithful accounts the world might be governed, and the minds of men enlightened. People may learn by these vast collections²³ what should be done, and what not. It is, therefore, desirable that facts may be arranged in such a manner, that books should give a faithful account of what happened. There are magistrates who risk their life, excellent females who maintain their virtue, and celebrated individuals who protect their native places with a strong hand; they behave themselves valiantly, and overlook private considerations, if the subject concerns the welfare of the people at large. Without darkness, there is no light; without virtue, there is no splendour. In the course of time we have heard of many persons of such qualities; but how few books exist by which the authors benefit their age!

This is the Preface respectfully written by *King chung ho*, called *Sin joo min*,²⁴ at the time of the second decade, the first month of the autumn, the year *Käng yin* (September 1830) of Tao kwang.²⁵

²¹ The names of authors of Prefaces, as well as of works themselves, which are not authorized by government, are often fictitious. Who would dare to publish or recommend any thing under his own name, which could displease any of the officers of the Chinese government? The author of the following Preface has a high-sounding title: "He, whose heart is directed towards the people."

²² *Keun*, or *Tsze*, are only titles, like those of *Master* and *Doctor* in the European languages. *Keun* is, in the Canton dialect, pronounced *Kwa*, which, placed behind the family names of the *Hong*, or *Hing* (3969) merchants, gives *How qwa*, or *How kwa*, *Mow kwa*, &c., which literally means "Mr. How, Mr. Mow."

²³ I presume that the author of the Preface alludes to the *twenty-three* large historical collections, containing the official publications regarding history and general literature. I have brought with me from Canton this vast collection of works, which are now concluded by the *History of the Ming*. It must be acknowledged that no other nation has, or had, such immense libraries devoted to history and geography. The histories of ancient Greece and Rome are pamphlets in comparison with the *Url shih san she* of the Chinese.

²⁴ See the first Note to this preface.

²⁵ In the original Chinese now follows a sort of Introduction, or Contents (*Fan le*), which I thought not worth translating. It is written by the author of the *History of the Pacification of the Pirates*, who signs by his title *Jang sën*.

BOOK FIRST

There have been pirates from the oldest(1 r.) times in the eastern sea of Canton; they arose and disappeared alternately, but never were they so formidable as in the years of Këa king,²⁶ at which time, being closely united together, it was indeed very difficult to destroy them. Their origin must be sought for in Annam.²⁷ In the year fifty-six of Këen lung (1792), a certain Kwang ping yuen, joined by his two brothers, Kwang e and Kwang kwö, took Annam by force,(1 v.) and expelled its legitimate king Wei ke le.²⁸ He retired into the province Kwang se, and was made a general by our government. But his younger brother Fuh ying came in the sixth year of Këa king (1802) with an army from Siam and Laos,²⁹ and killed Kwang ping in a great battle. The son of the usurper, called King shing, went on board a ship with the minister Yew kin meih, and Meih joined the pirates, Ching tsih, Tung hae pa, and others, who rambled about these seas at this time. The pirate Ching tsih was appointed a king's officer, under the name of *master of the stables*. King shing, relying on the force of his new allies, which consisted of about two hundred vessels, manned(2 r.) with a resolute and warlike people, returned in the twelfth moon of the same year (1803) into that country with an armed force, and joined by Ching tsih, at night time took possession of the bay of Annam. The legitimate king Fuh ying collected an army, but being beaten repeatedly, he tried in vain to retire to Laos.

Ching tsih being a man who had lived all his life on the water, behaved himself, as soon as he got possession of the bay of Annam, in a tyrannical way to the inhabitants; he took what he liked, and, to say it in one word, his will alone was law. His followers conducted themselves in the same manner; trusting to their power and strength, they were cruel and violent against the people; they divided the whole population among themselves, and took their wives and daughters by force. The inhabitants felt very much annoyed at this behaviour, and attached themselves more strongly to Fuh ying. They fixed a day on which some of the king's officers should make an attack on the sea-side, while the king himself with his general was to fight the van of the enemy, the(2 v.) people to rise *en masse*, and to run to arms, in order that they should be overwhelming by their numbers. Fuh ying was delighted at these tidings, and on the appointed day a great battle was fought, in which Ching tsih not being able to superintend all from the rear-guard to the van, and the people pressing besides very hard towards the centre, he was totally vanquished and his army destroyed. He himself died of a wound which he received in the battle. His younger brother Ching yih, the usurper, King shing, and his nephew Pang

