### LETTER

FROM

## REV. B. J. BETTELHEIM, M. D.

OF LEWCHEW,

GIVING

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS LABORS
THERE DURING THE LAST THREE YEARS

CANTON.

PRINTED AT THE OFFICE OF THE CHINESE REPOSITORY.

1850.

## B. J. BETTELHEIM, M.

#### INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

between the dead walks of these sheets, stretching out my hands to this

The object of the following Letter, as stated by Dr. Bettelheim, is to "rouse the interest, and enlist the sympathy of all who read it" in behalf of Lewchew. Regarding this interesting letter to be well adapted to that end, I have been induced to cause it to appear in its present form.

From a short residence of the author in my family, I am able to testify to his superior talents and varied learning, his talents as a linguist and his acquirements in various languages (speaking and writing Hebrew with the same facility as English), and to his devoted missionary spirit. The latter is breathed forth in the extract from his journal recording his emotions on first landing at Lewchew, and throughout the narrative. Such an example of Christian heroism as we have exhibited in Dr. and Mrs. Bettelheim, can not be surpassed, and has seldom been equaled. Had he gone alone, or, as in an example before him, with only a brother missionary, the act had excited admiration; but to land with his wife and two young children upon such a shore, and under such circumstances, was that of which few men and women in the whole world are capable! With great propriety may he make the appeal to the churches of every land, "Behold, I and the children that God has given me the wife of my youth, life, substance, and comfort-all we are and have, is laid upon the altar of God for the Gentiles' sake. To throw one spark of light into this thick darkness, is worth sacrificing comfort, health, wealth and life itself." Yet, to suppose him perfect would be to conceive him more than human. The most precious metals, the costliest gems, are often found with alloy, and mingled with extraneous worthless matter; and singular excellencies of character may sometimes be blended with their opposites. It is apprehended, however, that few will read unmoved his aspiration, "When my aggravated sins shall be remembered at the judgment-seat of Christ, then remember me, oh my God! for good, and pass not by the days and nights I spent between the dead walls of these streets, stretching out my hands to this strange people, and lifting up my voice if possibly it might pierce through to the immured captives, and convince them that s Christian heart is not soon done out of sympathy; and that I loved and desired their salvation, though I saw them not."

Speaking of despotism, by which it is inferred from the scope of his letter Dr. Bettelhiem means that of Japan, he observes, "In Lewchew it has triumphed, and oh, what a dark triumph it is! The triumph of death over the grave of its slain, the shout of madness over dethroned reason, the echo of Satan's Bravo! when the world sank with a crash into the tomb of sin." Yet, that Lewchew, whose name may be freely rendered "Brilliant Gem," is one day to bestud, and shine in the Redeemer's crown, can not be doubted by the expectants of the universal triumphs of the Cross. "The first rough and menial service" by which the gem is taken from its bed in the ocean, has been done, and done by our friends, and never can be undone. How far it is to be his privilege to polish the gem, and instrumentally to prepare it for its final destination, the future must reveal.

It is devoutly hoped that among the readers of this thrilling communication, whether in England, Europe, or America, one coadjutor of the description herein specified, may be found who will cordially respond to the Lewchewan cry, and that the several suggestions in the conclusion of the letter, particularly the request for visits from passing vessels, may receive the consideration they deserve. This opportunity is embraced of complying with the request, "Oh, tell the American Churches, I feel for the coppered Indian, I mourn for the African negro, I sympathize with the Mahommedan fellah, I rejoice over the awakened Nestorian and Armenian, but there must be a corner left in the American heart for Lewchew, the more so as it is the threshold to our brightening hopes in Japan."

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Canton, 1st March, 1850. is sit bas I blodell bast visve to sederado

PETER PARKER.

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#### THOUGH I address this letter to you as one of the chief authorities, on whose suggestion, approval, and promised countenance, our Committee as well as myself entered upon this mission, still what I say to you I say to all our missionary brethren in China, even those whose acquaintance I was unable to make during my short stay there, persuaded that

they are all anxiously looking upon this station as the first pioneering trial on terra Japonica-quite a terra incognita-and surrounded with difficulties not common to other enterprises of this nature. I mo or be

I thought our Committee would endeavor to keep our friends in China as clearly informed on this mission as our home friends, whose assisting hand can not so soon reach us; but having understood from Mr. Williams' kind note, that some communication respecting our state here might be acceptable to you all, I now endeavor to trace back in my memory some of the leading events that may most interest you, beginning from our landing till this, the fourth year of our sojourn in Lewchew; praying it may please God so to guide my inexperienced pen, as to make this retrospect of our mission instrumental in rousing the interest, and enlisting the sympathy of all who read it.

There is one fact, or rather opinion, likely to be current in China concerning this country, which I conceive does our mission much prejudice, namely, that Lewchew being a Chinese dependency, it runs against the faith of our treaty to intrude upon this locality. Now I beg you to discountenance such a notion among the friends of the mission. for I have strong reason to consider this false rumor one of the grounds on which we are left unaided in our heavy struggles; otherwise, it can

scarcely be accounted for, how it comes that such a well devised and almost romantic enterprise should fail to rally round itself a host of friends.

I must here premise, that as I foresee the summary of our doings and sufferings for three years and a half in a station like this, will swell to a size beyond a common letter, I must beg your patience and forgiveness; the more so as I can give it no other time than at evening, so that the combined effects of my nearsightedness, a glimmering lamplight, and the indistinctness of a manifold-writer, will no doubt be discoverable on every page. I know also that my present state of mind is in no respect bright, perhaps not even right; and it is quite natural this likewise will be traceable on these sheets. However, as I write to a missionary brother, and from no other than pure motives, I will not be discouraged, nor do I fear to fail in my object if I should sometimes happen to speak of my own griefs instead of giving you a report on the mission; the spirit may be willing to keep close to the point. but the flesh is weak, and out of the abundance of the heart the mouth will speak, notwithstanding all the efforts of prudence to make a secret of our troubles. It is a mercy, when amid all our hardships, certainly much beyond current missionary difficulties, we have grace given us not to murmur or repine; a Divine favor for which I feel doubly thankful, as mental dissatisfaction and a wayward heart would add poignancy to every ingredient in the bitter cup we have here daily presented to our lips. But "not to murmur" does not mean to impose a hypocritical dumbness on one's feelings. Besides, I know not whether the complaints of a missionary are not as much a part of his report, as the details of his encouragements. Shadows belong to a picture as essentially as the bright dashes of the pencil; and evening and morning made the first, and still continue to make every, day, the many and at the

Having thus prepared you for the "weep and smile rhetoric," in which I beg you to allow me to tell you my tale, I shall begin with our Landing in Lewchew, which was effected on the 2d of May, 1846. We had come to anchor the day before. I am thankful to record, I was then, as I had been during the voyage from Hongkong, much in prayer; I had taken with me this preparation of mind from under the roofs of my dear brethren in Canton. The fortnight I spent in your house just before my departure, the edification I received from converse with Drs. Bridgman, Devan, and Ball, the praying duo in which we took leave of each other: do you not remember it? The devotional evening spent at the Stantons, just before our embarkation kept my heart in holy tune, all along our twenty days' passage, and raised me above the trials

awaiting me. I think I can not better describe my state of feeling, than by quoting a few sentences from my journal of April 30th:

"The aspect of the great Lewchew is truly picturesque; hills crowned with trees, fine verdant slopes running down to the sea, and all on which the eye can rest, like the garden of the Lord. May soon the Rose of Sharon glow here in its original hue!"-" I just hear the report, 'The town is in sight!' How my heart beats! Is it zeal for God's glory that agitates my whole frame? Lord, forbid that any other emotions than those of a devoted servant of the Cross occupy my heart. Oh, that the Lewchewans may know the day of their visitation! How many anxieties would my poor mind be spared, were they thoroughly to understand my friendly mission to them. Oh, Lord Jesus! it is now time for thee to work; thy church has found out this distant spot in thy creation, where to plant a new abode for thy truth. Prayer, and gold, and silver, have been offered upon thine altar for this cause; thy humble slave has devoted himself, and wife and children to this difficult task. Thy grace and favor have brought us to the threshold of our hermitage; wilt thou bring to the birth, and not cause to bring forth? Oh Lord, disappoint not thy praying, wishing, longing servant; let us be received; let thy word find a place; let thy truth be valued; give us prudence and wisdom to know in what way best to gain the confidence of thy sheep in Lewchew. May they hear thy voice, and follow thee, for thy own dear name's sake, Amen!" of The worldwell no

From these extracts, you will easily see that I feared the worst, but I had One to look to able to uphold me. Though I might be defeated, I had prepared for retreat—a retreat into the stronghold of every believer, before I ventured on the war; and it was this which gave the Cross the victory. My anxieties were many, my supports were also many; and the guiding Star of Bethlehem sparkled brighter amid the thick gloom covering every step before me. In the instructions I had received in London, was an entry to the end that if refused reception at Lew-chew, I should settle down in Fuhchau, and there try to work my way over; a plain proof that our Committee itself had strong doubts as to the practicability of an immediate opening of the mission on its own ground; and it was but natural I should share in its misgivings.

However, one day more proved the Lord to be mighty and strong to the pulling down of every imagination that seemingly obstructs his way. We had scarcely anchored when the Rev. Mr. Forcade came on board. Conceive my joy and exultation, not only to meet a European, but to have a palpable proof that they may and do reside in Lewchew; this was all I wanted. I had English feeling enough not to allow that

to be refused to the union-jack, which was granted to the tri-colored cockade; and let me tell you, by the bye, the union-jack, at this time, was to me tantamount to the flag of Protestantism; I trust in God. we shall not have to strike it, while the rosary and distaff of the scarlet, lady remain hoisted. Mr. Forcade had so many things to tell me, and I was so totally ears, that I forgot I had a mouth, and only found it again, when I gave him a promise of a loan, which I made as gladly as he frankly applied for it, he having been at that time two years and upwards without remittances from Macao. I should not have mentioned this at all, were it not to prove once more that even a cup of water offered in the name of a disciple does in no wise lose its reward. Under God, I think this incident, so insignificant and small, did great things towards our settlement in Lewchew. For the very morning after I had gained the goodwill of Mr. F., the Sabine, a French frigate moored in Napa roads; and I make no doubt, it was the Bishop's kind mention of me, that procured us the most unqualified benevolence from the captain and officers of that ship, as well as of the whole French squadron that soon after arrived under Admiral Cecille.

But I must not run ahead of my story, and will therefore take you back again on board the Starling, where we were soon beset with crowds of capped and uncapped natives, all wondering, and perhaps somewhat more than wondering, at the idea of my becoming a settler in Lewchew. The preceding day we had notified our intentions to the first messenger who brought as usual (as we now know to be usual) the long card from the governor of Napa, but which I took for nothing less than a card from the king, so immensely large and long was it: yea, the very messenger, say what he might, would not pass off with me for any less personage than the King. So much for my implicitly believing Capt. Basil Hall's narrative, and the notions of a fairy land his book is calculated to form in the mind of every unsuspecting reader. Lewchew was to me a realization of the magic stage on which old Arabian or Hindoo tales are said to have been acted. The testimony of senses, I thought must be cautiously listened to; everything must be better than it appears to be, and I scolded my prosaical taste, for not being able to divest myself of the ideas current in the old world, and to penetrate the mystical veil, which I imagined does and must cover all things around me. So dangerous is it to poetize a country without expressly writing on the frontispiece of the work, "a Novel or Romance;" for it then takes a plain reader like myself, who happens to be transported into such an illusory paradise, much time before he can conscientiously believe his own eyes and ears.

You know I had the misfortune to lose my Latin-Chinese interpreter the day before my embarkation, and that it was mere Providence that brought us a man just as we set foot on board the Starling; his knowledge of English was in perfect keeping with mine of Chinese, and by the time of our arrival here, we could converse with each other but very little. He was a Cantonese, and more merchant than man of letters, and I believe, did himself scarcely understand half of what was told him, since all who speak Chinese here, use the mandarin dialect: and thus it happened, and fortunately too, that I could never persuade myself the natives meant in earnest what they said; and whenever my interpreter reported to me their utter unwillingness to receive, or even let us land, I seemed persuaded he had not understood them, and smiled with the full assurance of one whom Capt. Hall had taught better things of Lewchew; just like a practical miner who sees gold in the depths, where others tread indifferently on earthy impurities and sedimentary waters. No doubt it was providentially permitted I should be kept in such a romantic state of mind, while surrounded as I now understand by towering difficulties. Had I then seen matters even partly as I now do, I know not what would have become of our mission. As it was, nothing could shake my intention of landing as soon as our boats could be lowered; but how to get them lowered, was the great problem. The Captain had some misgivings as to the faith and steadiness of his men, and one way or other delays were made; when I thought promptitude the best course to be pursued.

At this time I also learned the surprising news of the positive determination of our intended infant school missionary not to land-a stroke which blasted many a darling hope I cherished, and at the same time gave me much concern for her, as the Starling was not to return to Hongkong for the next eight months. But neither did this divert me from the way of duty I saw so clear before me according to my then views. I now saw that nothing short of a coup-de-main would turn the balance in my favor; unable to get the ship's boats to land my things, which were already prepared on deck, I begged the officer on guard to let as many of them as possible be speedily lowered into the two native boats alongside the vessel; while I endeavored to keep their owners as merry as I could in the cabin below. This was agreed to, and most luckily effected before the company showed any signs of impatience; a drop of liquor is always welcome to a Lewchewan, and he will sit with you as long as you fill his glass. But now a good part of my cargo being transhipped, I on my part became impatient; the mystery was revealed, and the company hastened pellmell down to their boats.

and shoved off at full speed as if to prevent their unexpected good luck further increasing. This was just as I desired. I had not the slightest fear of any damage being done to my goods, and could not repress an encouraging feeling crossing my bosom on beholding the natives doing something towards the reception of their missionary, although I at the same time knew they did it involuntarily.

At this stage of affairs, the captain could not of course refuse a boat to let me look after my baggage, and in this boat likewise some boxes were taken on shore. That we had the native boats to guide us was the most fortunate feature of the whole affair. For had I landed without them, I should certainly have carried all my cargo to M. Forcade's dwelling, taking advantage of his kind permission given me the preceding day. Such a step, I afterwards plainly saw, would have been the worst we could have taken; for once housed, however huddled together (Mr. Forcade had then only a single room and a cabin), the officials would have gladly seen both parties as uncomfortable as possible, and never have made the slightest effort to accommodate us, or suppose they were indeed capable of a shadow of hospitality. We should have been obliged to accept thankfully, the meanest hovel they might have felt disposed to pick out for us.

As it was, we rowed in quite another direction, following the natives to Napa,-(Mr. F. lived in a village called Tumai), and arrived with them at a spot called Tundo, just at the entrance of the junk-harbor, where as we now know, it was impossible for them to let us stop. Thus the onus fell on them, to try by all means to get us to go to another place; so that we could, as we really did, stand out for a good residence, by mere passive continuance where we were.\* Some slight resistance was made to landing our goods, part of them were actually plunged into the sea during the pushing to and fro, but as it did not amount to more than a faint attempt, I found it best to leave it entirely to the heroism of the second mate, while I went twice more to and from the ship, till all things were landed. I then brought my family, and straightway proceeded with them to the temple. Arrived there, we were immediately waited upon by a great number of officers. The table being served, the parley recommenced, it seemed to me never to end. At last the governor of Napa came, but as I did not know at all how to compliment either in the Chinese or another manner, I found it best to

<sup>\*</sup>The temple at this spot, called Lin-hii sz Fip or Seaside monastery, besides serving for all visitors, allows a full view of all the shipping transactions of Lewchew.

continue unmoved in the stern oriental dignity, I soon perceived it was best to assume and keep up, till at least a concession as to residence was made us.