²⁶ This prince was declared Emperor on the 8th February 1796, by his father the Emperor Këen lung, who then retired from the management of public affairs. – Voyage of the Dutch Embassy to China, in 1794-5; London edition, I. 223. Këa king died on the 2d of September 1820, being sixty-one years of age. His second son ascended the Imperial throne six days after the death of his father; the years of his reign were first called *Yuen hwuy*, but soon changed to *Taou kwang—Illustrious Reason*. Indo-Chinese Gleaner, vol. iii. 41.

²⁷ Annam (Chinese, Annam) comprehends the country of Cochin-China and Tung king. There have been many disturbances in these countries within the last fifty years. The English reader may compare the interesting historical sketch of modern Cochin-China in Barrow's *Voyage to Cochin-China*, p. 250.

²⁸ The origin of this family may be seen in a notice of Cochin-China and Tung king by father Gaubil, in the "Lettres Edifiantes," and in the last volume of the French translation of the Kang mäh. Annam had been conquered by Chinese colonies, and its civilization is therefore Chinese. This was already stated in Tavernier's masterly description of Tunking, "Recueil de plusieurs Relations," Paris, 1679, p. 168. Leyden, not knowing Chinese, has made some strange mistakes in his famous dissertation regarding the languages and literature of Indo-Chinese nations. Asiatic Researches, vol. x. 271, London edition, 1811.

²⁹ In Chinese *Lung lae* (7402, 6866 Mor.); this name is taken from the metropolis of this kingdom, called by the European travellers in the beginning of the seventeenth century, *Laniam*, *Laniangh*, or *Lanshang*. Robt. Kerr, General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels, Edinburgh, 1813, vol. viii. 446, 449. – The Burmas call this country Layn-sayn; "Buchanan on the Religion and Literature of the Burmas." Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. 226, London edition, 1810, 4to. The kingdom of Laos was conquered about the end of the year 1828, by the Siamese; the king, his two principal wives, his sons, and grandsons, amounting in all to fourteen persons, were cruelly killed at Bangkok. The Protestant missionaries, Thomlin and Guzlaff, saw nine of the relations of the king in a cage at Bangkok, the 30th of January, 1829. The First Report of the Singapore Christian Union, Singapore, 1830, Appendix xv. Is *Lung lae* a mistake for *Läh lae*, which is mentioned in the *Hae kwö hëen këen*, p. 214? There occurs no *Lung lae* in this work; where the Indo-Chinese nations are described under the title *Nan yan she*; i.e. History of the Southern ocean.

shang, with many others ran away. Ching yǐh, their chief, joined the pirates with his followers, who in these times robbed and plundered on the ocean indiscriminately. This was a very prosperous period for the pirates. So long as Wang pēaou remained admiral in these seas, all was peace and quietness both on the ocean and the sea-shore. The admiral gained repeated victories over the bandits;(3 r.) but as soon as Wang pēaou died, the pirates divided themselves into different squadrons, which sailed under various colours. There existed six large squadrons, under different flags, the *red*, the *yellow*, the *green*, the *blue*, the *black*, and the *white*. These wasps of the ocean were called after their different commanders, *Ching yǐh*, *Woo che tsing*, *Meih yew kin*, *O po tai*, *Lěang paou*, and *Le shang tsing*. To every one of these large squadrons belonged smaller ones, commanded by a deputy. Woo che tsing, whose nick-name was *Tung hae pa*, the *Scourge of the Eastern Sea*,³⁰ was commander of the *yellow* flag, and Le tsung hoo his deputy. Meih yew kin and Nēaou shih, who for this reason was called *Bird and stone*, were the commanders of the *blue* flag, and their deputies Meih's brethren, Yew kwei and Yew kēe. A certain Hae kang and another person Hwang ho, were employed as spies. O po tai, who afterwards changed his name to *Lustre of instruction*,³¹ was(3 v.) the commander of the *black* flag, and Ping yung ta, Chang jih kēaou, and O tsew he, were his deputies. Lěang paou, nicknamed Tsung ping paou, The *jewel of the whole crew*, was the commander of the *white* flag. Le shang tsing, nicknamed *The frog's meal*, was the commander of the *green*; and Ching yǐh of the *red* flag. Every flag was appointed to cruise in a particular channel. There was at this time a gang of robbers in the province Fo kēen, known by the name of Kwei kēen (6760, 5822); they also joined the pirates, who became so numerous that it was impossible to master them. We must in particular mention a certain *Chang paou*, a notorious character in after-times. Under Chang paou were other smaller squadrons, commanded by Suh ke lan (nicknamed *Both odour and mountain*) Lěang po paou, Suh puh gow, and others. Chang paou himself belonged to the squadron of Ching yǐh saou, or the *wife of Ching yǐh*,³² so that the red flag alone was stronger than all the others united together.