After much talk, and, as I observed, a special conference between the officials, the governor rose, and to my great surprise performed a regular kotau before me, a kind of last effort on their part to shake me in my purpose. After dragging his excellency up from the ground, I appealed to his own sense of honor, whether it was admissable that I should make myself a fool and return, after having come so far, without being able to tell those who sent me anything about a nation in whose welfare they were so much interested. The most prominent and repeated objection they made was that they would have no more of the papatis (a term which I interpreted to mean papists); I assured them very positively we were no papatis, and ended by producing a bottle of port, that their honors might wash down any further objection that might venture to rise; if I did not wholly succeed, it was probably, as I now know, because the gentle juice of the grape has much less affinity to Lewchewan judicial throats than the triple distillation. We had however so far come to a good understanding, that the talked-of immediate reëmbarkation was entirely dropped. Lad (T 12) ad lady

But this was not all; for on seeing the ti-fang kwan making ready to retire, I expressed astonishment at his omitting to order my things to be removed from the beach, intimating at the same time that I held him responsible for any damage happening to them. As I write, I wonder whence, at that critical juncture of circumstances, I had the courage to act and speak as I did. "It shall be given you in that same hour:" with a grain less of boldness and perseverance, I feel persuaded even now, I should have lost my object. A mere hint of this local officer, just while withdrawing from the temple, was the fiat, which at once set every hand at work; and though we had a great number of boxes and packages, in less than a quarter of an hour, all were in the yard, though not all under cover. Might not all these hands, with the same haste have been made to turn against, as they eventually were turned for us? How much reason, therefore, had we for thankfulness and prayer, to praise God and take courage.

Next day I was waited upon by the puching the with a long letter, of which, at the time of delivery, I, of course, understood nothing beyond what my Chinese, with the dozen of broken English words he had caught at Canton, could tell me. But I think this and several other dispatches I have from the government of Lewchew, of importance, in order to silence the remarks of some who circulated in China

the report that we had introduced ourselves here as messengers from the English government. Sir Thomas Cochrane himself, when here, was capable of believing it on mere hearsay, without any further proof; and I think it but fair to show he was too credulous. I do not deny that suspicious Japanese officers may entertain such thoughts, and in fact, they can scarcely come to any other view in the matter, judging from their own slavish laws, which forbid any one to leave the country without their knowledge and consent. Yet it is not my fault, nor Sir Thomas' fault, that government here still retains the same suspicion after all he has said against it and us. He spoke of the king of Lewchew (to use the words of his own secretary), as an independent sovereign. Would any one style so, with all his sympathy for monarchical dignity, this headman of a few insignificant coral rocks, disputed too by Japan and China? On even him the Sovereign of England (as if the latter had acknowledged, or were, or desired to be, in treaty with this would-be miniature sovereign) would not put the disgrace of sending a person like me.

Sir Thomas, without giving me the slightest information of what this government had said, save that he sent his secretary to tell me what he (Sir T.) had said; without confronting me with them; yea. even without inviting me to a conference, which, as his secretary told me happened to turn exclusively upon our stay here, believed that I had thrown myself upon this island as an official ambassador, who, of course, in that case had done so without insisting upon the right of having an English admiral's broadside at his installation. Leaving myself out of the question, I wish that ambassadors could be introduced without the stunning credentials of a man-of-war. Far from considering this a disgrace, I should think it the greatest mark of honor paid to any nation, whose official agents were received on their mere word. But this aside. I need only refer, in the present case to my Chinese interpreter, now in his own country, and who of course knows all about our mysteries, for evidence; let him be examined, whether at any time we even hinted at our being official emissaries. Having been robbed of nearly all my cash, and publicly beaten at Lewchew, I thought it not only allowable, but even my duty, to threaten that I would bring the matter before the English government. This was English right, and beyond this I did not presume. But as our difficulties had not begun till after Sir Thomas left, there was no occasion on our part for English protection; so that this government could not at the time of the admiral's visit, produce any proof whatever, not even a distorted intimation or allusion on my part to the assumption of a

false position. I think this will be more effectually proved by giving you a copy of the earliest official communication from the authorities; for if there had been a shadow of truth in this report, it would almost of necessity find its support, at least by way of allusion or implication, in these documents, since we would, of course, give ourselves out for what we desired to be acknowledged immediately on landing, when we stood in greatest need of protection; and would certainly not have failed to avail ourselves at that trying time of so powerful a persuasion, if we had had the least design of using it.

The first document in this series is dated May 2d, the second day after our landing, when the Lewchewan authorities might naturally be supposed to have had the greatest respect for the newly arrived English ambassador, as they could not then have forgotten for what sort of a great man he had introduced himself the day before.

Communication from the Treasurer of Chungshau fú.

爾上留辭上不身伯醫咭那 有使屋岸理尚岸忍苦德上咧覇懇禀 疆棲合不淹也乃令岸國地 朗國土身詳肯留但辭携則醫方 西人瘦素明允之查其帶 船士 船淹地係等諾例國所妻往伯鄭留中 隻留薄國由遂由家請子别德 到甚物家據帶是法使在去令弼 有產嚴此妻再度不洋等口禀 乃不無禁兹子三素上日語稱稱 便幾况查上再無岸人 但不又他岸四他是當念國 要固國心有背 人爲行人之心 年國蕞員淹請員所憂

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"A duly prepared petition.\* Hiáng Yungpáu, the treasurer of the department of Chungshán in the kingdom of Lewchew, hereby earnestly begs you not to stop in these quarters in order to tranquilize

<sup>\*</sup> Other documents go to show that the authorities here petition almost every foreigner, and call every captain of a ship Tá-jin, or His Excellency.

this little region. The report of Ching Liáng-peh, the local magistrate of Napa, states as follows: 'that the English physician Bettelheim, told me with his own mouth, "if your honorable country will let me come ashore, the ship will immediately leave, &c." Having reflected that the said Bettelheim had brought with him wife and children, and that having been a long time at sea they must be suffering both in body and mind, my heart could hardly bear to refuse him to land as he requested. But an examination of our laws and regulations shows that there is none for permitting persons or officers from another country to land with the intention of remaining. I repeatedly and decidedly begged to decline his request, but he would not hear to it, and brought his wife and children ashore with the intention of stopping. As is right, I clearly inform you of these things.'

"On receiving this, I again examined, and ascertained that our government has hitherto strictly forbidden foreigners of all ranks to come ashore to live. How much more, too, since this country has such insignificant limits, the ground everywhere so impoverished and poor, and the productions so inconsiderable; it can scarcely be called a country. If foreigners dwell here, truly it will not be convenient. But year before last a French ship came in, whose captain stated, 'that after a few months, a ship of a high commander would arrive, and that in the meantime, he wished to leave an agent and an interpreter with him to explain affairs better.' As soon as I heard this, I explained the matter, and firmly refused his request; but the captain would not listen to me, and sailed away leaving behind the two individuals. I, the treasurer, could do no other way, and here they have been left to stop till this time. Now in the opinion of this government, since these two men came till now, both officers and people, seeing that they constantly attended to their own matters, have each confined to their own business and station. But in this miserable region, the present year has been one of extraordinary dearth, so that the whole population has been greatly straitened, and obliged to feed upon wild pineapples to keep alive; truly, I fear that before long, the scarcity will become alarming, and we shall be upon the borders of starvation. I am now anxiously awaiting the arrival of the high French commander. when I shall state the circumstances of the case, and again earnestly beg him to take these two men home with him.

"But, Sir, if you now persist in stopping here, the distress of rulers and people will become more aggravated, and the country surely will never be able to stand it. I humbly beg you to have some consideration for this distressed, worn-out country; look down on us with mag-

nanimity, be humane and compassionate. Give up the design of stopping in this land; wait till wind and weather be favorable, then embark in the same ship, and sail back to your country. This is what I anxiously hope and look for you to do.

2d, 1846). Hiáng Yungpáu, treasurer of Chungshan fú in Lewchew.'s

With this request of course we could not comply, and contented ourselves by returning a good present instead of an answer. An American clock, one of those so elegantly and showily made, and yet so cheaply sold at Hongkong, was the greatest attraction among the whole, for at the time of our arrival we mustered a good stock of fancy things, with which our home friends—Bath and Ireland in particular—had so kindly furnished us. I added a good number of bottles containing Price's aromatic spirits and oils, of which we soon perceived the grandees were extremely fond, and also a delicately wrought small silk purse, with some of the smaller English coins in it, given me by Miss Bacon, sister-in-law to Consul Alcock; to which I added every description of gold, silver, and copper coin found in my collection.

This present, partly intended for the king, and partly for the treasurer, I insisted on personally accompanying to the office, thinking it possible to get at least into the neighborhood of the independent sovereign of Lewchew; but after having been led a long and wearisome way, I succeeded only in being brought to what I now know to be the kung kwán, or public hall at Tumai. I was not even privileged to see the treasurer, but only his delegate, he himself having been excused on grave business. Indeed, I could easily believe, poor things, they had extraordinary affairs to attend to; for by this time, the French frigate had already sent out several engineering parties to various localities, which could not but cause the Lewchewans greatly to wonder, and perhaps to be alarmed. Far as I was from wishing this nation any harm, or even an apprehension of harm, I could not but feel grateful for the providential succor, we, without seeking or appealing for, derived from the presence of this man-of-war. Considering its simultaneous arrival with us, it looked somewhat as if intentionally come for our protection, and also served as a counter-irritant, engaging the brains of government, and no doubt also of their spies, on another side; and it thus unwittingly effected a diversion most favorable for us.

Often have I had to acknowledge, and will always thankfully acknowledge, the uniform friendship and kind attentions we received from the Sabine, and later from the Victorieuse, and in general from

all French ships that have visited this. The remembrance of their many benefits to us, and the countenance given us just at a time when most needed, is to us no small ground of hope and evidence that the Lord's special care is on this mission. Strangers have taken us up; since we have been here, it has pleased the Ruler of all nations to bring us help from far; Frenchmen and Americaus have visited this place comparatively more frequently, and consequently assisted us more than our own countrymen; a plain proof that missionaries are not forsaken, though thrown into the most forgotten corner of the world. Such providences happening without human concert, go far to show that the Lord reigneth; and as far as this mission is concerned in them, they also manifest that God is for us, and to him we cheerfully leave the further deverlopement of his holy and acceptable will.

If we are enabled to think so at present, after years of wasted toil, how much more were our hopes likely to be strengthened by such evident tokens of Divine favor, when yet in all their freshness, and quite unchecked by any disappointment; day after day we received new proofs of mercy watching over us. No sooner had the Starling trimmed her sails for leaving, than I was invited to go and look at a house intended for our residence. I cheerfully went, but finding it damp, dark, low, and small, if for no other reasons, I refused; and marked my utter aversion to any similar house, by not even stopping in it, whatever my tired conductor might urge to the contrary. This decision on my part had a good effect. The next day, I was shown the temple we now inhabit, a spacious wooden building, pleasantly situated, though rotten from age. I immediately consented, even on condition of the chief bonze continuing to reside in the house as the guardian of the idols. which were to be screened off by a sliding partition, in the place they formerly occupied. To have a priest to preach to even in my house, I considered rather an excellent missionary opportunity. In short, we were soon settled in our new residence; one of its rooms was a long back pantry, which struck me at once as an eligible location for opening a hospital, a plan, which at that time, I imagined would be most agreeable to the authorities.

We were so happy in our minds, and our missionary hopes so vivid, that far from thinking it any restraint to have five natives quartered upon us in one part of the house, under the name of todzies or interpreters, we looked upon it as the best arrangement possible to get into contact with the nation, and likewise desirable for a speedy progress in the language of the land. We had more objection to a lodge, or hut, placed in a recess within and near the entrance, and

another facing the door, and a third in the lane leading up to the house. They were called shchibang, or guard-stations, each containing five men taken from the class of the literati. We were told these were necessary to protect us and our property against malevolent attacks from bad men, with whom the country abounded. True or false, I saw no reason for not letting them have their own way in what did not concern me personally; and at any rate I saw in these measures facilities for my missionary labor-a consideration which outweighed every other. After a few days' residence, the only alteration I saw it would be necessary to make was relating to the idols enshrined in the back part of our bed-room; for besides their drawing a swarm of rats to sport among the sacrifices offered to them, they exposed us to daily witnessing the abomination of the bonze worshiping them, and many boys providing them with fresh flowers. In this alteration, however, though laboring hard, we succeeded only partially. On making a direct application to have the gods removed, I received the following official answer:-

Reply of the Treasurer in relation to moving from the temple.

貴 具 福遷日客甚隨方神後要棲客 昨 府光 不兹另外爲查許一據將身手 布二 宣修擇爲緊該依案護此安札 政十 寸其居要寺舊敝國院樂往 大六 啟所住若實奉僧寺之不觀 **共** 年 順而則使係安等住神要護 向匹 候後有 國本旣持另說國 泵 月 家寺因僧居遷寺 告不 保十 之便 禧 等 具 等 外 去 甚 更を 告由由口出別是 之前禀稱等所妥 賜待 處來請遷因且當

"I yesterday received your letter. You went to see the Hū-kwoh (Country-protecting) monastery, and found it in all respects commodious and suitable for a residence. You do not speak now of removing to another lodging, but you request us to remove the gods of the temple and place them outside of it.\* But the abbot of this monastery has told me, in relation to removing these gods, that on his previous humble application you permitted them to remain as heretofore. Now this temple is the place of prayer for the whole country, and consequently of the utmost importance. In case you should remain long in it, there would be much inconvenience. I beg you to wait till another day, when I will choose a place, and let you know, that you can move. I send this short note, respectfully hoping you are happy; this is all I have to say. Hiáng Yung-páu, treasurer of Chungshán fú. May 8th, 1846. An important communication."

I accordingly deemed it best to drop the matter, and confine myself to the adoption of means by which the idolatry, of which I could not bear to remain a witness, would be effectually stopped. First, I declared that the exhalations of fresh flowers at night were noxious, and most so in a bed-room; and the idols had of course to do without them. But the bonze, though he had of his own accord, found himself a lodging out of the house, still regularly visited the gods, till an event happened, which, by its immediate consequences, appeared to have lessened his attachment for his temple. One night, something moved so fiercely up and down the paper partition that separated the gods from the rest of the bed-room, and which was close to the head of our bed, that we were greatly alarmed, not doubting it to be a serpent, of which we were told some lodged themselves in the lofts of houses. As soon as the day broke, we had the partition opened, and all our todzies armed with sticks, made a strict examination, but in vain.

On the bonze being called and informed of the event, he wished for a tablet to be brought from the temple, to write a charm on, which would be sure to frighten away the serpent. But I maintained I would never become a party to any such thing, and as I came there to teach the nation that all their idols and charms are follies, I could by no means permit them to suppose I had any trust in similar nonsense. The bonze still insisted, and a large red table having golden letters, was taken out for him, on the back of which the cabalistic scrap was

<sup>\*</sup> There is a small shrine in front of our residence.

to be stuck. This piece of furniture is the gwansu, or ancestral tablet, which though of Confucian origin, is held in high honor amongst the Budhists, and in their temples the names of the deceased abbots are enshrined and worshiped. The bonze having had his way, I insisted now on having mine; for had I allowed this table to be put back in its place, and everything been quiet afterwards (as has been the case), he would have triumphed, and the people been confirmed in their absurd superstitions, and even led to suppose that Christians also derived benefit from Budhistic witchcraft. On this ground, I peremptorily refused readmission to the tablet, and am almost persuaded it broke at least the regularity of the daily visits of the bonze to the temple.

. Sometime after I threw out hints as to the inconsistency of a bonze coming so often to the temple, one would think, merely to look it my wife, a treat which he could not get anywhere else in the country; and I pleaded that since I was not permitted to see any of the wives of the respectable natives, no more should I be compelled to let my wife be courted but by those whom I would permit. Now I thought the bonze had less right than even other people to such a gratification. This was a very strong argument for these Confucian polygamists, who like Mohammedan hareem lords are ridiculously jealous; and to this objection, together with the absense of the representative of the dead, one if not the chief of their idols, I ascribe the gradual diminution and final suspension of idolatrous rites in our house. This done, we soon took away the partition, which infact made the whole secluded part only a haunt for vermin. By and by we shut up the cages of the different idols, but not without strong remonstrances to the contrary, as they conceive the inherent godhead dies without a good supply of light. Oh, how great is that darkness, that has need of daylight to keep its gods alive! They love darkness more than the light, for they know and admit that they are in the dark, but are fools enough to think any spiritual light coming directly upon them would do them no good, unless it was first reflected from the smeared faces of their saucy idols.

This then is the plain history of the cessation of idolatry in the Protector-temple of the empire of the independent sovereign of Lewchew; and nothing is wanted but help from Christians to enable us to keep this house for ever a house of the living God, in whom there is no darkness at all, and to whose worship it has been consecrated more than three years. It is painful even to think of the possibility of idol worship being reestablished on such a spot. How many hun-

dreds are now at least practically prevented from idol. try, by the mere fact of our occupying this temple. Shall Budhism again rear its own ruins? Shall we restore a fort given up by the enemy? Must not heathen Lewchew be convinced by this time, that the Hu-kwoh sz' had nothing to do with what it claimed respect and support for? The dozens of big, and scores of minor, idols in this establishment, now for years kept in utter darkness, a mode of treatment admitted by their own votaries to be deadly to their supposed divine life, must almost necessarily lead the nation to conclude that it was not they who protected the country, but that there is a great and living God, who being the Father of us all, giveth good gifts to his children, and with paternal tenderness, and forgiving, sparing love, maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good; and that it was He, who, while their idols warmed themselves in his sun, left not himself without a witness among their blinded votaries, and did them good, giving them rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find Him, through whose precious blood this wonderful love and forbearance were purchased. Is it possible that Christians, whose hearts revolt at papal idolatry in Europe, should not sympathize with the horrors a missionary is exposed to among Asiatic heathen? Is Lewchew too far for them? Is it outlawed in God's creation? "Thus shall ye deal with them; ye shall destroy their altars, and break down their images, and cut down their groves, and burn their graven images with fire." Is God now less a jealous God, less an enemy of idols, than he was of old? And now the enemy, -Budhistic priests and Confucian rulers, -has surrendered his gods, shall we be forced into the folish generosity of restoring them? Shall we let Satan loose after chaining him a little? I will all

Having written thus far, I was obliged to lay my retrospect aside for three months, in order to complete a grammar of this language I was preparing. The rough copy of a vocabulary, a labor carried on between two and three years, is also ready. I hope both of them will be useful and welcome to missionary brethren, whom we can not give up the hope it will finally please the Lord of missions to bring to our help. I scarcely know how or where to take up the thread of my tale, but as a communication we had to-day (Sept. 7th) from government allows us to indulge the cheering thought that Providence is about to secure us this year again our usual post; for as the Lewchewan junks brought us no letters this year from Fuhchau, we conclude they will take none from us, and I take it for a hint that I should go on in a narrative, undertaken with the view of reviving the interest of our brethren in

China in behalf of this mission. At any rate I cherish the hope that some missionary society will be willing to come to our assistance, for it appears our little Society has exhausted its strength in giving birth to this mission, and we are now left here like a forsaken orphan cast upon the wide world, without means of communication, without advice and direction, yea, without support. What a mercy not to be without God, without a Savior and Comforter in such circumstances. Let me, however, be clearly understood. Much as I desire that the missionary world should look into a case of unparalleled destitution and grant us its sympathies, nothing is farther from my mind than to base my appeal on such insignificant grounds. It is the mission, the cause of the Cross, yea, and the hopes of the Cross, which unless soon and effectually succored, must inevitably sink, that makes me feel my nothingness and come forward to plead for God and truth, and for those precious souls, those four immortal souls, in whom it has pleased God to kindle a spark of this heavenly life, and who should not be left without further Christian nurture.

In pursuing this narrative, I must waive the plan of particularization, on which I intended to go on; time has failed, and would again fail me for such a method. A brief summary, which after all I think may best please you, is as much as I can engage for.

Sir Thomas Cochrane's visit was over, but its consequences were not. All that had been gained by the firmness and perseverance of a French Admiral, was lost by the blunder of an English Admiral. Though we had not advanced much with government, and had only obtained the means for a little locomotion, as we could get horses, boats and carriers, wherewith we could easily outmanœuvre the native sloth of the spies, yet it was our all, and since Sir Thomas' visit it was lost. How could it be otherwise? Horses were ordered for officers belonging to his ship and refused; but nothing was said in the matter. Government grew bolder, and complained that too many officers went ashore, and the admiral found it wise to restrict them to a small number-six, I believe, were daily to be permitted the pleasure of a ramble. These are concessions of the very nature of Japanese restrictions on foreigners, and unless we desire to encourage them to continue in this oppressive course, we should never yield, or by no means quietly yield. I know there is Russia, Austria, Rome, and several other states in Europe, were we must submit to the trouble of passports, and curtailments of the exercise of our limbs. I know what China was, and still is in this respect towards the western barbarians. We submit to these and other restrictions laid on us because we must

submit; but would we do so if a mere refusal of compliance was sufficient to settle the point?

When on my first interview with Sir Thomas, moved with affection and deep compassion for the very trying situation my suffering wife was then in, I solicited his intercession with the powers that be, to permit us to hire a female servant-a point which since then the gallant captain of the last French ship here, the Bayonnaise, has warmly taken up, and would certainly have carried, had he been able to stay here longer than a few hours. The English Admiral, for all that Mrs. Bettelheim is a right born English lady-expressed astonishment at my request, saying, "That neither could our consul at Fuhchau get any female domestics." But the question is, Is it right? No, it is certainly wrong, in Fuhchau as well as in Napa. We must bear it, perhaps, when we can not help it, or where remedy would involve too serious consequences; but where we can rid ourselves of an evil with slight effort, it is wrong to endure it. One feels naturally called upon to advise, scold, and even give a slap to a boy whom he sees committing a wrong; and it is quite likely his parents too will give you thanks for your trouble, though perhaps you would, from various considerations, abstain from correcting a grown up offender not under your immediate control. Now a strong nation stands towards a small one very much in the position of a mature man to a stripling; and though no right principled man would approve of a giant constituting himself the master of a dwarf, on the simple argument that his limbs were longer. there will still be cases in which the common sense of justice seated in every human breast, will pronounce the use made of power over weakness right, and in its proper place.

Sir Thomas left here late in October, 1846; and early in November, I had a dispatch from government, a long, long delayed answer to an application made soon after our arrival. This rescript shut every door we hoped might be opened for general philanthropic usefulness.

"Without spending time upon compliments, your letter can be answered. Herewith the reply is sent. With regard to the practice of physic. In this country, we have usually gone to China to learn the medical art, and to purchase medicines; and we are now well skilled in healing and bestowing aid, so that we are afflicted neither with want of medicines, nor ignorance [of doctors]. Therefore there is no need of any one going to you to be examined and get medicine, or of studying medical books, and the art of compounding remedies.

"With regard to studying and writing English. Though I have already ordered the todzies to make most strenuous exertions to learn

both to speak and write English, as our country is small and the people stupid, they can not be aroused sufficiently to receive instruction, and become qualified to conduct important matters.

"With regard to studying geography and astronomy. The captains of our vessels have usually gone to China to learn them; they are able to observe the state of the weather, are skilled in using the compass, and know the rules for sailing; they are also acquainted with all the channels between here and China and the neighboring islands, so that they are not exposed to accidents. There is therefore no need of their receiving instruction from you. It is consequently impossible to allow you to do the above things. I send this short note in reply, at the same time wishing you happiness and peace, and begging your attention to it. Shing Tingchi, the superintendent of Chungshin fi, replies. Nov. 10th, 1846."

中安寸客國看一能事英馬客無中札套 山求啟無及察案精織國叉胗缺華可 府祈謹受属天查受盡話學脈誤學覆 爲教島氣敝教心寫 服之習兹 国者語操國脩機大 理 藥憂醫則 覆以其用船辦習英 學故術覆 順上水針主事話國 向冒者 臣 候條道盤人務寫字 來醫 **款得航等**又字 遊 片 難以海素學然案 以無之往地國查 商 施恙法中理小雖 旅般 行故往華志人經 並 療國 兹向還學天愚飭 無 治\*素 具 中習文不通 在 以往

The phrase shi liau chi 施 療 治 probably intends to convey the idea

This was a stroke blasting all our prospects at once. It was the third dispatch we had received from government, and the first from the tsung-li kwán 總理官 the first dignitary in the country, higher than whom we now understood we could not go. For though our latter urgent and repeated petitions had all been addressed to the king himself, we had even after so long a delay, received no rescript, and we were thus obliged to look upon the short, measured, weighed, and sharply cutting note of the premier as the ultimatum of all our applications. 'The Lewchewans wanted neither physician nor apothecary." charity doctor nor master of languages, neither would they know aught of geography or astronomy. What was I then to do? The answer was plain, to be their missionary. "Because thou savest. I am increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knoweth not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and blind, and naked. I counsel thee to buy of me the word of God, which is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two edged sword, and a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." I purposed to be their missionary and nothing more; the only occupation they did not officially deny me, and the only one indeed for which I had good reasons not to ask permission, knowing, too, I had permission, commission, and express order, from the highest Power to go to every nation and disciple them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

I had some weeks before this begun the public exercises of my missionary office with memorized sermons in the composition of which—strange to say—my todzies, one way or other had a good share. Some prayers from Morrison's Chinese translation of the English liturgy had by this time been rendered into the Lewchewan, and daily read over at family worship—and we will praise God for it,—being audibly followed by our servants, all native Lewchewans. This was encouragement enough to go on in our blessed work, and to know nothing among them save Jesus Christ and him crucified, every other way to a rational employment having been cut off.

Through divine grace I was thus permitted to have in this country about a year's active missionary exertion. True, the opposition increased with each month—nay, each single day—still the whole of that

that charity was given to the sick on the part of government or the native doctors, as a retort to my suggestion that the poor needed relief, and shows their hypocrisy. Recently, I took a box of ointment to a poor leprous woman, who was much in need of it, and who burst into tears as she saw it, exclaiming, "Oh, Sir! this will take much money." The native doctors know how to charge tor their medicines, and there is not a charitable institution in the country of any description.

period deserves to be called the golden age of the mission, compared with the days of dross, of iron mixed with miry clay, the hard toils met with disdain, that awaited us afterwards. Be it curiosity to hear what the foreign babbler had to say, and the strange gods he set forth; be it that a higher invisible power had decreed that Javan (Japan) and the isles afar off, which had not heard his fame, nor seen his glory, should now for a season hear the marvelous works of God; a fact it is, that crowds gathered, and were permitted to gathera round me wherever I raised my humble pulpit upon a stone, in the corner of a street, in the market, in the roads or lanes, in Shui, or in Napa, no matter where I halted, there all the passers-by stopped, the inhabitants of the neighborhood opened their houses and slipped out, all of them, men, women and children; the stalls were idle, sellers and buyers forgot their trade, while apparently engaged in a higher business. I have seen coolies lay down their burdens and quietly listen; laborers lean their heads on the handle of their rural tools and rest in pensive attention; thoroughfares were obstructed, and roads and open places rendered impassible from the masses of people crowded in the space around me; none forbidding, none driving them away, much less preventing their assembling as has long since been, and up to this time is, our sad case.

At the same time I presented the king with ointments, and did multiply his perfumes; I sent message after message to one magistrate and another, to try if possible to come in personal contact with our mysterious rulers; and though I did not succeed in this, yet I succeeded in getting them to accept of the presents, however specious their complimentary refusals occasionally sounded. They even confessed themselves more than once to be in our debt, and were persuaded that we did not come to seek our own, seeing we had much and to spare. It was this feeling I desired to see established in them, and wished to spread it abroad among the nation, lest they should at any time be tempted to think we had a trading speculation in view. Besides, we know "a gift doth blind the eyes of the wise," and has certainly its commensurate weight even with a cunning Japanese magistrate, while I counted all things as stubble and chaff, provided I could purchase with my liberality a drop of spiritual freedom for a nation given over blindfolded to the caprices of a few rulers. The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, but here they tyrannize over them, and yet are called benefactors. Pride, fullness of bread, and abundance of idleness, as in Sodom, characterize the supine and haughty ruler: neither does he strengthen the hands of the poor and needy, though styling himself, and styled by an enslaved nation, the father of all.

To throw a spark of light into this thick darkness, is worth sacrificing comfort, health, wealth,—even life itself.

A year, as I said, all went on well, far beyond my humble, and sometimes even sanguine expectations. But, alas, it is now nearly two years since that year of bright hopes ended. I often linger on the cheerful recollections of the past, like a cheering dream, which though turned into nothing on awaking, yet one can not banish from the mind, and I fain hope to see it realized at some future day. I shall never forget a scene which drew out my deepest emotions; even now when I think of it, it calls forth my liveliest gratitude to the Giver of every joy, present and past. I stood on the bridge before the Min-tun dan 明 論 堂 proclaiming the love of God as revealed in the gospel of his dear Son. to two crowded shores, and felt as happy and triumphant as if, on Xerxes' bridge across the Bosphorus, I had seen Europe and Asia hang on my lips. Speaker and hearers were absorbed in the momentous subjects considered. Amid the gloomy aspect of my present unattended and unheeded labors, when traversing the localities formerly enlivened by cheerful multitudes, I ask myself with painful astonishment, Are these the places where the gospel aforetimes made such sensation, raised such hopes, and at least found ears to hear it, if it did not hearts? Why now no marks of life, no sign of interest? Is it all quite gone? Who has done this, who has so utterly wasted God's vineyard? There is no other answer: the enemy has done it, Confucianism has done it, Budhism has done it, Japanese treachery and tyranny have done it-all alike horned heads of this many-headed beast, Antichrist. Here we have not only to combat the natural aversion of the human heart to anything requiring faith, not only to soften the insolubility of inveterate prejudice, and meet the active opposition of false creeds and their champions; we have also to resist the underland, vexatious, unrelenting encroachments of an idle government, glad to find employment for its spies, and try to outmanœuvre its subtle, unseen machinations, characterized as they are by reckless falsehood towards us, and cruel oppression of the natives.

In this land, where the authorities are all in all, and the people nothing, it is matter of wonder and gratitude, that we have been able to prosecute missionary labor with the degree of liberty we had, even for one year; to nothing, humanly speaking, but the support we had in the almost regular arrival of men of war, and the deep, moral effect wrought on the whole nation, its rulers not excepted, by the protracted exercise of liberty, which the French would not suffer to be denied them by Japanese chicanery, can the shortlived freedom we enjoyed be account-

ed for. Perhaps the very different treatment we received from government may be further explained also by the circumstance that at the time of our arrival, we found a king in the land—at least we were told there was one. Though a mere cypher, yet the very name of King, a lofty conception, second only to divinity in Confucian states, exerts a secret magic, manifesting itself in various ways. It is quite likely that to spare the king any possibility of trouble, the ministers spared us many troubles, deeming it a high merit not only to keep the monarch at ease, but to keep him asleep; it appears to have been their anxious effort, perhaps it was a duty imposed from Yedo, to keep him out of the government altogether. Owing perhaps to this forced state of public deadness, rather than rest, which the ministry plumed themselves in maintaining while they had a king, we were comparitively left to ourselves—the surest means they well knew of keeping us at rest.