(4 r.)

There are three water passages or channels along the sea-shore, south of the Mei ling mountains;³³ one goes eastward to *Hwy* and *Chaou*³⁴; the other westward to *Kao*, *Lēen*, *Luy*, *Kēung*,

³⁰ People living in the same state of society, have usually the same customs and manners. It is said of the celebrated *Buccaneers*, that they laid aside their surnames, and assumed nicknames, or martial names. Many, however, on their marrying, took care to have their real surnames inserted in the marriage contract; and this practice gave occasion to a proverb still current in the French Antilles, *a man is not to be known till he takes a wife*. See the *Voyages and Adventures of William Dampier*, and *History of the Buccaneers*, p. 87. Women cut the characters for common Chinese books; and, therefore, the Chinese say, so many mistakes are found in ordinary publications. The character *pa* (8123) in *Tung hae pa* is by such a mistake always written *pīh* (8527).

³¹ He called himself Hēo hēen (3728, 3676,) after having received a recompense from government for his robberies. See p. 75.

³² Our author anticipates here a little; this will be clear by a subsequent paragraph, p. 13.

³³ *Shan* is a mountain in Chinese; *Ling* is a chain of mountains or *sierra*. The Chinese geographers say, the Mei ling mountain branches out like a tree; and they describe in particular two, the south-east and the south-west branches from Canton. They speak likewise of Woo Ling, or five sierras, in reference to five different passes by which these mountains are divided; but there are now more passes. See a compilation, already quoted, regarding Canton, made by order of the former governor *Yuen*, and printed at Canton last year, 1830, in eighty books, under the title *Ling nan yung shuh*: i. e. *Memoirs regarding the South of the Sierra*, book 5. vol. ii, p. 1.

³⁴ The Chinese possess itineraries and directories for the whole empire, for every province, and for every large town or place; I shall therefore always extract the notices which are to be found in the *Itinerary of the Province Kwang tung* (*Kwang tung tsuen too*.) referring to the places mentioned in our text. *Hwy* is *Hwy chow foo*, from Pekin 6365 le, and easterly from Canton 400 le; one town of the second, and ten towns of the third rank are appended to this district-metropolis. The whole district pays 14,321 leang, or tael. Here is the celebrated *Lo fow* mountain. Lo fow consists really of two united mountains, of which one is called *Lo* and the other *Fow*, said to be three thousand six hundred *chang* in height, or 36,000 feet (?). The circumference is about 500 le. Here are the sixteen caverns where the dragon dwells, spoken of in the books of the Tao sect. You meet on these mountains with bamboo from seventy to eighty feet in circumference. Kwang tung tsuen too, p. 5v. *Chaou* is *Chaou chow foo*, from Pekin 8,540 and easterly from Canton 1,740 le; eleven towns of the third rank belong to it. The whole district pays 65,593 leang, or tael. A tael is equal to 5.798 decimal, troy weight; and in the East-India Company's accounts the tael of silver is reckoned at six shillings and eightpence sterling. *Foo* is the Chinese name for the first class of towns; *Chow* for the second, *Hēen* for the third. I sometimes have translated *Chow* by district-town, and *Hēen* by borough, or market-town.

Kin, Tan, Yae and Wan;³⁵ and a third between these two, to *Kwang* and *Chow*.³⁶ The ocean surrounds these passages, and here trading vessels from all the world meet together, wherefore this track is called "*The great meeting from the east and the south.*" The piratical squadrons dividing between them the water passages and the adjoining coasts, robbed and carried away all that fell into their hands. Both the eastern and the middle passage have been retained by the three piratical squadrons, Ching yǐh saou, O po tae, and Leang paou; the western passage was under the three others, nicknamed *Bird and stone*, *Frog's meal*, and the *Scourge of the (4 v.) eastern sea*. Peace and quietness was not known by the inhabitants of the sea-coast for a period of ten years. On the side from *Wei chow* and *Neaou chow*³⁷ farther on to the sea, the passage was totally cut off; scarcely any man came hither. In this direction is a small island, surrounded on all sides by high mountains, where in stormy weather a hundred vessels find a safe anchorage; here the pirates retired when they could not commit any robberies. This land contains fine paddy fields, and abounds in all kinds of animals, flowers, and fruits. This island was the lurking-place of the robbers, where they stayed and prepared all the stores for their shipping.

1807. (5 r.)

Chang paou was a native of Sin hwy, near the mouth of the river,³⁸ and the son of a fisherman. Being fifteen years of age, he went with his father a fishing in the sea, and they were consequently taken prisoners by Ching yǐh, who roamed about the mouth of the river, ravaging and plundering. Ching yǐh saw Paou, and liked him so much, that he could not depart from him. Paou was indeed a clever fellow – he managed all business very well; being also a fine young man, he became a favourite of Ching yǐh,³⁹ and was made a head-man or captain. It happened, that on the seventeenth day of

³⁵ *Kaou* is *Kaou chow foo*, from Pekin 7,767, north-west from Canton 930 le; the district, and five towns of the third class, paying together 62,566 leang, are dependent on the district-metropolis. *Lëen* is *Lëen chow foo*, from Pekin 9,065, from Canton 1,515 le; the district and two towns, paying together 1,681 leang, are dependent on the district-metropolis. *Luy* is *Luy chow foo*, from Pekin 8,210, westerly from Canton 1,380 le; the district and its towns, paying together 13,706 leang, are dependent on the district-metropolis. *Këung* is *Këung chow foo*, the capital of the island *Hae nan* or Hainan, from Pekin 9,690, south-west from Canton 1,680 le; three district towns, and ten towns of the third class, paying together 89,447 leang, are dependent on this capital. There is a town also called *Këung shan hëen*, and both town and capital take their name from the mountain *Këung*. *Kin* is *Kin chow*, dependent on *Lëen chow foo*, and far from it 140 le. *Tan* is *Tan chow*, a town of Hainan, south-west from the capital 370 le; the area of the town is 31 le. *Yae* is *Yae chow*, a town of Hainan, southerly from the capital of the island 1,114 le. About this town many pirates have their lurking-place. This circumstance may have caused the mistake of Captain Krusenstern, stating that in A.D. 1805, the pirates who infest the coast of China had obtained possession of the whole island of Hainan. *Wan* is *Wan chow*, a town of Hainan, in a south-easterly direction from the capital of the island 470 le.