We did not want much more than access to the people; nay, we were satisfied with less, and contented ourselves as long as they were permitted to assemble, or rather were not driven from the spot when we addressed them on the welfare of their souls. However, this was too much to be granted by a Japanese cabinet. For none know better than despots how dangerous a weapon the tongue is; none know better than liars how great the power of truth is; and none the value of light more than they who shut it out, convinced that each ray must lay open to every eye, what they have so much reason to bury in darkness. It is not improbable, that the sudden demise of the king was a theatrical exit, contrived in order to make possible the changes an active foreign family had rendered necessary; though young, and never even said to be indisposed, he had to die at the shortest possible notice. No sooner was he dead, than all things around us at once assumed another aspect toward us; yea, on the very day which we supposed to be that of his burial, we were assaulted with stones and sticks in the open road, and thankful to come off with bruises and sores when we might justly have despaired of life.

Dishonored thus in the eye of the nation, it was to be expected that a change would be felt in all our movements. The charm attending the appellation Englishmen, already weakened by the overdone patriotism of an English Admiral, was now quite broken under Lewchewan sticks; and subjects of the two first nations of Europe—for during this scuffle, I was in company with the French missionaries, who had invited us to this unfortunate trip—were pelted off a highway open to every peasant, without any one taking thought of the matter. My remonstrances to government only produced an official denial of the

assault, in which it was fully assumed that that they could forbid us the public roads if they liked. Here the matter rested. By and by the todzies, who accompanied me abroad, and whom I was glad to see ex-officio compelled to constitute part of my audiences, a circumstance rather advantageous for inviting the passers-by to stop, and especially for attracting the populace, which is almost mechanically drawn into imitation of the samorai (the class of literati, to whom our official outriders and footmen belonged)—these todzies, instead of keeping near me as a watch, or as they used to call it, "a guard of honor," began to decamp as soon as I stopped in a market or street, and from hiding-places, hinted, or beckoned, or threatened the people away. Mrs. B., who went with me to the Sabbath afternoon meetings, as long as regular congregations awaited us at certain favorite spots, once saw an old fellow on whom this eye and finger mechanism was all quite lost, dragged off by force.

Such means, certainly, would dampen the zeal even of a European market assembly. Still it was not all at once, that government thought it prudent to disperse our public meetings. It took a year of persevering opposition, now hidden, now open, to enable even a despotic cabal like that we had fallen under since the king's death, to bring about a total desertion of the places where I halted, and of the streets and lanes I passed through. First, there was a bustle, a running here and there, a rattling and clapping of shutting doors and windows, as if a devil incarnate had come in their way; green grocers deserted their stalls, laborers ceased their work, and crews left their boats; women dragged their children in-doors in such haste and fright, as to make them scream out when they saw me again afar off. Often the noise, confusion, and bewilderment, rose to such a pitch that I was not always free from fear myself, and almost dreaded to walk about. My complaints to government were unheeded; but in fact we then had, and even now have, no government. Slaves rule over us; the authorities are inaccessible. Who could say to whom my communications went? If a verbal or a written answer was returned, I could not say who was its author, whether the magistrate or his messenger, we having proofs that a dispatch had been opened and resealed in my very house.\* In fact. the compradors whom government forces upon us are our masters, for without them we can not procure a morsel of bread, nor take our dispatches to government beyond our own threshold; while, too, they are at the head of the spy and police force at work against us.

<sup>\*</sup> My communications were often returned on the ground that they contained the name of Jesus, or doctrines unknown in Confucianism.

About the same time our presents were refused acceptance, and several lots of them actually sent back, as if to seal our dismal doom at this critical juncture, by far the greater part of our available coin, six hundred dollars and upwards, were stolen from us, and all knowledge of the theft was not only clean denied, but the impossibility of such a case happening in a house watched within and without like ours, triumphantly dwelt upon in two long dispatches, ostensibly coming from the first magnate in the country. But perfectly cured as I now was of the deluding influences Capt. Hall's narrative had inflicted on my good natured disposition, I strongly insisted upon the removal of those whom I had palpable reason enough to consider in-door thieves, and perhaps official burglars. I was thereby freed from direct surveillance of my domestic doings, and the shame of having guards following my every step out of doors, but it did not better our position with the people. Several new guard-posts were erected in the lanes, which I was obliged to pass when leaving the temple; one of them was so situated that I could be descried as soon as I emerged from the bend of a wall that hides the door, so that I saw my unsought outriders, turn into every corner long before I could reach any lane. Of course on reaching it I found a complete wilderness, a grave-like silence, as if not a living being dwelt in any of the houses bordering the long streets. I was wonderfully sustained under these trials, trials almost maddening to my susceptible feelings, which had never before been outraged to such a degree. I had never before known a case where a man in his sound senses was made a kind of scarecrow, before whom his fellowmen flew off in all directions bewildered like terror stricken birds.

At the same time, I could easily conceive how much the people themselves were annoyed, and this increased my pain. I might for hours walk up and down a lane by myself, and I once tried for a whole week, besieging a row of shops from morning to night but in vain; not a door would open. Have you ever heard anything similar? Surely this people are grass, yea, chaff trod under by the heavy foot of pitiless barbarism; this land is the caldron, the people are the flesh, and the savage rulers devour them. The whole nation are slaves, worse than the negroes, bleeding and agonizing under the lash of a few taskmasters who know not, and will not learn to govern them kindly. What must be the enormities of the penal code that can secure such degrading obedience? For how can such a state of things be imagined, and above all realized, unless long continued, barbarous cruelties, though perhaps hiddenly perpetrated, bring the victims to bear, as the Lewchewans bear, the spoiling of their goods, fasting, and incarceration in

their houses without daring, or perhaps (what is still worse) wishing to emerge from such low and brutish degradation. Much as there has been in the year 1848 to mourn in the atrocities committed in Christian Europe during the late riotous revolutions, they are virtue itself compared with the systematic massacre of the humanity, not to say the feelings of a whole nation. Despotism like that here gives no hope of improvement. It feeds greedily on destruction, and can not cease from devouring every rival existence, knowing it lives only by the death of others. It has one will, and none besides must have any will. In Lewchew it has triumphed, and Oh, what a dark triumph it is! The triumph of death over the grave of its slain, the shout of madness over dethroned reason, the echo of Satan's Bravo! when the world sank with a crash into the tomb of sin.

"What shall I do unto thee, Ephraim?"-what shall I do unto thee, Lewchew? Thus I asked myself with the prophet, when in the extreme of my perplexity. I well knew nothing but the gospel of the living God could remedy, or even reach such a case. But how should I begin to go to work? Faith cometh by hearing, but how shall they hear, when thus driven beyond the reach of the joyful sound? When my aggravated sins shall be remembered at the judgment-seat of Christ. then remember me, oh, my God! for good, and pass not by the days and nights I spent between the dead walls of these streets, stretching out my hands to this strange people, and lifting up my voice if possibly it might pierce through to the immured captives, and convince them that a Christian heart is not soon done out of sympathy; and that I loved and desired their salvation, though I saw them not. Rolls of portions of Scripture and of tracts in the Chinese, and addresses written in the Lewchewan-copies of which my good wife busily helped me to multiply during late night hours-were the only missiles I threw into the besieged courts; but alas, what I strewed with difficulty and hazard for many months, was easily gathered by the vigilant enemy, and brought back to me, a large trunkful, by government emissaries. My chief pulpit, the great market of Napa, where I knew they could not long go on driving off buyer and seller, and where my charities to a few cripples waiting there for alms, had evidently made a good impression on the multitude, was certainly not forsaken; but no sooner did a man or woman look up to the speaker, than a hint, a yell, or a pull from somewhere, was sure to sink the daring eye to the ground. These vexations finally quenched every attempt of the people to hear me.

In March, 1848, perhaps in consequence of a large ship approaching the shore very closely, some faint signs of a reconciliation appeared.

The theft was found out, and I was better satisfied that the discovery had been made by them than by us; for I now thought it possible that the change in their conduct might have been grounded partly on my complaint in relation to it, which they may have perhaps considered as a wanton vexation, but which they now must of course acknowledge was based on truth, to be met, if they did what was just, by the restoration of our own. In connection with this event, several circumstances occurred, which it is not necessary here to detail, but in which I am persuaded we left the impression of our open and benevolent intentions, both upon the government and the nation, made me hope some change would ensue for the better. All the dispatches we received were tinctured with goodwill. The governor of Napa on that occasion came repeatedly to our house, and crowds of followers with him, all expressing sympathy for the past, and confidence for the future. The strong steps I took in behalf of the culprits and their families, and the unremitted pains taken till I obtained a written promise under the great seal of the state, that their lives would not be forfeited, must have had some weight with men who have no regard for the poor, who use power without moderation, and who may have thought us like themselves bent on vengeance and oppression. The following dispatch, in which a couplet on the foreigner's "pearl-body" occurs, will suffice to show that my rising hopes had a pretty good foundation.

Dispatch relating to the punishment of the thieves.

"The balmy zephyrs, soft and rustling,
Proclaim the coming of the spring:
So may your good self be brisk and happy,
Fearing no limits to your felicity.

"A carefully prepared communication, relating to the degree of punishment of the criminals convicted of stealing the foreign money belonging to you, Sir. I respectfully received the other day your letter, in which you say, 'It is needless to examine these two prisoners very strictly, and I humbly beg to inquire what punishment the government intends to inflict on them, and to ask that I may be informed,' &c. According to the statutes of this country, all prisoners are taken cognizance of by the criminal judge (yuh kwan the jailer) alone, who meets out [their punishment] according to law, and no stranger can know previously what it will be; moreover, the laws of rewards and punishments form the highest prerogative of the sovereign, and consequently can be no otherwise than justly ordered. For many ages, we, in this country, have ruled according to the Chinese code; and in the present case, it certainly can not be

decided according to what you say, and it will also be very difficult to let you, Sir, know what it will be. But I think that the crime of these two prisoners may be said not to be a capital offense according to the laws. I humbly beg you, Sir, not to be anxious about them, and respectfully return this note in reply, wishing you at the same time every happiness.

"Special reply from Sháng Tingchú, superintendent of affairs in

Chungshán fú. March 30th, 1848.

客律客客國可先遇如客客 不行知所律不知有何尊洋玉和 必之之云法得之犯加札銀體風 掛不亦行以惜且人刑內犯康淡 念致所之爲處夫專此云人寧蕩 兹斬難也措之賞係人二罪實方 具刑行而行宜罰獄祈犯名受知 寸之也使今是之官爲無一無有 H 其以法照示庸案疆脚 其但 山 伏念 Щ 治敝係法知嚴前之之 府 罪國屬措等加 祈 該 總 實目國行因審恭 H 犯 不古家不查問接兹 得以第得得懇 7 如來一使敝求 罪 狂 **遵政他國貴** 雖 務人法國 流 工 中不預度將 取 按

The aggravation of the case lay in the circumstance that we are foreigners, which, as some told me, makes our money to be considered as our life; for as we can not earn any more, we must starve to death without it. Others again told me, the case is considered as a betraval against the fatherland, which by so grave an offence against a foreigner might have been exposed to great difficulties, and perhaps summary reprisals. Either view made me extremely uneasy regarding the fate awaiting the culprits. I was therefore greatly relieved by the above dispatch, and no less amused with the punctiliousness of this miniature government on their judicial power, and the impatience manifested at my talking to them of English law. Peace being thus patched up after a fashion, government even thought of getting me again to a public dinner, intimating they wished thereby to show the nation that our differences were all settled. But on this very ground I was obliged to refuse, alledging that I wished the people still to understand I was grieved at their being forbidden access to me, while neither did I feel at liberty to forget the transaction on the public road near Shui, till a straightforward apology had been given.

Had there been a shadow of sincerity under all this parade of restored goodwill, I should immediately have felt it in my labors. But there, the only quarter to which I looked for evidence of the worth of these doubtful promises and ambiguous professions of friendship, all remained as dark and cloudy as before; not a single breeze sprang up in the right direction, and consequently, I had to go on in my old hard and toilsome way. I now began more steadily to visit the huts where my guard lived, and particularly that one nearest my door, to which, I think, twenty men belonged, four of them serving by turns each day, and the whole set changed about twice in a year. Here then I had annually forty immortal souls, to whom access could not easily be denied me; for even when the guards in the other huts were ordered all to leave as soon as I entered, such rudeness could not be ventured upon at my house-door, where I could threaten to remove the whole hut, in case the inmates behaved impolitely. Difficulties, however, were constantly raised, and when I absolutely insisted upon their keeping several of my books in the hut, that they might have something better than cards and dice to beguile the time with, it came nigh to having a rupture. I maintained that this hut formed part of my residence, and I would not be forbidden to keep the books of Jesus there. In a country where written charms are much in vogue, and strange immunities are attributed to scribbled slips pasted on doors and walls, perhaps they took. and may still take my deference for our Scriptures and tracts as somewhat like their own superstitious veneration for books or even their torn leaves; but this I could not help, for though the synagogue of Satan has taken some of the best usages of the church of God, and introduced them into false systems to baffle us by the similarity, this must not make us give up our own institutions. It sufficed for me that I carried my point; let them think me wrong, or like themselves in the motives, I cared but little; my object was to bring them into contact with the pages of the life-giving word, and get their eyes when I could not secure their ears. The fact that I soon saw the books used and torn, and had occasionally to change them, and sometimes even surprised the todzies while, to my delight, they were engaged over them, or the maps made for their inspection, proves that the effort was not in vain in the Lord. To this end I also stuck up sheets containing the Decalogue on different walls in the house, as the general custom here is, and pasted large oblong slips of red paper on my door-posts, inscribed with Christian motives. I drew several general and special maps, and easily multiplied copies by means of the manifold writer; these, lettered with Chinese characters, were given to the todzies, and I am persuaded reached government likewise.

The mere knowledge of the shape of the earth goes far to upset their whole cosmogony, and a glance at the two hemispheres, in which I colored all the English possessions one bright imperial yellow, in order to give these islanders some notion of an empire to which the appellation of tien hiá the world, more justly applies than to China. At the same time, I raised my heart in gratitude to God, that she has done so much for Christian influence in this globe. Paganism, though numerically the greatest, and perhaps also covering the most ground, is geographically less advantageously situated than Christendom; parts of it are included in Christian influence, or inert in themselves, and it is without mutual relations between its component parts. Heathen Lewchew understands well what is meant by such ideas being pressed on them, and I hope they will not be entirely lost.

To the rolls of tracts with I colported through the streets, I added a good bagful of cakes, easily baked in an oven constructed with my own hands (these people can not construct an arch of bricks), and those who refused a tract, were frequently less rigorous towards my cakes, and perhaps were attracted a little by the gorgeous flowery chintz bag which held them. Even after my hawking stratagems had been outmanœuvred by the vigilance of the enemy who countermined all my efforts, and nobody cared either for my tracts, or my bag, or my cakes, a few naked, sunbrowned little ones still remained my customers; and

observing that the dark of the evening gave the spies less play-ground; I chose this time to go out into the byways and hedges, where tawny children presently hopped to and fro me in considerable numbers, of course with the natural desire of getting a cake or some cash, but now and then they got something better, a grain of sweet heavenly manna, or a shekel out of the sanctuary; no wonder a stop should be put to such delightful rambles. These were children who I hope felt attached to me, and I am sure I patted and fondled them with paternal affection. Even long after our intercourse must have been betrayed and declared illicit, as I easily inferred from stones pelting me occasionally in the dark, I saw them still sneaking and slinking around till they could safely approach, and get their sweet trifles; but this likewise had to be given up. Shut out entirely from street labor, nothing remained but boldly to venture into people's houses. To confine myself to the huts where my guards were quartered would have been too easy a triumph for the evil one, and the surest way to concentrate all opposition there, and eventually to lose even that last anchor-ground in the impending storm. To secure the little one has, it is necessary to strive for more; a rule that holds good in any kind of gain, commercial as well as spiritual, for he that has not, from him shall be taken even that which he has. This great principle, in my humble judgment, it is a pity to see so little acted upon by the church; otherwise her missionary efforts would far surpass her pastoral ones. For though in this dispensation, the world is not to become the church, yet the latter loses ground, even what she has, when she gains none. The command to go to all nations plainly indicates we are not to wait; and it would moreover, practically be in vain to wait till any one of them be entirely converted. What missionary settled in a town, would not simultaneously with his city mission, take a range in the villages around? Has not Seroor in India its voluntary troubles at Wadagaon, and does not Mr. French rightly say, "I am more and more convinced of the importance of this (the village preaching) department of labor." Christ, our Savior, who left heaven for his mission upon earth, by precept and example inculcated missionary pilgrimage on the church: why is it neglected? Capernaum. doomed to be brought down hell, and offering therefore, as may be supposed, a lasting station for his divine missionary sympathy, once in a lucid moment of grace, begged that he should not depart from them. Did he settle down with them? No; he said unto them, "I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also, for therefore am I sent. And he preached in the synagogues of Galilee." Such was the practice of Christ, such his command.

The Church, unlike the Jewish polity, is not confined to one or two lands or nations; she is to be a great multitude, which no man can number of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues. Oh, tell me, will you shorten their shout of holy triumph? Shall Lewchew have no voice mingling in their hosannas? Ought any nation to fail to swell this universal choir, worthy the enthroned Redeemer of a world? Oh, tell the American Churches, I feel for the coppered Indian, I mourn for the African negro, I sympathize with the Mohammedan fellah, I rejoice over the awakened Nestorian and Armenian, but there must be a corner left in the American heart for Lewchew, the more so as she is the threshold to our brightening hopes in Japan. Let the people of God there be sure that in proportion as the disciples of Christ go to all nations and disciple-or, venturing on his plain command, at least try to disciple—them, in the same ratio the number of their home churches, and the number of hearts in those churches will grow. On the field subject to the exclusive control of Revelation, no operation or plan must be chalked out according to reason alone. However poorly capable a human mind may be to take in the universal missionary church, the infinite mind of our Captain has spoken out plain on the matter, "go ye unto all nations."-Many of the prayers and exertions at home would bring down richer blessings both to far and to near, if they were directed to some outpost church.

I beg you to forgive this digression, and kindly to forbear with me. It may after all be no digression, in view of the missionary interest at large, though no doubt it is so from my report. But I am glad to have thus unintentionally proved that I am able to forget my own trials, whenever an opportunity offers to speak for missions. Tears have often moistened my eyes while writing the above lines, partly sorrowing, I hope after a godly manner, for the delinquencies attaching to the church even in her missionary enterprises, and partly moved by heavenly joy, when the whole tenor of the divine scheme of salvation. beaming from the page of Revelation, flashed upon my mind, and told me, "Refrain thy voice from weeping and thine eyes from tears, for there is hope in the end, that thy brethren will come out from their borders, and push their way to the ends of the earth." As for me. I have not hastened from being a pastor at home to follow after the Lord in a land that is not known, neither have I desired the woful days we pass in Lewchew.

Repeated consideration respecting my duty to God, and examination of his plan of evangelizing the world, have confirmed me in the view that to break up new ground is most consonant with the wide reaching aim of the gospel; and I am thankful to say, that though nearly four years of great hardship have passed over me since I left England, I feel myself like Caleb-that as my strength was then, even so is my strength now. I mean strength of purpose in the Lord to persevere in the aggressive system. Just in proportion to the little ground which has been gained, do I feel my zeal awakened to new efforts for continuing the attack, only praying for grace that this zeal may not degenerate into obstinacy, become the tool of wounded pride, nor use unlawful weapons. When I feel sure against such drawbacks of the natural old man, then am I strong when I am weak. It is in the spirit of this discipline that I waged, and do wage, the warfare of faith in Lewchew. It is like an onset of cavalry upon a strong square of infantry, but it has its blessed trophies, and its sustaining encouragements also. I can exclaim, "By thee have I run through a troop, and by my God have I leaped over a wall; thou hast also given me the shield of thy salvation, and thy gentleness has made me great."

How I felt the first time I found myself within a Lewchewan house can be better imagined than described; but as I had counted the cost beforehand, and was prepared even for a "Get thee behind me! Get thee hence!" or something still more forcible than words, nothing new could well befall me. I was little moved with the cries of the women, or frightened at the screams of the children, but seated myself in the first room I could get access to. You will perhaps ask in surprise, at the outset, how I could gain access into houses, whose doors a well trained body of spies would certainly take the precaution to have shut? The answer is simple. I did not enter by the door, at least in most cases, for I could not, but found my way in through the deep gaps in dilapidated back walls. I might say, I have done some service to the masons in this way, and perhaps to the owners too, for by and by the former got more work, and the latter got their walls repaired; this whole practice of getting in through such an opening at the back, at first considered here no more irregular than it would be in villages at home to get over a fence or a hedge, came by and by into disuse, to the great annoyance of the children and youth who are capital jumpers, and feel as much at home on the top of the roofs as a cat does. At present the spies alone are entitled to this privilege; they appear and disappear like ghosts on the stage, the magic consisting in the easy removal of the straw sandals, and the adaptation of their exercised naked feet to all the inequalities, that this rocky coral shore affords. One would often be tempted to think they can pass through walls, so sudden is their disappearance and

reappearance. More than once, when congratulating myself on a short interval of the free use of my limbs, have I been undeceived by perceiving the spies on the roofs looking down upon me. The masons have likewise to thank me for jobs of work they had on low walls, over which I addressed the people in the yards, when as yet I had not courage enough to enter, and several such walls I could point out, which have been raised two or three feet.

By manœuvring to get out of the track of the spies, or turning quite suddenly in an unusual direction, I have always the choice of a few open doors. A strong gale overthrows a Lewchewan wall almost as easily as it does the sliding paper doors and partitions inside the houses; and a long rain is sure to wash open some new entrance by carrying away the dust and movable filth stuffed between the stones, so that one can pass and repass for several weeks over the traces left behind by a tyfoon before the many fresh thoroughfares are stopped up again. Besides, the greater part of the houses I visit, at least at present, are of the poorest sort—huts and hovels, sometimes accessible on all sides, or standing in a yard formed by a few bamboos sparingly planted around them; if they have a door at all it consists usually of a few bamboo branches knotted together with straw strings, a loop of the same material being all the fastening required, and as easily untied by me as by any one else who has to enter. So much for the mode by which I gained admission into the houses.

Their furniture and domestic arrangements are all in the Chinese style. As is the mother, so is the daughter; and I might add, as a cage is full of birds, so are their houses full of deceit, of charms and scraps, and other emblems of idolatry and belly-worship; such as cups. trays, tea-holders, and chopsticks in abundance, and constantly in use. When you go from house to house, you would suppose the population were constantly at meals, especially the higher classes, whom I meet always either at their breakfast, lunch, dinner, or supper. No wonder they are great of flesh and slow bellies, pacing along with measured dignity like idlers, whose only business is to watch their gait and looks before the multitude, accustomed to measure grandeur by such and like outward farces. As neither tables nor chairs are used, the written, and sometimes painted ornaments on the walls are very conspicuous; but most so is the god's corner, where the ancestral tablet is set up, either open or enshrined, and provisioned with a stock of sacrifices. varying according to the wealth of the householder. What the prophet of old said of degenerate Israel, applies fully to them: "These men have set up their idols in their belly, and put the stumbling-block of their iniquity before their face." Nothing can be more revolting, more abominable than this constant display of idols and eatables, while you have to tell them of a God who is a Spirit, and whose kingdom is not meat and drink.

In the beginning of my visits to the dwellings, I rather selected the respectable part of the population, and met with astonishing good reception. After the first surprise and confusion occasioned by my sudden appearance was over, one or other of the family, and sometimes even the master, kept me company, and was sure to hear the message of salvation, as I was watching my time, and gave my visits a professional turn as soon I could. But invariably the second or third visit to the same house found matters altered. In some instances, I was plainly forbidden the house. In some, all the inmates ran off. In others, the master told me if I had any compassion upon them, I would not expose them to the dangers they ran in letting me enter their doors. Not very long ago, in three instances, I had hairbreadth escapes from a good beating; on one occasion the stick being already lifted up for a blow, and arrested only by another person seizing the hand of the infuriated old Confucian fool, whose language was, "prophesy not in the name of the Lord, lest thou die by our hand." Nothing of the sort threatened me when I began these visits, and these methods of apposition have been gradually ripened under the fostering care of the enemy. The people, if left to themselves, are too indolent for any act of unkindness that requires exertion, and would never dare to withhold from another the common marks of respect, universal in this land even between peasants, unless they were commanded to do so.

Formerly, there was at least some appearance of regard paid me by the spies. They contented themselves to hint, to hiss, to beckon, or to vociferate unseen by me, placing themselves in a back or side ground. Now, all is done in my very face and eyes. Whole troops of these wretched hirelings, swelled by a levy, as I suppose, from the neighborhoods I successively cross, march in files before and behind me, like soldiers; every side lane being guarded on both openings, and their shouting and hooting almost deafening. Thus my heritage is unto me as a lion in the forest, it roareth out against me; but shall I therefore hate them? No. I only abominate the government, which brought about such a state of things all the while its officers made, and still make, professions of goodwill and friendly offices, whenever a ship calls in. I do not suppose that with all this drilling and manœuvring around me, the rulers would dare to order an open assault, or hazard our lives. This d s, lay of physical force is no doubt partly intended to provoke

me to some overt act of revenge, and warrant thereby what they might further have in view to do with us; partly it may be a measure of intimidation to keep us locked up at home, seeing what reception we meet with out of doors, and partly that they might degrade us before the nation, and show they have as much power over us as over the peasant, and that there is none who bemoaneth or hath pity upon us. But they have forgotten that I am a missionary, a soldier that beareth hardship, and to whom life is not more dear than the end for which it is to be endured. I have set my face like a flint against their assaults: I know they shall not prevail against me, for the Lord is with me to save me, and keep me. I fear nothing but myself. A single moment of forgetfulness, the least act of rashness, might cut the thread on which our lives hang, but it is my prayer and hope that the Lord will perfect me in humility and self-abasement, so that nothing shall be able to offend me that does not offend him, and then I may safely leave the requital of my wrongs to him.

Among other measures contrived to make my visits disagreeable to myself as well as my hosts, one was that the latter were to plead deafness and dumbness, and as soon as I came in sight, they were to motion with the hand, by pointing to their mouth and ears, and shaking the head in the negative. It would be amusing, but out of place here, to tell you how I surprised some of these mimic fools into a sudden cure, but this device shows you that no method is left untried to prevent the introduction of the gospel, especially into houses of the better sort. Still here and there I have found, and to my surprise, still find at least an ear to hear; and the rest I leave cheerfully with Him. who promised that his word shall accomplish that which he pleases, and prosper in the thing whereto he sends it. I greatly long and pray for a companion in these rare trials, for though I fear not the reproach of man, nor am afraid of their revilings, I am afraid of their lying falsehoods, and it is but prudent to wish for a witness, where both parties are full of distrust, and a breach is impending every moment

The kung-kwán, or public office at Napa, is a building which serves for public business and for a school; I visited it regularly for eighteen months, meeting there from five to thirty, and even as many as fifty persons, when I happened to surprise them at official meetings. Sometimes, if the leaders were inimically disposed, a hint from them sufficed, and the whole congregation jumped out of the windows, or over the wall into the neighboring houses. But usually I have been and am still pretty well received, only that at present I can not get out one single answer from them to my questions. In this office, for several

months I had a few books hung upon a nail, which I always found on the spot on my arrival; in a similar way, I held some maps there stuck up on the wall. Gradually all this was discontinued, as none would produce either books or maps when I asked for them a second time. I likewise regularly visited the public office at Tumai (the village in which the French missionaries resided) for nearly a year, meeting there very many children. I continued my visits to this place for a long time, even after I had found none there beside the two guards. The kung-kwún at Napa, being near at hand, has still my attention, though less regularly; I usually find there the same company, and they have heard enough to know better. My time is certainly better spent among the peasants and workmen, than among the class of literati, who are all fed on the sweat and labor of the enslaved common people—a class, whose members, unlike their fellows in China, are here never allowed to raise themselves to stations of power.

Among the poor, especially in very filthy neighborhoods, where, according to Confucian etiquette, I am sure even their cynic Liú-hiá Hwui 机下 惠 might have hesitated to venture,\* I have somewhat more freedom, provided it be not at, or near the harbor, where I have always met with the most determined opposition. Need I say to him who knows that God has chosen the poor, the weak, yea, even the foolish and base things of the word, that missionary visits to the most degraded class of fellow-men are the most sought after and welcome, inasmuch as they have the mercy of the Scriptures plainly on their side. And though I would despair to bring any aid merely human to bear upon such a destitute, brutalized mass as our poor are, I can not for a moment doubt divine things must have their promised effect on them. If the dry bones of Ezekiel's valley began to live, and the stones by Jordan's shores are said to quicken into children of Abraham, the hand of God is surely not too short to reach and remedy Lewchewan abjects. Yet even among these outcasts of humanity the unseen enemy of the soul has his usual stronghold, and the general rule of espionage.

<sup>\*</sup> Liù-hiá Hwui was one of the seventy-two worthies, who were disciples and many of them cotemporaries of Confucius. His family name was Chen, and his name Hwoh; he received the title of Liù-hiá, or Under the Willow, from the place where he ruled. He belonged to the same country and age as Confucius, and enjoyed the confidence of his sovereign. He was very strict in his observance of the forms of etiquette, and is chiefly known for his not noticing a young girl of eight or ten years of age, who was once seated in his lap by a relative. He is also styled Chi-ching

though occasionally slackened, is still so visibly interfering, that I have little to boast, and much to be humbled for, even among the humble.

At the beginning of the present year our troubles multiplied thick upon us; these two things befell us, famine and beating. Our appointed purveyors for some time supplied us with the worst articles possible, so that we were obliged to refuse payment, and of course, refuse all acceptance of food through them. On one occasion, I succeeded in getting a man with a horse-load of potatoes into the house-no mean proof that the natives have neither enmity against us, nor desire to know of any law prohibiting dealings with foreigners. The step was taken so suddenly on my part, and so early in the morning, that I had my man in the lane leading up to our house, before the spies were on the alert. A' tremendous hooting drove off the man as soon as he came in, but being so near I led the horse up to the door myself. However, on going out for other purchases, we met with a frightful accident. I had a servant with me at the time, and after selecting and laying down a good price for a piece of meat, ordered him to take it home. But on hearing the spies cry out and order the rabble to run after and tear it away from him, I took the meat into my own hand, and twice succeeded in dissuading them from attacking me, but they were repeatedly urged on, so that I took to my heels. Through a whole long street they pursued and finally overtook, and tore away from me this purchase made in a way, for which we have established several precedents in the markets, where no opposition had been attempted, neither towards myself nor Mrs. B., whenever we laid down silver coin for the articles we took from a stall. This public attack and disgraceful defeat frightened us greatly, and certainly there was ground for it. considering the effect such scenes have on the mass of this population.