³⁶ *Kwang* is *Kwang tung säng*, or the metropolis of the province Kwang tung (Canton). Ten departments (foo), nine districts (chow), and seventy-eight towns of the third class (hëen), are dependent on the provincial city, and pay together in land-tax 1,272,696 leang, excise 47,510 leang, and in other miscellaneous taxes 5,990 leang. The import duties from the sea-side with measurement of foreign vessels is said in the *Kwang tung tsuen too*, p. 3v, to amount to 43,750 leang. All duties together of the province of Canton amount to 1,369,946 taels, about £450,000. The lists of population gave last October (1830) 23,000,000 (?) for the whole province, and we now see that the Chinese pay less duties (every inhabitant about fourpence halfpenny) than the population of any country of Europe. I received the population lists from *Ahong*, an intelligent Chinese, well known to the English residents at Canton. Distance from Pekin about 6,835 le. The subject concerning the population of China, and the amount of the *land-rent*, the *poll-tax*, and other miscellaneous taxes, is surrounded by so many difficulties, that the writer of this dares not to affirm any thing about these matters until he has perused the new edition of *Tay tsing hwy tïen*. For the present he will merely remark, that in book 141, p. 38, of the said work, the population of China Proper for the year 1793 is reckoned at 307,467,200. If we add to this number the population of Chinese Tartary, it will certainly amount to the round number of 333,000,000, as reported by Lord Macartney. *Chow* is *chow king foo*, from Pekin about 4,720, north-west from Canton 360 le. There is certainly some mistake in the Chinese Itinerary; how could Canton be only 6,835, and Chow king foo 7420 le? The imperial edition of the *Tay tsing hwy tïen* (book 122, p. 6 v.) only gives 5,494 le as the distance from Canton to Pekin; there seems to be a different sort of le. The district and eleven towns of the third class, paying together 162,392 leang depend on the district metropolis. With the aid of the Chinese Itineraries and the new edition of the *Tay tsing hwy tïen* (printed 1797, in 360 large volumes) it would be an easy task to compile a "Chinese Gazetteer."

³⁷ I found no particulars concerning these two small *islands* (Chow signifies island) in the Canton Itinerary; and I looked in vain on the great map of the Chinese sea-coast in the *Hae kwō hëen këen* for their position.

³⁸ The town *Sin hwy* is south-west from Canton 230 le; its area is 138 le (?) and the taxes amount to 28,607 leang. This place suffered much from the pirates. I find no proper name for the river on which *Sin hwy* lies in the Chinese maps, it is merely called *Këang*, river. Near this place is the island where the last emperor of the Sung cast himself into the sea (1280).

³⁹ The word *pe* (8335) cannot be translated in any European language. It means a vice common in Asia.

the tenth moon, in the twentieth year of Kēa king (about the end of 1807), Ching yīh perished in a heavy gale, and his legitimate wife *Shīh* placed the whole crew under the sway of Paou; but so that she herself should be considered the Commander of all the squadrons together, – for this reason the division Ching yīh was then (5 v.) called *Ching yīh saou*, or *the wife of Ching yīh*.⁴⁰ Being chief captain, Paou robbed and plundered incessantly, and daily increased his men and his vessels. He made the three following regulations: —

First:

If any man goes privately on shore, or what is called transgressing the bars, he shall be taken and his ears be perforated in the presence of the whole fleet; repeating the same act, he shall suffer death.

Second:

1807.

Not the least thing shall be taken privately from the stolen and plundered goods. All shall be registered, and the pirate receive for himself, out of [Pg 14] ten parts, only two; eight parts belong to the storehouse, called the general fund; taking any thing out of this general fund, without permission, shall be death.

Third:

(6 r.)

No person shall debauch at his pleasure captive women taken in the villages and open places, and brought on board a ship; he must first request the ship's purser for permission, and then go aside in the ship's hold. To use violence against any woman, or to wed her without permission, shall be punished with death. ⁴¹

1807.

That the pirates might never feel want of provisions, Chang paou gained the country people to their interest. It was ordered, that wine, rice, and all other goods, should be paid for to the villagers; it was made capital punishment to take any thing of this kind by force or without paying for it. For this reason the pirates were never in want of gunpowder, provisions, and all other necessaries. By this strong discipline the whole crew of the fleet was kept in order.

The wife of Ching yīh was very strict in every transaction; nothing could be done without a written application. Anything which had been taken, or plundered, was regularly entered on the register of the storehouse. The pirates received out of this common fund what they were in need of, and nobody dared to have private(6 v.) possessions. If on a piratical expedition any man left the line of battle, whether by advancing or receding, every pirate might accuse him at a general meeting, and on being found guilty, he was beheaded. Knowing how watchful Chang paou was on every side, the pirates took great care to behave themselves well.