In this trying juncture of circumstances, we heard of an English bark being wrecked off Kumisan, whose captain had been brought hither by two American whalers to solicit a junk in order to take off his cargo, and wait until some ship put in, the whalers not being able to give him any other succor. It would take me too much time to spare, in this already long paper, were I to detail all the treachery with which this "hospitable" government met our application. Captain Clark had to find his way in the whalers to Shánghái, from whence H. M. S. Mariner was ordered over to the assistance of the wreck. A letter intrusted to the whalers, in which we begged succor from the nearest British authority, thus reached our consul at Shánghái, and though when the Mariner was here, I was not told she had been sent further than to Kumisan, I still incline to think the urgent note I ad-

dressed to the captain of any ship that might arrive at Kumisan, and which the officers here were over glad to take thither and keep in readiness, was not of itself sufficient to bring a man of war seventy miles off its track. I am therefore grateful for any hint Mr. Alcock felt himself permitted to give for extending us so opportune a relief.

This government, persuaded that I had now had enough of Lewchewan hospitality, sent message after message to learn if the ship could be induced to come hither, supposing that I would avail myself of the opportunity. To make still more sure, on my advice, they prepared and kept ready a letter at Kumisan, in case the ship would or could not put in here, to be sent to the governor of Hongkong. They hesitated long before they ventured on such a step, which they plainly saw assumed a political character, and upon which ground I found it all the more palatable; for I thought it a good piece of diplomacy to bring about an overture from a Japanese government to English officials, however trifling the motive might be.

Our situation was such that I felt fully justified in appealing to the English government for protection, but being persuaded that a missionary's prayer would likely be quite disregarded, I tried to give it as much weight as I could. Since the government here with pleasure became my secretary, I confess I expected that some step or other would be taken by the English government, if not for us, at least for themselves. The way was open, the passage from Hongkong or Shánghải to Napa takes from four to six days, and for so long a time. it seemed to me an English ship might absent itself, and no doubt often does so for naval exercise. So cheap and easy an opening for diplomatic relations with Japan, who knows when it will offer again? Government here saw eye to eye with me. I told them, that though I had often written on the difficulties I meet, none will easily believe that the rulers of a country, which has obtained such renown for hospitality, should be in earnest in opposing the residence among them of a family which brings them advantage, and never can do them any harm. I further told them, that I was sent by a public body, very much interested in the welfare of Lewchew, and that I can by no means return without first hearing from them on the subject. Moreover, I am here so placed, that I can not call a ship over here when I like; it must be sent, or come of itself, and as the English government, in cases when no other can be got, will always feel it their duty to succor a subject by a ship of war when near, it is quite likely, if the authorities in Lewchew bring the case strongly and clearly enough before our government, that we would obtain a ship to take us off. I have been the more particular in giving you the secret springs of this transaction, for I am persuaded that evil-minded persons will avail themselves of the dispatch written by the Lewchewan authorities to our governor, to prove more conclusively that I assumed an official character. At the same time, I confess, I promised myself direct relief from any issue the matter might take; and some hopes indirectly, since the government here would now be persuaded I was ready to leave if recalled. What they actually wrote to governor Bonham I know not, but they told me it was in all respects parallel to the following dispatch, addressed to the captain of the Mariner.

"A prepared petition. Sháng Tingchú, the superintendent of affairs and great minister (now the Regent), and Má Liángtsái, the treasurer (or governor) of the department of Chungshán in the kingdom of Lewchew, hereby beg you to take pity on us, and receive Bettelheim on board and carry him home, in order to do a favor to this little land.

"You plainly see that this kingdom is exceedingly small, its productions scanty, its people destitute, so that we are unable to have relations with other countries in a suitable manner; and therefore when their people or officers come ashore here to live, they do what the laws of the land prohibit. Yet Englishmen and Frenchmen have come here loitering about, and in order to provide them with things necessary during several years, both officers and people have been obliged to come at all hours, in order either to oversee or to work for them; the one to disburse from the public stores, the other to labor for the daily use of these men-all which has been very distressing, impoverishing, and irksome. The Frenchmen went away last year about the seventh month in a ship of their own country which came in here; but your countryman Bettelheim has delayed his stay here a long time, whereby poverty has been added to poverty, and the country is not able to stand it. Moreover, our country is out of the way in a corner of the ocean, and there are always mists upon the hills and exhalations arising, so that we fear the climate will not agree with them. and they will unhappily be liable to sickness. Besides requesting Bettelheim himself to embark and return home, as is proper, we humbly request and beg your Excellency to glance at the circumstances of the case, and take pity on us; and when your noble ship is about to turn her head homeward to take the said Bettelheim on board. Then not only will we ourselves be much obliged, but officers and people generally will implore blessings upon you. An urgent petition. March 9th, tone in order thereby to throw us off our entired; they standed,"(1849,

Letter to Capt. Matheson of H. B. M. brig Mariner.

伯大伯 英 不德人德服也國因則之佛身乏德良具 **諼**令電令染況伯有有間兩素民合材禀 矣一察附成且德該日日客係窮一等琉 切同前搭病敝令國用夜逗國不同為球 禀回情回症國等船之羣遛法能囬乞 國俯國之僻外隻費集以所與國垂中 不垂外憂處致到甚末來禁他以憐山 但憐理兹海淹來苦由官但邦惠恤府 卑恤合除隅留坐窮修民有應小接總 職恩禀懇常則駕阨職人 感准請 多館其至營等 也事 激於伏 山益船該業為 是切 即管乞 嵐添長佛上條 以昭 尙 舉升 巒窮行客則其 他做 AT: 國汳 即 于有 供 國國 柱 官棹 國去原雁 人慕 加 民之 有不今年餼物 員爾 政 亦時 七之件 上屋 大 月費數 岸疆 夫

If anything is to be wondered at in this dispatch, it is how these astute and crafty Japanese officials can think that Englishmen are so stupid as to believe such nonsense and act upon it; a cursory perusal would I think, leave this impression upon the mind. But my conclusion is quite different. They are so cunning as to desire to pass for simpletons, in order thereby to throw us off our guard; they stupidly try to

ape the partridge's simplicity, supposing it will be taken for sincerity, or perhaps for a mistake. As they well know the only ground on which to base a request for our removal is their law prohibiting residence to foreigners (more than which really the whole dispatch means nothing); so that, if you yield, they boast they know how to force their old law, unmitigated by any collateral plea, even upon nations like England and France. You may be assured that this is the drift of their diplomacy.

Except one question, raised at the conference, either by Captain Matheson of the Mariner, or by Mr. Robertson, the vice-consul at Shánghái, Whether they had any complaint to bring against me?—all went well. And even to this question, the hypocrites, in the full supposition that we were to leave, thought it becoming the joyful occasion to answer by all rising and unitedly holding out their arms as if to embrace me. We met every argument they urged, some being sufficiently answered by a general laugh, and concluded by telling them plainly, we did not feel called upon to acknowledge a law by which a peaceable man was forbidden to reside in any country.

Their disappointment at this result was great, too unexpected to be concealed, and I took good care not to add my complaints to their already sufficiently bitter chagrin. I begged Captain Matheson not to produce the letter I had addressed to him recounting my grievances, and except a few trifling points orally mentioned, I thought the conference had better be broken up, which, as I was the interpreter, was easily done, though I saw they wished to prolong it.

How little advantage Christian nations can promise themselves to obtain from Japan, by yielding, temporizing, gentlemanly, appeals, has already been many times shown; and how little, on a minor scale, we gained here by the intercessions of the Mariner was soon seen; for a passage across the river in the public ferry-boat was refused me, as heretofore, and still more unmistakably in another pelting at noonday, which I received before March ended, while addressing a few people in the streets, at their open shop doors. On my repeated complaints, I got only a verbal message, that a boy, wishing to drive off some fowls, had missed the birds and struck the wall, from which the stone rebounded and hit me on the inside of the fore-arm, a place to which no missile taking such a ramble could possibly find its way, and still less retain force enough to inflict a considerable wound.

I come now to an epoch in our history, which may be peculiarly interesting to you, namely, the visit of the American sloop of war Preble, Commander Glynn. No sooner had I rowed near her, than the officers

vied with each other, who should be first to show me sympathy. "Seven boxes for you, Sir!" was the salutation given me before I had even set foot on the gallant ship. "Seven boxes," said I; "well, there will certainly be one man with them." The kind greeters knew not what I referred to; I meant a missionary brother, for whom I would have given seven boxes of my own, even for a simple European servant. But if there was no man who came to remain with me, there was Capt. Glynn and his excellent corps of officers to do for us, as much as they possibly could while here; and though it became apparent, even the next morning, that little Yedo has as good means as big Yedo to have little intercourse with an American man of war, and all hope of any melioration of our position by the kind offices of a friendly ship was of course cut off, still the single fact that Captain Glynn bought provisions in the market and paid for them, and had them carried home by natives, notwithstanding the hostile position government assumed against his ship, has done you, and consequently us, more good than Commodore Biddle did with his three-decker in having a look at the capital of Japan.

These, however, are matters foreign to me as a missionary, but I can not omit to beg you to make my heartfelt acknowledgments both to Commander Glynn and his officers for the many presents and contributions made us in a variety of ways, most considerate on their part; among these, Dr. Burt's forgetting a fine Manila hat and a new fashioned coat, was not the least charming specimen of the method with which gift upon gift was put upon us. I wish I could walk half as much as the shoes and boots Captain Glynn gave me would serve; but there is an end to my excursions, unless a man comes to my help, who can stay at my house, or at least in Napa, while I am absent at a distance. Since my Chinese servant left in the Mariner, I can not stir from home. I am the more thankful to your countrymen, for I could in no way requite, or even gratify them, by procuring any native articles for them, a service which I could formerly always do for ships in port; for the Preble I could not get even a single potato, and I am therefore quite in debt to her generous officers.

I am now near the conclusion of this paper, and wish only to add a copy of one more dispatch, which will leave no one in doubt respecting the lying duplicity of this government, and in which, besides a plain mention of the case of the Preble, will be found a variety of topics entered into, quite unusual in Lewchewan official papers; you will thus be the more fully able to advise us on the further steps to be taken, if any are found advisable, for this mission.

背 書 間 貴英 客即察得來國公最出准客大內客敬 者着前運此船耳少產其出人云尊啟 案官由貢以隻一矣素事銀面經札者 查訪嗣辦事到切至少今僱前在數前 問後公出來私于不乃馬議 條日 並停失于即用民但如僱准 其接 無止便非停猶家百此艇 可有 覆 强僱不常止苦小姓說無 止馬少而前難船不者阻 者 僱故不項辦造敷實滯 恭加 船雖得運况作馱出也 陳 〇有不貢于不貨于鬼 于 又僱辦辦人多之意職 後 云船也公賃所用外前 0 强之倘聊益有抑敝日 = 业 請 平 撥 覺 數 且 國 上 月 日二其船士馬英 + 輙三難只民匹船 免 經 Ti 許小然不畜如之 日 行辭人船逢過而前時 接 仍賃以有運騎日曾 到 方乞則通 貢之所無 尊 隋洞不往 辦者告議 札

貴 重 耶 耶 耶 賢孟來戶班穌而蘇貴穌止愚客案客 遺之叨也不之觀之客之貿民示今行 法道列〇多道者道欲道易趕諭因路 永官中又者也或在教者全着復 致民朝云當員有各 傳不欲已 時 安各屏耶主吏站街間可聽行 不 翰穌人役住上也聖令 許 之 其 專 全 出 等 而 用 敝 道 各 愚 能外细看手 國者處 治分 民 工工不嚴 如 得 無 之 喝 者 比 11 以限時逐此勢自可加 兒 無關其非高官也檢 等 修 吏且束 身 量別聚欲聲人 央 下使勿 iiil 恋 誰窗觀聽講 至舖莲 家 逆戶者 解 得 百家〇 其此又行 罪 至 等 姓等又 國 旨非店 路 因 無掩云 平官舖 之 家 屢 欲門探 散 吏 爲 人 政 經 國等習 或 聽畫卒 務 飭 目着俗 有 亦 時等 示 古令也赶 行 在 聖 以關店 行

**业實内意識与 少** 發 精 調理團無 **吡**南小隆國却代云由 不渐再式 八有會歌曲乙艷內部 縣品粥林 日而候要百來共外夫 日卷圣藤 而本面砂 露一斯多 ○ 今 其 二 部 辦 罰 籍 發 阻 出論业預 聯上十兵縣际副日鄰 郊去四顏 郑旭道班 以聽聞月去的亚亦十六 國 酥栗 辛 長無鳳三團日當书二頭 乙麻味之 **西並前〇眼前感使月八 動簽習**年 环 人 因 得 三 素 輕 持 或 至 资 道 在 赛其部的永石無視〇朔 与間告表 祝翔 人 糊 国 映 心 其 卦 峌 翱 預 另 润 反 乙蒂黑不部乙科至嗣惠日A 引 B 凶 **心土亦國 兵** 韩 否 未 者 二 人 派 荷 豊 人甾醇回手硫鳕变剂豆时野蛸吸入 東五市流明以切能源市在非 孔 園 人 幣 远 宜 明 請 卑 未 四 中 迟 书 平 **董 前 塚 琢 日 野 來 夫 为 史 干 衞 具 幺 察** 楓客精舟云野隻置跪午稽客行谷意 调量 置置災

貴 英 消 金 合 安乘奉女或更使客 覇 佛 痂 不病還兒有有痘逗 辦亞 于 風所療溫 理 期 一間 王 種 聊以痘氣希流益 中 公國 尙 九 流者行苦 國 船 年 用 具上 TOT 俟行牛則公末隻 流 四 鄙 數 由 行 月 若 痘 不 用 接 端 回 或 敬 本 咸 欲 之免之 修 踵 林 中 之使法死煩職 到 + 行 應 使 雖亡現營 六 及 來 回 後 孩 云之今業上 H 覆 早 方 兒 不思舉且自 中 回 無 14 因官 為 覆 流矣國 播 所 行故人 時 府 包但 種 役 備 患 出 總 民曾民 涵 下 况 田 痘 病 遣 極 理 並 將 間 又 是 大 臥 然員其 所 百 請 床 不 爲 臣 送 姓 國 届 第 異 辭 B 辰 習 尙 未新 人新若 夜 年 俗 見種 狂 駐 殊爲于 以 逗 深體此 劄 來 法 愈 覆 恐諒時 那因 今論

Reply of the Regent on several points.

"A respectful communication. Your several letters were received some days ago, and those parts which can be answered are all herewith replied to in order. On the 7th April, your letter was received, in which you say, that, 'In the presence of an English captain, it had already been agreed to permit you to hire horses and boats with your own money, &c.,\* and that no obstruction would be put in the way of doing so.' When I was on board the English ship, there was no reference or assent to such a thing, and in saying so, you have certainly exceeded what I understood upon the matter. The horses of this country, as I told you before, are usually few in number, and the people themselves have not enough to transport their goods; whilst those which are reared for scholars and people to ride upon are extremely few.† As to boats, the people construct very few, and those which are made are only used to carry taxes, or on the public service; so that to allow a private person to use them is somewhat difficult, and to hire them out to an individual is still more out of the question. Even when one of your country's ships arrive, we have to suspend the public service of carrying articles in which they may happen to be engaged, and take off two or three boats for a while to go to and fro; this, however, is an occasional service, and must of course be attended to. But if we should permit them to be hired out to persons, they could not be employed on government service as they are needed, which would be highly detrimental. Therefore, although you have requested to hire boats, I have repeatedly begged to decline the request; and also again draw your attention to the circumstances of the case, and beg that you will stop hiring horses and boats.