The pirates used to call the purser, or secretary of the storehouse, *Ink and writing master*; and they called their piratical plunder only *a transshipping of goods*.

1807.

⁴⁰ The pirates probably made use of the term *saou* (8833) and not of *tse* (10575), because *saou* written with a different character (8834), is the general term for boats and ships. *Paou* must be considered as the lieutenant or first minister of Mistress *Ching*, she being herself of the family *Shīh*.

⁴¹ It will be very interesting to compare the regulations of Paou with those of the Buccaneers. When these pirates had got a considerable booty, each person, holding up his hand, solemnly protested that he had secreted nothing of what he had taken. – Voyage, l. c. p. 95.

There was a temple in *Hwy chow* dedicated to the *spirits of the three mothers*,⁴² near the sea-coast, and many came thither to worship. The pirates visited this place whenever they passed it with their vessels, pretending to worship; but this was not the case – they thought of mischief, and had only their business to attend. Once they came with the commander at their head, as if to worship, but they laid hold on the image or statue to take it away. They tried in vain from morning to the evening, – they were all together not able to move it. Chang paou(7 r.) alone⁴³ was able to raise the image, and being a fair wind, he gave order to bring it on board a ship. All who were concerned in this transaction feared to find, from the wrath of the spirit, their death in the piratical expeditions. They all prayed to escape the vengeance of heaven.

1808.

On the seventh moon of the thirteenth year, the naval officer of the garrison at the Bocca Tigris,⁴⁴ Kwō lang lin, sailed into the sea to fight the pirates.⁴⁵ Chang paou was informed by his spies of this officer's arrival, and prepared an ambush in a sequestered bay. He met Kwō lang on a false attack, with a few vessels only; but twenty-five vessels came from behind, and the pirates surrounded Kwō lang's squadron in three(7 v.) lines near Ma chow yang.⁴⁶ There followed a fierce battle, which lasted from the morning to the evening; it was impossible for Kwō lang to break through the enemy's lines, and he determined to die fighting. Paou advanced; but Lang fought exceedingly hard against him. He loaded a gun and fired it at Paou, who perceiving the gun directed against him, gave way. Seeing this, the people thought he was wounded and dying; but as soon as the smoke vanished Paou stood again firm and upright, so that all thought he was a spirit. The pirates instantly grappled Kwō lang's ship; Paou was the foremost, and Leang po paou the first to mount the vessel; he killed the helmsman, and took the ship. The pirates crowded about; the commander Kwō lang engaging with small arms, much blood was shed. This murderous(8 r.) battle lasted till night time; the bodies of the dead surrounded the vessels on all sides, and there perished an immense number of the pirates. Between three and five o'clock the pirates had destroyed or sunk three of our vessels. The other officers of Kwō being afraid that they also might perish in the sea, displayed not all their strength; so it happened that the pirates making a sudden attack, captured the whole remaining fifteen vessels. Paou wished very much that Kwō lang would surrender, but Lang becoming desperate, suddenly seized the pirate by the hair, and grinned at him. The pirate spoke kindly to him, and tried to soothe him. Lang, seeing himself deceived in his expectation, and that he could not attain death by such means, committed suicide, – being then a man of seventy years of age. Paou had really no intention to put Kwō lang to death, and he was exceedingly sorry at what happened. "We(8 v.) others," said Paou, "are like vapours dispersed by the wind; we are like the waves of the sea, roused up by a whirlwind; like broken bamboo-sticks on the sea, we are floating and sinking alternately, without enjoying any rest. Our success in this fierce battle will, after a short time, bring the united strength of government on our neck. If they pursue us in the different windings and bays of the sea – they have maps of

⁴² The *San po* (8788, 8608) are national spirits, and, as it seems, not connected with Buddhism; there is a great variety in the number of these good old mothers, who by the different emperors have been declared saints, or spirits, for the Emperor of China is likewise the pope in his empire. Dr. Morrison has an interesting article on these old women in his *Canton Vocabulary*. *Kang he* mentions only two *Po* (s. v.), who may be considered as spirits. This is a character of which the Buddhists are very fond; perhaps the translator may be wrong, and that *San po* is merely the Sanscrit word *Swayam-bhū*.

⁴³ Our author shews every where his partiality for Chang paou.

⁴⁴ The author said just before that the dominion of the pirates in the Chinese sea lasted about ten years; but he only describes the transactions of the last three years, when their power and strength was at the highest point. He begins to give particulars from the 7th moon of the 13th year of Kēa king, which corresponds nearly to the beginning of September 1808.

⁴⁵ There are three wretched forts at the Hoo mun, the mouth of the Canton river, which could scarcely hinder any European vessel from passing through.

⁴⁶ One of the islands marked upon European maps is called *The Ladrones*: these Ladrones, so called from the pirates, have all particular names on Chinese maps.

them⁴⁷— should we not get plenty to do? Who will believe that it happened not by my command, and that I am innocent of the death of this officer? Every man will charge me with the wanton murder of a commander, after he had been vanquished and his ships taken? And they who have escaped will magnify my cruelty.⁴⁸ If I am charged with the murder of this officer, how could I venture, if I should wish in future times, to submit myself? Would I not be treated(9 r.) according to the supposed cruel death of Kwō lang?"

1808.

At the time that Kwō lang was fighting very bravely, about ten fisher-boats asked of the major Pang noo of the town Hēang shan,⁴⁹ to lend them the large guns, to assist the commander; but the major being afraid these fishermen might join the pirates,⁵⁰ refused their request. And thus it happened, that the commander himself perished with many others. There were in the battle three of my friends: the lieutenant Tao tsaē lin, Tseō tang hoo, and Ying tang hwang, serving under the former. Lin and Hoo were killed, but Hwang escaped when all was surrounded with smoke, and he it was who told me the whole affair.

1808.

On the eighth moon the general Lin fa went out as commander to make war against the pirates; but on seeing that they were so numerous, he became afraid, and all the other officers felt apprehensions; he therefore tried to retire, but the pirates pursued after, and came up with him near a place called Olang pae.⁵¹ The vessels(9 v.) in the front attacked the pirates, who were not able to move, for there happened to be a calm. But the pirates leaped into the water, and came swimming towards our vessels. Our commander not being able to prevent this by force, six vessels were taken; and he himself, with ten other men, were killed by the pirates.

1808.

A very large trading vessel called Teaou fa, coming back laden with goods from Annam and Tung king,⁵² had a desperate skirmish with the pirates. Chang paou, knowing very well that he could not take her by force, captured two ferry boats, and the pirates concealed themselves therein. Under the mask of ferrymen the pirates pursued after, and called upon Teaou fa to stop. Fa, confident in her strength, and that victory would be on her side, let the ferrymen come near, as if she had not been aware of the(10 r.) deceit. But as soon as the pirates laid hold of the ropes to board her, the trader's crew made a vigorous resistance, and the pirates could not avail themselves of their knives and arrows

⁴⁷ In the first preface of the Hae kwō hēn kēn it is particularly stated, that the map of the sea-coast of China became first known to its editor by the expeditions against the pirates.

⁴⁸ There are, as is stated in my preface, some vulgar or provincial characters in this history; here (p. 1.) occurs a character not to be found in Kanghe, composed out of the fifty-sixth radical and the group Leaou or Lew (7061, 7203). My whole library being locked up in the Custom-house, I am not able to consult a dictionary of the Canton dialect, therefore the meaning of these characters can only be guessed at by etymology. The etymology of the characters gives sometimes a better meaning than any dictionary, and sometimes it may entirely mislead us; there is no reliance on etymology. Usage is the only master of the Chinese, as of all other languages.

⁴⁹ Hēang shan is a considerable place between Macao and Canton. I passed this town in the beginning of October 1830. Distance from Canton 150 le in an eastern direction.

⁵⁰ It was, as we have before stated, the policy of Chang paou to befriend himself, when possible, with the lower sort of people.

⁵¹ Here the author himself says *Te ming* (9955, 7714) "name of a place." To find out the names of places and persons, and distinguish the titles of the different officers employed by government, is often a very difficult task. The last character in the name of this place, *pae*, is very seldom found; it is the fourth character of the division of eight strokes, rad. 177. — See Kanghe. O is, in the Canton dialect, commonly pronounced like A, in Italian.