"As you also observe, 'I am forcibly stopped, and hindered from going about,' I immediately ordered the officers to inquire into the matter, and it seems that you, Sir, are not forcibly stopped. It appears, in fact, that when you go abroad into the streets, you say you are unwilling that the rustic people, the little children, and others, should violate all propriety and offend you; consequently, I have again

<sup>\*</sup> The captain of H. B. M. brig Mariner. In my communication, I did not say permitted, which of course I could not do before the experiment was made. I only said that the object had been spoken of, and it was one of the topics mentioned in my letter to Capt. Matheson.

t When the French ships were here, their officers rode about in numerous parties, and when I went to Oonting on a visit to Admiral Cecille, accompanying the officers of a French merchant brig, we had the best horses, and at the post-houses had a choice of relays from among 20 to 30 horses.

and again given my orders to this effect, as is on record. And now once more, on getting your dispatch, I have again issued the most stringent injunctions for the people not to disobey, but to preserve the utmost respect.\*

"What you further say, 'That the spies and soldiers terrify the rustic people, and drive off those who are wishing to hear the holy doctrine,' is not correct; and still more unjust is it to say that they cause the shopkeepers and people to shut their doors, laborers to cease from their work in midday, and all business to be suspended. For in this country, from the highest officers to the lowest of the people, nobody wants to hear the doctrines of Jesus.† I have heard it said that when you, Sir, desire to preach the doctrine of Jesus, you go in the streets, gesticulating, and speaking in a loud voice; but passersby, even if they run up to gaze at you, do not thereby prove their desire to hear the doctrine of Jesus. The policemen, or the officers, do not hoot at or drive away those who gather to look, and those in the shops are only acting as is their custom. We have no great number of shops, and when the master wishes to go out, the doors and windows are closed, but this is not done by command of the officers or police.

"You remark, 'Jesus is almighty, and his power immeasurable and boundless; who can resist his will?" For ages, we in this land have rejoiced, with the rulers and statesmen of China, in learning the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius alone. By these, rulers and ruled, according to their several stations, are able to cultivate virtue, and regulate their households; and in the government of the country, we follow the rules left behind by those sage and holy men, which have been to us an everlasting canon of peace and prosperity: but the hearts of men do not at all incline to hear the doctrines of Jesus. You have in days past orally explained, and nobody has received them; though you still loiter and hang about here for a long time, wishing people to hear them, yet nobody will believe and accept them. Hereafter I wish you would cease this preaching, and when a ship

<sup>\*</sup> I never complained against any but the spies. Government declared that it is the children and peasants which molest me; and the drift of this promised injunction to preserve the utmost respect is that the people will be more strictly driven off, should I address them. The context of facts is absolutely necessary to enable you to read aright these official papers.

<sup>†</sup> We have the best reasons for saying that when a Japanese official document speaks of the nation, it supposes it to be absorbed in the wellbeing of a few rulers.

arrives, go aboard of her and return home. This is what I earnestly hope you will do.

"On the 14th of April, I received your letter in which you say, 'Should the ship [Preble] which left here yesterday, or should one or two other American ships be sent hither, the tsung-li kwán (the regent) should by no means conduct towards them as he did to the one on the previous day.' Now, when a foreign ship comes here, we treat her with propriety, and never exhibit the least contempt. When the American ship anchored, I sent the treasurer to salute her captain, and prepare the articles he wanted; how could we presume to neglect anything? I am therefore quite at a loss to know what you mean by your remark.

"On the 21st April, I received your letter in which you observe, 'All the children, who have not yet had the small-pox, should come to my house for vaccination.' I thereupon sent a high officer politely to decline the proposition. But afterwards, on the 24th, you wrote again to say, 'That when a man was vaccinated, the pox only appeared on a spot, and did not extend over the whole body, and therefore the disease could not spread among the people; and you sent a volume called Account of a New Mode of Vaccination.' I have before intimated to you that we are already well acquainted with the mode of curing the small-pox; but as this country is poor and its productions scanty, we must ascertain whether or not the year is an abundant one before we commence vaccination, inquire into the ages of the children. and prepare a store of medicines and provisions, after which we will get-pox scabs from China, and distribute them in the land, and require all the children to be vaccinated at the same time. This is our usual practice. But just now, I think it is too early in the year to vaccinate, and the store of medicines is not ready.\* Furthermore, since 1844, on account of English, French, and American ships coming here one after another, every class of people, officers and plebeians. have been obliged to stop at Napa, and attend to the public service. even to the detriment of their own public functions and private business. And you, Sir, too, by loitering here, have much increased our troublesome public duties, and now the whole kingdom† is greatly im-

<sup>\*</sup> My stock of medicines is at their service, if they need any. Last year the officers sent cows to me to be examined whether any vaccine virus could be obtained from them, so sensible had they become to the importance of vaccination from my repeated representations on the subject. This year some virus was received by the Preble.

<sup>†</sup> That is, really the rulers.

poverished. If, therefore, the small-pox was to spread among us at this juncture, we certainly could not escape the calamity of death; and it was on this account that I sent an officer to beg to decline the offer, and I also request you to accede to it.

"There is one thing more, which is rather observable. Though the New Method says that the small-pox will not spread among the people, still the natives of different countries are unlike, and I am very fearful that the effluence or virus may get abroad. If you wish to vaccinate your daughter,\* I beg you will wait until you return to your own country, when it can be done. For these reasons, I return herewith the copy of the New Method of Vaccination.

"I would have earlier replied to these several points, but I was confined to my bed by illness, and write these few words even before I am at all well, which I send as a respectful answer, begging at the same time you will excuse me, and wishing you the highest peace.

"Reply of the Regent Shang Tingchú. May 18th, 1849."

A greater tissue of the most palpable misstatements and pretexts, betrayed too by the very enforcement and stress laid on points where they felt their error to be unmistakable, and a better proof of their obstinate and ever increasing opposition to even the most advantageous and philanthropic offer to do good to the nation, can not be given. The document is also remarkable for its discussion on the religion of Jesus, a name, which formerly they could not bear, and on account of which they returned several of my dispatches. This, notwithstanding the language they still dare use against the King of kings and Lord of lords, I consider as a point gained, and proof that persevering effort has a softening effect, even on Japanese hatred to Christianity. That which deserves prominent consideration, too, is, that this dispatch clearly demonstrates that the rulers perfectly know I am a missionary and nothing else, and that whatever they do say, or may have said, on the political nature of my mission, is mere hypocritical foppery, as they themselves are convinced that a messenger at all authorized by a European government would not have been left four years in such destitution, at the mercy of the populace.

Weary as I am of writing, I must not omit all mention of a visit from the Nancy Dawson, a Thames yacht, on a trip round the world, which put in here, May 22d. Imagine the delight of my wife to be

<sup>\*</sup> This is to give the paper an air of sincerity, for the writers knew at the time, that my habe had been vaccinated, though I am sorry to say it did not take.

again in the company of a lady—a Londoner too like herself, after so long a separation from all female society. Captain and Mrs. Shedden were all friendship and generosity towards us. Omitting further details, I will only mention that a meeting was arranged between Capt. Shedden and the authorities, at which the latter were outmanœuvred, and obliged to keep possession of a letter I had prevailed on Capt. S. to write them concerning us. I suppose they took it for an official note, and felt at a loss to decide what to do; for if it was official, it must have an answer, but how to reply, if not disposed to yield, was their dilemma. One night, after we were already in bed, tired with fatigue, and depressed with grief occasioned by parting that day with our friends in the yacht, and after the officials had had four days' time to prepare a reply, the messengers came knocking at the door, in great haste to deliver the answer to Capt. Shedden's letter, as if there was now any way left me of recalling him. At the same time, another dispatch was given to me full of excuses for the delay, and of regret for the sudden departure of the ship, and begging I would read over Capt. Shedden's letter.

Reply to Capt. Shedden's letter.

大 經等如等求兵客人但等國水 且 着由此但託船之自因 由定送 禀 動查英貴伯主誠遠 鲜札 敝其 琉 用該兵國德在請方 價食內 球 工船主指令此勿來 值物 國 項主之阻將之給聊 九 本 本 中 口 交所好此價間價送 小官官 山 給買名人錢買叉水 就多 府 賣物受免交來云菜 物奉謝 總 人件辱收于數近少 关 多 本 理 不價不價賣東來展 無之蒙船 恭 大 幾 晋 央 付 使錢勝值人西英待

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自爲法有不杜戶來驚禮 有人他 伯貧又他肯禦至俗 嚇 相 英免吃 良 徳民云國 臣 倘伯于稱 接 收處 令風所人若德民西 星星 兩 購 逗聞異 有令家洋大無 回 溫不者 需人又平人聲 使 受 以但國物賣云日爲嗬他 辱 來遠政件與自開嗬 蘭受 數 舉實 布 必 英家 門 囒 他 辱 第 且散飭臣買惟他喘宽 屈 或 屬者何當此蘭 官叉流 屈 乙誤然 吏則東家非他之案 也、乙 民 加 國西人輕掩事等又禮 奉害說買 政遣出慢門 伯 辨 又 由 德 從家外之掩云 奔 英 做 伯勿 不 許重人之語 走國 介 門 自 國 投之等 私治食時也等 家 於 罪物乃又 由 往 爲 待 等買行官 職 杂 不 做 來 伯 文 所 等 來關 或 賣 由 家 或 7 德 是做乃開 做 自 時令 关 琉 關 古 机 至 為 國 國不 有 逢政是門 以人以 困 國 球 國

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"A prepared petition. Shing Tingchu, the prime-minister (or regent) of the department of Chungshan in Lewchew, hereby replies, bringing proofs for the truth of his words.

"A few days ago, I respectfully received your excellency's dispatch, in which it is said, 'Your government has treated me very kindly in sending water to my vessel, and giving me fresh provisions, for which I am greatly obliged and thank you; I beg you to set the price for them, and I will accordingly send the money, &c.' Our little kingdom, like a cannon-ball for bigness, can furnish but few productions; yet since your excellency has personally come here from afar, we have managed to send you water and a few vegetables; for this trifling token of hospitality, we beg you not to think of paying.

"You also remark, 'The captain of a British man of war lately in here bought several articles, for which he requested Bettelheim to pay those who sold them; but your government prohibited their receiving the money, and kept them away, by which conduct the good name of the captain of a British man of war is greatly disgraced.' The fact is, in regard to the articles purchased by this captain, the money had already been disbursed from the public treasury, and paid over to the sellers, so that they could suffer no loss; and as we officers always wish to act towards visitors with proper hospitality, I begged him not pay for them. I fear, therefore you have been misinformed as to the sellers having been driven away, and not receiving their money.\*

"You further say, 'Bettelheim has written me a letter, in which he mentions two instances when he was disgraced, and many other cases of oppression and wrong done him.' This government has ever behaved towards Bettelheim with propriety, and never in the least degree caused him to be disgraced, nor has it wrongfully oppressed him. And you say he adds, 'When I go out and in, there are persons who affright the common people, and cry out with a loud voice, A Hollander! A Hollander! Shut your doors!' Now we here commonly call all who come from the West, Holland-

<sup>\*</sup> The truth is, that as the authorities thought I was going to leave in the Mariner, they afforded us great facilities, and a bill was made out in presence of Capt. Matheson of all the things we bought. But the upshot altered matters. When I resorted to the market where the earthenware was bought, the overseer, who had made out the bills, and all purchasers and sellers, were driven off. I wrote repeatedly to the government, but in vain; and at last took the money and threw it down on the spot where the purchase had been made. I could not learn, however, whether the money ever came into the hands of the seller.

ers,\* and the term is not at all a disparaging one. Further, officers usually keep their doors shut, but the common people let their's remain open during the day, except the household is going out, when the doors are barred; this is not done to annoy nor as a defense against Bettelheim.

"Again you remark: 'When he (Bettelheim) goes out to purchase articles himself, or when he sends servants to buy eatables, the laws forbid it; and whoever sells to him are regarded and punished as criminals by the laws.' Now the regulations of this country in dealing with foreigners require that official compradors be employed to purchase whatever may be needed, and do not permit private dealings.

"Further you remark, 'It is very surprising that a report should be spread abroad among the people, that Bettelheim and his family impoverish the country by living in it, and that they will make the Lewchewans a poor people; this report is not at all true, and injures the reputation of England.' Since the time that Bettelheim came here, the whole country—officers and people, have had orders to serve him most zealously, and have done so, even to the damage of their own duties and business, until they are quite weary of it; they have not presumed to circulate a report of his impoverishing the land, and thus defaming your honorable country's reputation.

"And again you observe: 'Bettelheim is obliged to pay very high prices for food and other things he buys, and yet he pays the utmost farthing.' The articles which Bettelheim requires are reckoned according to the current and fair market-price; but as no gold or silver coin is current here,† that which he pays is laid up in the government treasury, to be ready for use in making articles: how can we force up the price, and be thus seeking for gain!

"Further; 'In our days, commerce is greatly extending in these seas, English and vessels of other western countries are going to and

<sup>\*</sup> The origin of the appellation may have been innocent, as indeed they formerly knew only of the Dutch visiting Nagasaki; but at present, in common parlance, Oranda means barbarian, and is a word used somewhat as fánkwei is at Canton, to frighten children with.

t Purchases are made here with silver according to its weight, but there are proofs enough of the existence of a currency, and the great consumption of gold and silver. The head ornaments constantly buried with their owners, the extensive trade with Japan, the imports from China, the peddling trade throughout the islands, the mere mention of a treasury in a dispatch like this,—amply show that coin or bullion is used.

fro, and will necessarily come into this port; if your government treat them well, and prepare for sale necessaries for their use, the country will soon flourish, and be greatly the gainers by such a traffic.' This country is small and its productions few, and when a foreign ship comes in here, even the water and vegetables she requires are obtained and furnished with difficulty; as to preparing articles for selling to them, it certainly is more than the resources of this kingdom would permit. How then, can we be scheming for gain, and laying plans for enriching ourselves?

"And lastly you say; 'Bettelheim has a large supply of medicines which he brought here from England; if any person is afflicted with disease, request him to come to his house, and the English doctor will zealously do all he can to cure him.' For a very long period, we have practiced the medical art in this country as it is done in China; and in healing diseases, we have therefore no need of employing the English modes of cure.

"I humbly beg your excellency to examine this, and consider these things. An earnest petition. May 27th, 1849."

The conclusion of this letter, of which one most gratifying feature is the omission of prayer for, or even an allusion to our removal, leads me to add a few words on my medical labors.

In the first year of my arrival, I had upwards of fifty patients, most of them suffering from cutaneous diseases-leprosy, psora, lepra, elephantiasis, tumors, &c., just as you have in China. I think the night soil, universally used for manure here as it is in China, without undergoing any preparatory process, and the almost exclusive use of pork as animal food, are among, if not the only chief causes of the prevalence of these disorders. We ourselves, and our poor children, have suffered, and the latter still suffer from psora, in many of its forms. We have obtained some relief by giving up the use of pork and protecting our feet, for the naked feet of the natives (which, before the Preble pitied us, we were obliged to imitate) has no doubt much to do with the frequency of elephantiasis, and other malignant pustules, which from the extremities spread disorder over the whole system. Cataract, leucoma and staphyloma, are not rare, but I only succeeded in getting hold of the hand of a man whose eyes were both covered with leucoma; I led him home, but besides there not being much hope of recovery or relief, he was removed on the second day of treatment by my guard. Several respectable persons from the capital called, and the itch ointment and eye-water promised well; since the death of the king all this has been stopped.

In my visits to families, I met with several cases of heart-rending destitution from want of medical aid. I took medicine to their houses; but on my next visit, bottle, medicine, all, had taken been by the emissaries, and the patients begged me not to expose them to danger and penalties, in addition to the pains they already suffered from illness and want. Since the Nancy Dawson left, I have offered medicines in two cases, which were accepted and used with good effect. Perhaps the express mention made by Capt. Shedden on this topic had some effect. Ophthalmic cases are very frequent, and from neglect or ill treatment many of them lead to blindness.

About the time of the equinoxes, frightful mortality reigns, of which the numerous burials in the cemeteries on both sides of our residence make us mournful witnesses. This year many deaths happened in our neighborhood, and the water of our open wells becoming scarcely drinkable from the mud washed in by the long and heavy rains, I offered the magistrate of Napa twenty dollars to let curbs and covers be made to the wells of this neighborhood. The lying spirit dared to send the money back, accompanied by an official note, in which he told me, though it rained ever so long, that not a drop entered our wells, and they had no need of my money, or of my advice about putting alum or coals into the water. I had also some surgical exercise when the French brig Pacifique was here. I amputated the fore-arm of a sailor in the Nancy Dawson, who had been injured by a shot. He left the fourth day after the operation in a promising state.

To sum up. This station, abstracted from the iniquitous interference of government, has proved no exception to the general way in which newly opened missions proceed; and considering that this is Japan, the want of exception is already in its favor. The divine argument against depraved Israel, "Hath a nation changed their their gods which are no gods," is certainly felt also under the gospel, notwithstanding its being a commandment of the ever blessed God made known to all nations for the obedience of faith. Nor must we forget the singular and peculiar situation of this nation of Lewchew. "Her father was an Ammonite, and her mother a Hittite:"-China and Japan have begotten and foster this bastard people, and the iniquities of both taint their very soul. Your may justly infer the disposition of this government and nation from what you see in the reception they give the doctrines of the cross, and the effect these will exert on them when received. Japan itself is a child of China, in faith, literature, and national morals; and the proverb holds good, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's

teeth are set on edge." Here they won't bite into any fruit which China has declared to be sour. To this must be added, that Lewchew, unlike China and Japan, never stood in any connection with foreigners, has had no relation whatever with a Christian nation, nor sent her ships to distant ports. They have "settled on their lees, they have not been emptied from vessel to vessel, therefore their taste remaineth in them, and their scent is not changed." God has now sent them wandering, and they shall wander; they must submit to his divine discipline, and eventually enter the ranks of his tributary kingdoms.

But the Gospel, since the age of miracles closed, has worked its way by means and effects, and its progress has been proportionate to the means employed, and their adaptation to the various modifications the several localities offer. Now, in this respect this mission is left in unparalleled destitution. It would have been much better not to have begun it, than to carry it on in such a heart-breaking way. For though the want of success is certainly much owing to my unworthiness and incapacity, still, in a great measure it may also be accounted for by the want of adequate machinery to carry forward such an arduous undertaking. For what can a single naked hand do towards breaking up all this hard fallow-ground? What am I before this mountain? Not only did the study of these languagesthe Chinese, the Lewchewan, and the kindred Japanese, fall on me, and the harassing opposition we experience, retard both myself and Mrs. B., but a great amount of domestic labor, so that often time and strength failed for prosecuting that labor, for which alone it is worth while to suffer these daily hardships and vexations. In this land "where every prospect pleases, and only man is vile," the difficulty is not to live and work as a missionary, but to live at all, to live and move about as a man. I am persuaded a merchant or a mechanic would be as much opposed here as I am. The means used by government to rid themselves of us are all directed against the animal man; they beat, they pelt, they starve us, when they please; they send us bad provisions and abridge our locomotion, and knowing we possess a modicum of human feeling, they harass and vex us in endless methods.

Driving off the people from before me is not done so much that they shall not hear religion, as to show that the government can master a foreigner, disgrace him publicly, and teach the people to fly before him as from a wild beast. Of this intention they make no secret, and drive them off when my wife, or the children walk through the streets. When I complain of wrongs, the natives tell me, we must obey the

laws; and as the laws say, they can have no dealings with a foreigner, he may sink up to his waist in a ditch, or in the sea—as indeed was twice my case—and nobody would act wrong if he did not help him out. To make it possible therefore for a missionary to live here as a man, and carry on this mission effectually, means are required, adapted to the peculiarities of this particular ground, but hitherto none such have been employed. I shall, therefore, close this sketch of my operations with a few suggestions.

1st. Sound the trumpet in Zion; make this mission known to those who watch the progress of the Gospel. In the Record, a leading English religious paper, not a single notice is to be found respecting this mission, and I suppose because its editors knew nothing of it. Among the multiplicity of objects now engaging the world as well as the church, anything requiring special or even common attention, must be prominently brought under notice.

2d. Sound an alarm in the holy mountain of God. The church of God has tender sympathies. Tell her a day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness, has spread over us. I am the man that has seen affliction; I am hedged about that I can not get out; the enemy has made my chain heavy. Now, let the children of God only know my case, and the difficulties experienced in making known the glad tidings of salvation, and we shall not fail to have their tears, their prayers, and their help.

3d. Knowing this, that no mission of Christendom is of any private interpretation, it is the duty of all to work together for good. No mission becomes the private property of those who first undertook it but all and each who approve of the new sphere opened for Christian and philanthropic exertions, are its patrons. A mission like this in Lewchew, in particular, isolated and cut off from regular intercourse with the main-land, approached by only a few straggling ships, not all of whom assist us, and a few rather injure, will scarcely be regarded as likely to be successfully carried on by a mere handful of men at such a distance. We are thankful for the Divine favor which has enabled us to open this new corner in the Lord's vineyard, and we may be sure that if it is his will to prosper the tillage, laborers will be raised up to enter upon the harvest.

4th. No half work. Either keep it up efficiently, or give it up altogether. One man to a station like this renders even his efforts almost nugatory. If the mission be at all worth carrying on, let there be at the very least one brother sent to my help, one who can endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, shod with the preparation

of the gospel of peace, mild, patient, forbearing, an Abdiel, who in all afflictions, knows for whom he endureth shame, and by whose grace; and yet one who has a forehead of adamant, and can stand reproaches, for all the house of Lewchew is impudent and hard-hearted. If such men are sent here, utriusque artis periti, men who trim their way to seek love, and yet like Jeremiah, are born men of strife and contention to the whole earth, I will joyfully sit at their feet, be guided by their counsel, and quickened to increased activity by their zeal and example.

5th. The mission imperatively requires the aid of an educated Chinese, who understands his own language, and can speak the court dialect fluently. No missionary can get along among this people without a good assistant in Chinese, for even the common people understand that character, and he will often wish to show them a book. There is also much writing to be done with compradores and with the authorities; so much, in fact, in my own case, that I have been obliged to give up writing out accounts with my purveyors, and am afraid I must curtail my correspondence with government, though that is now the only channel open for influencing those in power. Some dispatches occupy me an evening and forenoon in composing, inscribing in my copy-book, and writing out a fair copy to be forwarded.

6th. In my present position, I feel the want of a European servant to look after many things, which require and consume my time; and what if, as a last resort, all native assistance be forbidden us by the rulers? Yet this necessity would be less, if a missionary brother and his family came to our aid.

7th. Friendly exertions with merchants, whose ships now fret all waters, must not be neglected; and I am sure some can be found who will allow their captains to turn in here. Lewchew is in a queer location it is true, and a position somewhat further north or south, would have placed Napa in the course of ships bound to Canton or to Shánghái; but placed as she is, let us beg benevolent merchants whose ships sail between Shánghái and Sydney, Canton and San Francisco, or China and the West coast of the Americas, to have them touch here. The laying open the gold in California may be regarded as a design of Providence to push gold seekers between Asia and America upon Japan and the isles afar off. There are resources enough in Lewchew to make it an object with western nations to keep a lookout here, and I hope commerce will soon come to the help of Christianity.

Sth. No efforts should be spared to induce England and the United States to send their ships, and survey these waters more minutely. Surveying ships in this neighborhood, and a man of war in this

port, would do good, if their officers and crews conducted as became Christians. I do not mean they should bombard these towns, but those who have power can speak with power. God has given Christian nations power in this world, and they must show the rod, as Moses did when he stood before the rock with it in his hand, when the rock will otherwise neither hear nor yield its native waters. Lord John Russell, in a speech made in the House of Commons on the 22d of Feb., 1848, said, "He contended, that in a foreign country, British subjects had a right to be protected by the public force of this country. The executive government would be greatly to blame if it gave less protection to British subjects now than in former times, and if it allowed the name of an Englishman to be less respected than it hitherto had been." Now then, why should not English subjects, or their friends at home and in China, openly claim protection for them against oppression, ill usage, and public disgrace in Lewchew? "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof:" who can forbid man to visit any part of God's earth? Why then should an English subject not be permitted to reside here? Have we by treaty with China bound ourselves not to visit Cochinchina, or Siam, or Tibet, or Corea? Suppose that Lewchew stands in the same relation to the Celestial Empire that these countries have stood, and perhaps still stand; even then none can oppose our residing here, or declare it against the faith of our treaties.

But admitting, for argument's sake, this to be a Chinese tributary, is it on this ground to be considered like the interior of China, which our generosity, and perhaps also just caution, have shut to us for the present? At a point of time when the brazen gates of Japan are so near to be burst open, is it reasonable or prudent, that Christian governments should look on quietly at the insults heaped upon a fellow Christian, at the Japanese frontier? Is it not an insult to drive a man back from a ferry, which every peasant is allowed to cross and recross fifty times a day? An English officer has here bought goods, a bill of which purchase was regularly made out, and the poor sellers are not permitted to receive payment. A native gentleman once accompanied me for some distance on my way, not minding the threats and shouts of spies; he was dragged from my side, dragged away by the beard. and cruelly beaten for no other sin than that he walked a few steps in friendly conversation with the English barbarian. Another Lewchewan, whose heart was attracted by the excellence of our faith, betrayed by his partiality to a foreigner, whom he was not afraid to call "father," was dragged from our neighborhood, and we have never

learned what became of him. Servants who formerly delighted to join in our family worship, are now "permitted," because commanded, to run from their master's house, simply because the name of Jesus had been mentioned to them. Similar facts, showing that this nation is trained—yea, forced, to abhor the names of foreigner and Christian, besides the many instances of personal obloquy mentioned in this paper, this Government has heaped upon us—do they not call every Christian and civilized power, to speak a word to stay the nuisance? And what if we be quite ejected, by open force or starvation? If I rightly understand the measures the Lewchewan authorities now employ against us in our very kitchen, and their open interference with everything of a domestic nature, we are not far from such a catastrophe. We drink our water for money, our wood is sold unto us, and yet we can not order what we find necessary for our health, nor can we get a workman into the house to make or repair utensils for our use.

The transition from respect to an utter disregard of all civility towards us was sudden. This whole nation is like a machine, the key to which is exclusively in the hands of the rulers? A move in any direction is no sooner indicated, than the whole current rushes thitherward. Can any one suppose our disgraceful expulsion will promote the interests of Christianity, or facilitate our intercourse with Japan? I can assure you none in the world. The eyes of Japan are upon us. Our ejection from Lewchew, an act which would not be simply that, but a submission of the foreigners to their law-submission, because military arms are not, though stones, sticks, famine, and cruel vexations are employed against us-will disgrace England as much, and in its moral effect be tantamount to the dismission the American Commodore had sealed on his forehead at Yedo. Do not think such events pass off in Japan for trifles. They are played off as such to the inexperienced stranger, and his pardon is begged for them as for any other common blunder by chance committed against him; just as they would beg my pardon after having pelted me, by saying, children or rude peasants had from inadvertency forgotten their instructions to behave politely towards me, or had intended to strike a bird and missed, the stone finding its way to the wounded spot; but no sooner has the excuse grown a little stale, than the insults are repeated, and the mistakes dished up to the people at large as victories over Christians or Christianity, and perhaps a battle lost against Japan can not do more to elate their pride, and feed their enmity. One of the great reasons that forbid my leaving, believe me, is to prevent or at least retard, shame and reproach to fall upon Christianity. Our defeat is the defeat of our

country and religion; honor and duty bid us to hold fast our confidence, and our faint hope firm to the end, and stand, a brave phalanx of soldiers of the cross, as long as we are helped and supported by God through Jesus Christ our Lord.

And now men of Israel, help! Remember, a son of Abraham, I have become a Gibeonite to help the Gentiles to an inheritance in the Canaan of God. For what am I doing here but hewing wood and drawing water, the first rough and menial service, by which the unshapely block is torn from the quarry of nature, to be subjected gradually to the smoothing tools of civilization and religion. Behold, I, and the children which God has given me, and the wife of my youth, life, and substance, and comfort, all we are and have, are laid upon the altar of God for the Gentiles' sake; will not a Gentile brother, whom grace has brought into the commonwealth of Israel, feel it his duty to come over and help us, and assist the elder brother in his toils and hardships endured forthe gentiles' sake? Spread your skirts over this widowed Ruth, who has left father and mother and the land of her nativity, and is come unto a people not known heretofore, a nation meted out and trodden under foot, for no other reason than the glory of God, and the advancement of his kingdom of righteousness and truth. Do at least send us letters of comfort and advice. Perhaps our stay here is, for reasons unknown to me, inadmissible; perhaps the due time of relief has not yet come for these outskirts of the world; who knows but our's is a case similar to Ezekiel's, when the Lord directed him, "Prepare thy stuff for removing; it may be they will consider, though they be a rebellious house."

My dear brother, I need not ask you to excuse my length; I am tired of it myself, but could not cut it shorter. One of old said he had not time to be short; as for me I have not ability to write a short letter, if I have to say much. 'To say much and concisely is the gift of good writers, and I must be thankful for getting through my matter anyhow.

Believe me,

Your's in the bonds of the Gospel,

B. J. B. TTELHEIM.

To the Rev. P. PARKER, M. D.,

Lewchew, Napa, September, 1849.

P. S. Since the preceding was written, information has been received from Dr. Bettelheim up to Dec. 28th, 1849, at which time he and his family were in good health. The same system of watching his motions whenever he goes abroad is kept up by the spies; and even when Mrs. Bettelheim goes out with him to make a diversion in his favor, by drawing part of their attention to herself, their number is increased, in order to prevent either of them quietly addressing the people. Speaking of the hindrances they put in the way of going out on the Sabbath, the recurrence of which they are well aware of, he says: "They make preparations the day before, doubling the guard and lookout men on every station, so that when I go out to my work, in whatever direction, I find these emissaries at the end of every lane, besides forerunners going before, crying, The barbarian! The barbarian! Shut the doors! Shut the doors! Besides this, there is a cordon inclosing me round about, sometimes not less than two yards' distance."

In order to elude them, he has screened himself in a thicket till evening, and then suddenly shown himself in the crowded market of the capital, but his success has not been much more. "Surprise has tamed the enemy—so I thought—and I am granted half an hour to address the wondering multitude. But the enemy is not tame; he is on the alert, and if there is a pause of half an hour, it is used to gather the troop, and on they come, bearing long and heavy bamboos, striking upon the naked bodies of the people as if they were a mass of cattle, and crying out, Why did you not run? Why did you not run?—thus betraying all the more plainly that it is they who teach the people to flee from us as before wild beasts."

of good writer, and I manifest the theretain through my matter