⁵² These are large vessels with windows, from 200 to 500 tons; they are called by Europeans by the Chinese name, in the Canton dialect, junks; *chuen* is the Mandarin pronunciation. The foreign trade of Cochin-China and Tung king is almost exclusively with China, that to Siam, Singapur, and Malacca, being inconsiderable. The Cochin-Chinese government tried some years ago to open a regular trade with Calcutta; but this undertaking partly failed on account of the heavy duties on foreign sugar in the possessions of the East-India Company. Sugar is a great article of export in Cochin-China and Siam.

– guns they had not – the vessel being too large. There were killed about ten hands in attacking this vessel, and the pirates retired to their boat; a circumstance which never happened before.

1809.

On the second moon of the fourteenth year, the admiral *Tsuen mow sun* went on board his flag vessel, called *Mih teng*, and proceeded with about one hundred other vessels to attack the pirates. They were acquainted with his design by their spies, and gathered together round *Wan shan*;⁵³ the admiral following them in four divisions. The pirates, confident in their numbers, did not withdraw, but on the contrary spread out their line, and made a strong attack. Our commander looked very lightly on them,(10 v.) yet a very fierce battle followed, in which many were killed and wounded. The ropes and sails having been set on fire by the guns,⁵⁴ the pirates became exceeding afraid and took them away. The commander directed his fire against the steerage, that they might not be able to steer their vessels. Being very close one to the other, the pirates were exposed to the fire of all the four lines at once. The pirates opened their eyes in astonishment and fell down; our commander advanced courageously, laid hold of their vessels, killed an immense number of men, and took about two hundred prisoners. There was a pirate's wife in one of the boats, holding so fast by the helm that she could scarcely be taken away. Having two cutlasses, she desperately defended herself, and wounded some soldiers; but on being wounded by a musket-ball, she(11 r.) fell back into the vessel and was taken prisoner.

1809.

About this time, when the red squadron was assembled in *Kwang chow wan*, or the Bay of *Kwang chow*, *Tsuen mow sun* went to attack them; but he was not strong enough. The wife of *Ching yih* remained quiet; but she ordered *Chang paou* to make an attack on the front of our line with ten vessels, and *Leang po paou* to come from behind. Our commander fought in the van and in the rear, and made a dreadful slaughter; but there came suddenly two other pirates, *Hëang shang url*, and *Suh puh king*, who surrounded and attacked our commander on all sides. Our squadron was scattered, thrown into disorder, and consequently cut to pieces; there was a(11 v.) noise which rent the sky; every man fought in his own defence, and scarcely a hundred remained together. The squadron of *Ching yih* overpowered us by numbers; our commander was not able to protect his lines, they were broken, and we lost fourteen vessels.

1809.

Our men of war, escorting some merchant vessels, in the fourth moon of the same year, happened to meet the pirate nicknamed *The Jewel of the whole crew*, cruising at sea near a place called *Tang pae keö*, outside of *Tsëaou mun*. The traders became exceedingly frightened, but our commander said: "This not being the red flag, we are a match for them, therefore we will attack and conquer them." Then ensued a battle; they attacked each other with guns and stones, and many people were killed and wounded. The fighting ceased towards the evening, and began again next(12 r.) morning. The pirates and the men of war were very close to each other, and they boasted mutually about their strength and valour. It was a very hard fight; the sound of cannon and the cries of the combatants were heard some le⁵⁵

⁵³ On the large map of the coast of China from *Corea* to *Cochin-China*, called *Yuen* (12542) *hae tsuen too*, this place is called *Lao wan shan*, "the old ten thousand mountains," and is exactly opposite to the *Bocca Tigris* in a direct southerly direction.

⁵⁴ The sails of Chinese vessels are often called *Mats*, for they are really nothing else than matting.

⁵⁵ *Le*: this itinerary measure, as we have remarked, is different in different parts of the empire; it is generally considered that 250 *le* make a degree of latitude.

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